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Noricum

Géza Alföldy



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Noricum

The Roman province of Noricum occupied most of Austria as well as parts of Italy, Germany and the Balkans. *Noricum*, first published in 1974, presents a comprehensive history of the province, from 400 BC to the end of Roman rule in AD 600.

Professor Alföldy's account is predicated on the methodical interpretation of literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources, and emphasises the problems of demography and socio-economic history. The chapters are arranged chronologically, ensuring a sense of the continuity of historical events and illuminating the history and archaeology of Noricum both before it came into contact with the Romans as well as under Roman rule.

Noricum includes a review of much recent research on the province, detailed references to the source material, a comprehensive bibliography and valuable appendices. It is a substantial work of ancient history and archaeology and will interest both the specialist and the general reader.

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Géza Alföldy



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Noricum

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Preface

It was at the end of 1967 that I undertook to write this book, mainly at the suggestion of the editors of this series and of Dr J. J. Wilkes. But I had already assembled a significant proportion of the material before that time, for the province of Noricum and in particular its social history and epigraphy had been occupying my attention for a considerable period. After further preparation, the book was written in 1968 and 1969. It is not due to any fault of mine that it has appeared only now. I have taken account of the literature published in the years 1969 to 1971 while this work was in the press (but I do not claim that the literature added is complete). Unfortunately, I was not able to carry out all the alterations to the text that were called for by the new literature and the new sources.

It has been my good fortune to have been able to make several visits to the area covered by the Roman province of Noricum, to familiarise myself with the country and to study the find-spots and collections of material. I visited the Slovenian part of the province in 1962. I was able to spend several months in Austria in 1963–4, thanks to a grant made by the Austrian government chiefly through the good offices of Professor A. Betz and of the late Professor E. Swoboda. Subsequently, during 1965, 1967, 1968, 1969 and 1970 I had the opportunity of making further visits to carry out research. My visit in 1968, undertaken with the specific purpose of preparing for the present work, was of particular value.

The friendly relations that I have had with numerous investigators of Roman Noricum have also helped to create favourable conditions for my work. I am particularly grateful for the discussions and correspondence that I had with

Preface

the late Professor R. Egger, and with Diplom-Ingenieur H. Dolenz, Professor H. Kenner and Dr G. Piccottini in Austria, and with Dr J. Šašel and Dr P. Petru in Yugoslavia. I am also indebted to Dr H.-J. Kellner for many references. Several colleagues have been extremely helpful in the search for photographs, and Dr H. Gabelmann, Dr G. Piccottini (who also obtained for me some photographs taken by H. Leischner and J. Viertler) and Dr J. Šašel kindly placed their rich photographic collections at my disposal. Without this assistance the book would have been far less fully illustrated. I must also record my gratitude to Professor R. Noll and Professor W. Modrijan for their help over photographs from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and from the Joanneum in Graz; to Dr C. Ankel and to Dr E. Künzl for their help in providing the maps and other text-figures; to Mr H. Schnitzler, who prepared some of the figures, and Mrs M. Cox who re-drew the general map at the end of the book; and to Miss G. Schoppe, who gave much assistance with checking references.

My greatest debt of gratitude is owed to four friends. Professor Harald von Petrikovits has not shrunk from the task of reading through the manuscript in a systematic and critical manner and has given me a long series of suggestions and corrections. Professor H.-G. Pflaum, who has so often done this for me in the past, has done so likewise on this occasion and has kindly provided advice on many questions. Numerous critical comments and suggestions have also been offered by Dr A. R. Birley, to whom I am especially indebted for translating my manuscript from the German. I also wish to thank Professor S. S. Frere for the correction of some of the text-figures and for the pains he took preparing my manuscript for the press.

It is of course for readers—and reviewers—to judge the merits and defects of this book; but it may be of some interest to set out here those aspects which seem of particular significance from the author's point of view—biased and subjective though this may be. I have regarded it as of great importance to combine together the literary, epigraphic, onomastic and archaeological sources, and to treat them in a synoptic fashion (fully realising that being neither an archaeologist nor a numismatist I have had to go beyond the frontiers of my own competence). I have attached great importance to presenting my account in chronological sequence, which has made possible a continuous exposition of the historical development. Finally, it may be hoped that the reader will find in this work not only a critical survey of the present state of information, of the sources and of the modern literature, but also the results of my own research on a series of topics, the product in the main of a systematic study of all the epigraphic and onomastic evidence.

Preface

This book is dedicated to Andreas Alföldi. My links with him derive not only from similarity of name, a shared origin and mother tongue, numerous common interests in the field of learning, and from the bonds of friendship. Andreas Alföldi's writings on the history of Pannonia and of other Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire were the first academic works that I read as a young student. It was from the writings of Andreas Alföldi that I first learned that so-called provincial history is an integral part of Roman history as a whole; and from his writings likewise I first saw how one should endeavour to interpret the most varied kinds of sources as historical evidence and to combine them together.

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Chronological table

c. 400/390 B.C.	Appearance of the Celts in north-western Noricum
c. 400/390–250	Celticisation of northern Noricum
c. 250–200	Celts settle in Slovenia and in central and eastern Carinthia
225–222	Collapse of Celtic power in northern Italy
c. 200	Creation of a Celtic state in central Carinthia; beginnings of the <i>regnum Noricum</i>
197–183	Roman expansion in the Po valley completed
186	Transalpine Gauls attempt to settle in Venetia; first Roman embassy north of the Karawanken
183	Subjugation of the Transalpine Gauls in Venetia; their return journey to the eastern Alps; second Roman embassy north of the Karawanken; decision to found Aquileia
181	Foundation of colony at Aquileia completed
c. 180	Celtic thrust into the valley of the Mur round Graz
178	Transalpine Gauls provide military assistance to the Romans in Istria
?178–170/169	Cincibilis reigns in Noricum
171	C. Cassius Longinus active in south-eastern Alps
170	An embassy from Cincibilis at Rome; a Roman embassy at court of Cincibilis; start of Romano-Norican trading relations
170/169–?	Balanos reigns in Noricum
169	An embassy from Balanos at Rome; offer of military assistance made to the Romans

Chronological table

c. 150	Gold discovered near Teurnia; Roman gold-prospectors expelled from Noricum
129	C. Sempronius Tuditanus leads expedition to south-eastern Alps
113	Cimbric invasion of Noricum; defeat of Cn. Papirius Carbo
102-101	Occupation of southern Noricum by the Tigurini
c. 100	Boii begin to expand in Pannonia; Roman trading settlement on the Magdalensberg begins
c. 70	Norici begin to mint coins; reign of Boian king Kritasiros
c. 60	Warfare between Dacians and Boii; Noreia besieged by Boii
c. 60?-49?	Voccio reigns in Noricum
c. 50	Roman activity on the Magdalensberg intensifies
49	Norican auxiliary units in Caesar's army against Pompey
c. 45	Norican expansion in north-western Pannonia
c. 40	Minting of Norican coins ceases
35-33	Octavian's Illyrican expedition; subjugation of the Taurisci south of the Karawanken
16	A band of Pannonians and Noricans invades Istria
15	Alpine campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius; Ambisontes of north-western Noricum subdued by force of arms; peaceful annexation of the <i>regnum Noricum</i> by Rome; taxation introduced
10/9	Honorific inscriptions set up by Norican tribes on the Magdalensberg
c. 8 B.C.	Creation of Maroboduus' Marcomannic kingdom
A.D. 6	Abortive Roman expedition against Maroboduus launched from Noricum
14	Mutiny of the Pannonian legions, probably including detachments in Noricum; north-western Pannonia detached from the province of Noricum
19	Break-up of Maroboduus' kingdom
21	Creation of the <i>regnum Vannianum</i>
41/50	The Magdalensberg given up; provincial capital transferred to Virunum; foundation of the <i>municipia</i> of Virunum, Celeia, Teurnia, Aguntum, Juvavum; road-building proceeds; beginnings of the Danubian <i>limes</i>
50	Fall of the <i>regnum Vannianum</i>
69	The Norican army supports first Otho then Vespasian, against Vitellius
70	Norican troops participate in Batavian war
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70/79	Foundation of the Solva <i>municipium</i>
c. 100	First Noricans become <i>equites Romani</i>
117/138	Foundation of the <i>municipia</i> Ovilava and Cetium
140/144	Rebuilding of frontier forts in stone completed
166/167–180	Danubian wars of Marcus Aurelius
166/167–170	Several barbarian incursions into Noricum
168	<i>Praetentura Italiae et Alpium</i> set up
c. 170	German invasion of northern Italy; devastation of Noricum; destruction of Solva
c. 170/171	Legion II Italica is sent to Ločica
170/171–175	Roman counter-offensive, Noricum liberated
c. 174/175	The province transferred to governors of senatorial rank
c. 174/178	II Italica is transferred to Albing
180	Peace treaty with the Germans
c. 185/191	II Italica is transferred to Lauriacum
195	Military roads improved
196–197	Fighting against ‘public enemies’ in Noricum
201	Large-scale road-building under direction of the governor M. Juventius Surus Proculus
c. 202	Completion of building-work at Lauriacum
205	Rescript of Septimius Severus on the <i>centonarii</i> of Solva
206	Downfall of the governor Pollienius Sebennus
212/217	Foundation of the <i>municipium</i> of Lauriacum; granting of the <i>lex Lauriacensis</i> ; Ovilava is given status of <i>colonia</i> ; a new military road is laid out on the north-western flank of the Norican <i>limes</i>
c. 235/236	Alamannic incursion into the province
253	Valerian on upper Danube with a special command
253/268	Warfare and devastation in Noricum
270/275	Further warfare and destruction
288/289	Diocletian takes defensive measures in Noricum
293/305	Noricum split into two provinces; army and administration reorganised
304/305	Persecution of Christians; execution of the martyr Florianus at Lauriacum
343	Earliest mention of Norican bishops
351	Civil war between Constantius II and Magnentius; battle near Atrans
354	Gallus suppressed in Noricum
361	Civil war between Constantius II and Julian

Chronological table

c. 370	Valentinian I takes defensive measures and builds fortifications
378	Gratian at Lauriacum
c. 380/400	Destruction of most pagan shrines by Christians
388	Civil war between Theodosius I and Magnus Maximus
c. 400	Cessation of regular army pay
c. 400/410	Numerous <i>Fliebburgen</i> occupied as places of refuge, mainly in southern Noricum
405	Radagaesus marches through Noricum; Solva destroyed
407/409	Alaric and the Visigoths in Noricum; Aguntum destroyed
c. 409	Generidus in command on upper Danube
431–432	Aëtius suppresses rebellion in Noricum
451	Huns pass through Noricum Ripense
453	Collapse of Hun empire; Rugii settle in the Tullnerfeld
?460–482	St Severinus in Noricum
468	Expansion of Ostrogoths into eastern Noricum
472	Ostrogoths attack Teurnia
c. 472–480	Alamannic incursions into north-western Noricum and as far as Teurnia; Juvavum destroyed; north-western Noricum as far as Lauriacum given up
476	Noricum becomes part of Odoacer's kingdom
482	Death of St Severinus
487	Odoacer's expedition against the Rugii in Noricum
488	Onoulfus' expedition against the Rugii; Noricum Ripense given up and evacuated
493	Fall of Odoacer; southern Noricum becomes part of Ostrogoth kingdom of Theoderic
537–545	Frankish expansion in Noricum; Lombard power extends into south-eastern Noricum
568	Lombards march through Noricum
c. 580–600	Beginning of mass migrations of Baiuvari, Avars and Slavs

Chapter 1

Research, sources and geography

Modern research and the ancient sources

The sources for the history of a Roman province are never complete. They may give an abundant flow of information for a particular series of problems, but for many other questions they may supply hardly any answers or be completely silent. This of course applies to the history of the Roman province of Noricum. For instance, the history of the independent kingdom, the *regnum Noricum*, is known in its main outlines, thanks to the ancient literary sources and to archaeological excavation—certainly, much more is known about this period of Norican history than, for example, about the pre-Roman period in the adjacent provinces of Raetia and Pannonia. There is particularly good information about the urban organisation in the imperial period: the exact number of chartered towns is certain and in each case it can be established which emperor granted the particular town its right to self-government; and there has been a certain amount of archaeological investigation in the towns too. Equally, there are good sources available for the major problems of demography and social history, and for work on economic history too. This applies to many questions of romanisation as well, as indeed it does also, in particular, to the native religious cults and to Christianity and art, while the relatively large amount of information on the late Roman period is especially welcome. This makes the gaps in the evidence on other problems seem all the greater. Alarming little is known about the native *civitates*, for example: in contrast to the situation in most of the adjacent areas of the empire, it is not even possible to determine how many *civitates* there were, let alone what happened to them during the imperial period. Again, less

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progress has been made in establishing the military history of Noricum and in the investigation of its *limes* than in the frontier provinces that border it. In fact, as far as wars and concrete historical events in general are concerned, there is an almost complete dearth of literary evidence from the first four centuries of the imperial period. Hence any attempted portrayal of the history of Noricum must depict to some extent a mere torso, its appearance truncated by the meagreness of the sources and by the limitations of modern research. Of course, this applies to all ancient history, and it imposes on the historian at once a burden and a challenge—the challenge of trying to come as close as possible to the reality of the past.

There has been no lack of attempts of this kind—they already have a history of their own. Old accounts like A. A. Muchar's *Das römische Norikum* or *Noricum und Pannonien* by F. v. Kenner are naturally completely out of date today;¹ new excavations and the discovery of new inscriptions have in the meantime totally altered the picture. By far the most important survey of the province is the excellent article 'Noricum' by E. Polaschek, published in 1936 in the *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, and as yet nothing equivalent has replaced it, not even G. Capovilla's *Studi sul Noricum*, which is strongly orientated towards the linguistic side. No systematic study of the history of the province or even of Austria in Roman times—which embraces the greater part of ancient Noricum—on the lines of R. Pittioni's work on the prehistoric period has yet appeared. There are a number of general accounts of a more or less popular type: one by E. v. Nischer which is already out of date today; various brief surveys by R. Egger; a short *Römerzeit* by F. Miltner that was good in its day; a book by A. Schober which concentrates rather too much on art-history; besides, more recently, a useful work by A. Betz, and I. Zibermayr's *Noricum, Bayern und Österreich* which is less successful in its treatment of the ancient period. E. Swoboda's excellent *Carnuntum*, by contrast, is an extremely learned piece of work which includes a treatment of the history of Noricum up to the Roman conquest. Besides this, there are various important detailed studies of particular sections of the province: by R. Egger, particularly on Carinthia; by the same scholar, by R. Noll and by J. Reitingner on Upper Austria; by F. Wagner and most recently by H.-J. Kellner on the Bavarian portion of Noricum.

These works are mainly by archaeologists; historians have displayed little interest in Noricum, not least because the ancient literary sources are for the most part defective. Unfortunately no detailed ancient account, of the type supplied by Tacitus for Britain and Germany, or by the elder Pliny for Spain, has been preserved. Relatively little was written about Noricum at all in ancient times²—mainly because the country was never in the forefront of international

events or at the centre of historical interest at any time. Besides, it was a long time before Noricum came to the attention of the ancient world. Whereas the inhabitants of the Dalmatian coast, for example, were already known to the Greeks of the archaic period, close relations between the Mediterranean world and Noricum only developed from the beginning of the second century B.C. onwards. The most ancient reference to the inhabitants of Noricum concerns events in the year 186 B.C. and is preserved by Livy; the earliest precise mention of its inhabitants, the Taurisci and Norici, comes in Polybius, in the mid-second century B.C.

There is little about Noricum in later writers either. Apart from data in the geographical works, one finds mostly only brief mentions of historical events, as in Tacitus' *Histories* on those of A.D. 69, or the praise of the country's main product, the famous Norican iron, which already occurs in the poets of the Augustan age and continues to appear later. The best literary source for Noricum is the biography of St Severinus written in A.D. 511 by his disciple Eugippius—this excellent source describes in detail the events of the second half of the fifth century A.D. and the prevailing conditions, and also gives a portrayal of many aspects of Norican everyday life, a feature that one so much misses elsewhere in ancient literature.

For many questions, the poverty of the literary sources is compensated for by the wealth of epigraphic evidence in Noricum. In contrast to most neighbouring provinces there was already—in south-western Noricum at least—a local script before the Roman conquest, namely Venetic, attested by the inscriptions on the Gurina in the Gail valley, and in the Carnic Alps. The vast majority of the other inscriptions from Noricum are Latin, while Greek texts are almost completely lacking. Nearly 2,300 ancient inscriptions (some 450 of which are graffiti on walls or utensils) are known from within the boundaries with which the province was delineated in the first three centuries of the imperial period;³ added to this are about 100 inscriptions from other parts of the Roman empire which mention Noricans. Only a very few of these inscriptions come from the late republican period; the overwhelming majority date from the first three centuries of the empire, especially from the period between Claudius and the Severi (about 1,800 examples). The number declines markedly in the third century, and there are, again, only very few that can be dated to the period after Diocletian.

The inscriptions mention by name approximately 5,000 individuals, more than 4,000 of whom belong to the first two centuries of the Roman empire. The population of the province may perhaps be estimated at between 200,000 and 400,000 (although there is no concrete evidence); higher figures are scarcely in question. The average age attained in Noricum during the first two centuries of

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the imperial period was perhaps remarkably high—about forty; this is revealed by funerary inscriptions which mention the age of the deceased, although their statistical evaluation for this question is of course a matter where caution is required. This means that the epigraphically-recorded persons from this period represent about five generations—from which it follows that we know on a rough average between 700 and 800 persons from each generation. Thus we may presume to know something like 0.2–0.4 per cent of the total number of the inhabitants of Noricum in the first and second centuries.⁴ This material is, naturally, much too limited to draw statistical conclusions, except for certain questions. Many conclusions are, however, possible: if for example some 1,000 individuals are recorded with Celtic names, and only very few with pre-Celtic names, it is certainly no coincidence.

The distribution of the inscriptions is irregular. The major concentration is in the Virunum area, together with the areas along the sides of the 'Norican main highway' in a south-westerly direction as far as Villach and to the north as far as Neumarkt. Other epigraphically fertile areas are Celeia and its surroundings, the town of Solva and part of its *territorium* (the Feistritz valley, the upper Raab valley and the Mur valley round Graz and northwards from there), the lower Lavant valley and the Jauntal east of Virunum, and then Teurnia, Juvavum, the area around the Chiemsee, Ovilava and Lauriacum. The number of inscriptions is considerably smaller in other areas where there was no lack of population, such as the upper Drau valley, even Aguntum itself, and most of the region between the Alps and the Danube. Elsewhere they are almost completely absent, for example in the Pustertal, east of Solva or in the southern half of Norican Lower Austria. As settlements in the Pustertal and *tumuli* in eastern Styria and the Wienerwald indicate, these areas too were inhabited. The fact that we find many inscriptions in other areas is partly explained by the degree of romanisation and prosperity of the population, but also simply by the custom of setting up inscriptions, and not least by the progress of research; the absence of inscriptions proves nothing about the extent of settlement in the lowland or highland zones.

The greater part of the Norican inscriptions are funerary and—to a lesser extent—votive; the remainder are building-inscriptions, milestones, graffiti, etc., and there are also a number of important texts that bear on legal matters, such as the rescript of Septimius Severus from Solva, or the fragmentary *lex Lauriacensis*. The historical evaluation of the great mass of epigraphic material is, however, made difficult by unfavourable circumstances. Very frequently the exact find-spots are uncertain: very many stone inscriptions were removed in medieval or more recent times and walled up in churches or castles. For example, most of the

inscriptions from Virunum have been found scattered all over the Zollfeld, and some have even been carried as far as St Veit an der Glan and St Georgen am Längssee, to Klagenfurt and to Viktring.⁵ There are similar problems elsewhere too, for example in the Save valley south of Celeia, at Solva and at Bedaium, and in many other places besides.⁶ A further obstacle to research is the fact that many texts are very difficult of access. Volume III of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, which includes the Norican inscriptions, was completed in 1902. Hundreds of new texts, especially from Carinthia, have been published subsequently in very widely scattered places, and there are readily accessible and up-to-date supplements to *CIL* III only for the Slovenian and Styrian sections of Noricum.

The importance of the inscriptions lies not least in their use as an onomastic source: the personal names that they record are significant mainly in the field of demography, as they provide invaluable material on the pre-Roman elements in the population and on foreign colonisation during the imperial period.⁷ We know altogether some 400 Roman *nomina* and approximately 1,800 *cognomina* (or names borne by peregrines with one name only) in Noricum—and it is very instructive for the question of the ethnic composition of the population that more than half the *cognomina* are Celtic. The names of peoples and communities, and the names of places, rivers and streams, mountains, fields and sections of the countryside, preserved partly in ancient literary sources and in inscriptions, and partly in medieval or modern geographical names, are less suited to historical investigation.⁸ Their linguistic attribution is far less certain than is the case with personal names, and etymological attempts have often proved to be moving on very unsure ground.⁹ It is particularly unfortunate that hardly any names of peoples and communities have been handed down. The names of the smaller communities, such as the inhabitants of the geographically enclosed Lavant valley, are with a few exceptions totally unknown. The situation is more favourable with the names of native deities, which were mentioned more frequently in inscriptions: most of them may be identified as Celtic.

The numismatic sources are of importance for questions of economic history, and also for military occurrences. The coinage of the eastern Celts and of the kingdom of Noricum has been studied by K. Pink in a number of outstanding works.¹⁰ But while the Celtic coins in Noricum form only a small percentage (rather more than 1,000 pieces) of the total numismatic material, the number of Roman coins certainly comprises tens of thousands—although it is not possible to give any interim figure on the basis of the published material. So far only H.-J. Kellner has produced a systematic stocktaking of any of the material, from a modern point of view, in his *Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland*, which includes a survey of the Bavarian part of Noricum. Apart from this there are only

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individual studies of particular aspects, such as the circulation of coinage on the *limes*, at Lauriacum, on the Magdalensberg, and so on. But the historically important coin-hoards have already been dealt with frequently.¹¹

Pride of place in the study of Noricum, especially in Austria, may be allotted to the results of archaeological research. From the archaeological point of view Noricum has been, on the whole, outstandingly well investigated—incomparably better than the province of Dalmatia, for example, and also, except for the *limes*, than Pannonia or Raetia. A number of towns have been well investigated, principally Solva, Virunum, Lauriacum, Aguntum and, to some extent, Teurnia; by contrast, at Ovilava, Juvavum, Celeia and, above all, at Cetium, excavation has been possible only on a limited scale because of the dense modern occupation on these sites. The most important excavation of recent times has been, for more than two decades now, that on the Magdalensberg, and this has markedly changed our picture of the history of Noricum in the period before and immediately after the Roman conquest. This achievement is principally the work of R. Egger, the doyen of Norican research, who died in 1969, and his collaborators. The major results that have been gained in the fields of pagan religion, early Christian churches, and the Fliehburgen of the late period are also associated with the name of Egger—especially in Carinthia, but in other areas too. Besides this, one cannot value too highly the results of archaeological research in a series of smaller settlements, villas, farms, burial-grounds, at a number of military sites, such as, above all, the legionary fortress of Lauriacum, and at various auxiliary forts, principally Passau-Innstadt, Linz, Mautern and Zwentendorf. Naturally there are also areas in Noricum which have so far been opened up to a much lesser extent, as for example Norican Lower Austria south of the *limes*-area—but there are no ‘blank areas’ in Noricum as large as, say, southern Pannonia from Lake Balaton to the river Save, from Aquae Iasae to Mursa, and from Siscia to Sirmium.

Although no systematic survey of the ground has yet been carried out in most parts of the province, there are certain modern works of great importance for the history of settlement. The *Lexikon ur- und frühgeschichtlicher Fundstätten Österreichs*, edited by L. Franz and A. Neumann, collects together the evidence for the major ancient finds.¹² Very detailed collections of the evidence for the settlement history of certain areas of Noricum are available, primarily those by G. Pascher on Lower Austria, and by R. Noll and J. Reitinger on Upper Austria, which include among other things some very important maps.¹³ Good preliminary studies have also been made of other parts of the province, for example of the Rosenheim area, the Murau region in the upper Mur valley and the Pustertal in South Tirol, while the imminent publication of the results of a systematic

ground-survey of the Yugoslavian section of the province is greatly to be welcomed.¹⁴

On particular groups of archaeological material there has been less progress. No systematic investigation of buildings and building-types is available, apart from R. Egger's *Frühchristliche Kirchenbauten*. A. Schober's *Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien*, which now requires considerable additions and revision, has not yet been replaced as a study of the funerary monuments. As far as small finds are concerned, there are systematic studies of a few categories only, such as that by A. Schörgendorfer on coarse pottery, by R. Fleischer on bronze statuettes and by J. Garbsch on the clothing of native women. Other categories, such as samian, glass, bronze vessels, weapons, tools and bricks, have mostly been treated only in excavation reports. R. Noll has produced a comprehensive account of art in Noricum.

Thus literary, epigraphic, onomastic, numismatic and archaeological sources for the history of Noricum are available in varying degree. One of the major tasks of future research will be the comprehensive study and publication of particular groups of evidence: there is certainly a future for such publication of material ranging from temple-buildings to coins, and from fort-types to glass.

Noricum in ancient geographical works

The ancient geographers first 'discovered' the territory of the later province of Noricum in the second century B.C., when Rome had become firmly established in northern Italy and had begun to make the first historical contacts with the inhabitants of the eastern Alpine lands.¹⁵ In 186 B.C. the first Roman envoys entered the Norican area north of the Carnic Alps and the Karawanken—that was probably the first time that a Roman had ever seen the country. It is significant that Livy, who used earlier sources for his account of this episode, did not even know the correct names of the inhabitants of the country: instead of Taurisci or Norici, he refers in a general way only to *Galli* or *Galli Transalpini*.¹⁶ However, from this time onwards there was no obstacle to the development of closer relations between Rome and Noricum. They soon developed at an ever-increasing rate, mainly through the medium of trade after the founding of Aquileia in 181 B.C. Although Roman troops entered the country under Cn. Papirius Carbo in 113 B.C. as well, the people who really discovered Noricum for Rome were merchants, including pioneers like Popaius Senator, drawn deep into the rough mountain-lands by the presence of metal ores in East Tirol, probably as early as c. 100 B.C. By the first century B.C. Noricum, or at least the central part of the Norican kingdom, was well known to the Mediterranean world.

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Geographers like Posidonius provided the first detailed descriptions of the country and its close links with Italy in the first half of this century.¹⁷

The earliest surviving account of the geography of Noricum is the work of Strabo which is certainly not free from errors—such as false information about a river said to be navigable from Aquileia to the place called Noreia.¹⁸ M. Vipsanius Agrippa's world-map must also have given a description of the country. Agrippa had already calculated the length of free Germany (*Germania magna*) on the basis of the frontier between this area and the adjacent *Raetia et Noricum*: these details, preserved in the work of the elder Pliny, at the same time supply the earliest known mention of the geographical name *Noricum*.¹⁹ Pliny himself wrote only very little on Noricum, some of it based on earlier sources and some on contemporary experience. Apart from mentioning the name of the inhabitants, giving a very general definition of the country's geographical situation, enumerating the towns and naming the rivers which flow into Pannonia, the Save and Drau (Drave), he discusses only a plant that grew in the Norican Alps and Norican iron.²⁰ Unfortunately he does not anywhere supply a list of the native *civitates*.

In the first half of the second century Ptolemy supplied a more detailed account of the country, and his map of Noricum can be reconstructed on the basis of the co-ordinates that he gives.²¹ Many of the locations given, for example those of Virunum and Celeia, prove to be astonishingly accurate, whereas Aguntum and Juvavum, for instance, are put in completely the wrong places, and the *civitates* are neither geographically correct nor comprehensively listed.²² Among later geographical sources the Antonine Itinerary, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* and the Peutinger Table must be singled out. The Itineraries show the main roads and the road-stations, while the *Tabula* also depicts mountains and rivers.²³ The *Notitia Dignitatum* is also important from the geographical point of view, as it mentions some places on the *limes* which are not recorded elsewhere,²⁴ and so too is the *Vita Sancti Severini*, composed in A.D. 511, with its graphic portrayal of climatic and other conditions.

Like the Alpine lands in general, this country was considered by the ancient writers to be rough and wild, a place where not only the snow and bad weather but also the mountain terrain and danger of avalanches made it impossible for life to be lived under favourable conditions;²⁵ and the ancient world regarded the inhabitants, too, as correspondingly tough and warlike.²⁶ But life in Noricum was by no means confined to the river-valleys, hill-country and plains. The opportunities for pasturage and for mining attracted the inhabitants to the mountains too, and the strategic advantages or natural defences offered by hill-forts—or mountain-forts—were fully exploited at that time, especially in the

unsettled epochs such as the prehistoric or late Roman periods. There was no *horror Alpium* among the Norican people: they lived with their mountains, climbed them vigorously, and had a spiritual affinity with them too, then as now. The summits of 'holy mountains' were particularly favoured places for shrines, such as those on the Magdalensberg or on the Ulrichsberg; deities of the mountain-peaks, who were at the same time weather-gods, were worshipped universally; and on the highest peak of the Koralpe, on the Steinschneider between the Lavant valley and the Mur valley, at a height of 2,000 metres above sea-level, someone did not shrink from setting up a votive inscription to the native god of the mountain, identified with Jupiter.²⁷ There are traces of occupation on many high-level sites. Even the practical Romans accepted the necessity of having to establish their main trading-settlement in the *regnum Noricum* not in, say, the Zollfeld, but on the Magdalensberg at a height of nearly 1,000 metres—a place that was really unsuitable for trading. In the late republic, and in the first decades of the imperial period also, this mountainous *forum* was the meeting-place in Noricum for Roman merchants and native traders. It meant a considerable detour to get there, involving a great deal of trouble, not least because the Zollfeld, from which the route up to the Magdalensberg ran, was 500 metres lower than the trading-centre. But here Roman trade fitted in with the old native tradition, and the merchants only gave this trading-settlement up under Claudius.

Like the 'impenetrable mountain-ranges' and 'rough and rocky soil' of the Alpine lands, the harsh climate of this country was another favourite cliché with the ancient writers. The Norican winter was reckoned to be particularly fierce, with its snow and frost. Eugippius gave a graphic description of winter in the Norican Alps with its *immanitas frigoris*;²⁸ less well-informed authors like Isidore of Seville even reckoned that the entire country was cold and infertile.²⁹ However, the climate was by no means uniform over the whole country, and summer could produce heat, even in the mountains, almost like that in the south. In Carinthia today, especially in the Klagenfurt Basin, the annual mean average fluctuation of temperature is around 50°C. and an average daily temperature of 25°C. in July is quite frequent there. The ancient writers paid scarcely any attention to these favourable features of the Norican climate—although Tacitus conceded the country to be less windy than Germany, and the elder Pliny appreciated and praised the sunshine in the mountains.³⁰

The physical geography of the country

The ancient authors were right when they described Noricum as a land of mountains: it was an 'Alpine province' in the most direct sense, far more so than

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its neighbours Pannonia and Raetia, with their extensive hill-country and broad plains. High mountains dominate the greater part of Noricum. In the south and west, and in the central area of the province, its imposing peaks reach a height of between 2,000 and 3,000 metres, and in the south-west, in the Hohe Tauern range, they soar to well over 3,000 metres, including the Grossglockner, Noricum's highest mountain, 3,798 metres high. The high mountains are divided by sharply-incised, long river-valleys, which have in all periods of history been centres of settlement and, generally, the natural routes for trade and communications. Narrow gorges that form natural obstacles occur seldom in these Alpine valleys: examples are the one in the Save valley, between Litija and Brestanica, or the Salzach valley by the Lueg Pass. Most of the valleys are wide enough to allow the growth of settlements on both sides of the river—as is the case with the valleys of the Rienz, Drau and its tributaries, Mur, Enns and Salzach.

In the north and east the mountains are adjoined by hill-country—between the Alps and the Danube as far as the Wienerwald, in eastern Styria and north-eastern Slovenia. In the north the change from high mountains to hill-country is generally very marked. The central mountains thrust themselves between the Alpine chain and the hill-country only in the east, from the Wienerwald to the Slovenian mountains, with gentle elevations mostly under 1,000 metres. There are no broad plains. The only extensive flat country is to be found in the salients of the river-valleys in the middle of the high mountains, as for example the Zollfeld and the Jauntal in Carinthia; and outside the mountain-zone there are also the areas along the river Inn, in the Traun valley, along the Danube between the Wachau and the Wienerwald, and in the Mur valley south of Graz.

The mountain-ranges and river-valleys divide the country into a number of enclosed geographical units. To the south, in the direction of Italy and south-west Pannonia, Noricum was barred off by the chains of the *Alpes Tridentinae* (Dolomites), *Alpes Carnicae* (Carnic Alps) and the *Carvanca Mons* (Karawanken and Steiner Alps),³¹ which in ancient times were reckoned to protect Italy like an impenetrable fortress-wall.³² Long river-valleys run parallel with this high crest of the Alps, the Pustertal (Val Pusteria) in South Tirol going westwards, that is, the valley of the river *Byrrus* (Rienz, Rienzo), and in East Tirol and Carinthia the valley of the *Dravus* (Drau) going eastwards. A number of river-valleys run into that of the Drau: the Gail valley, 100 kilometres long, from the south, from the north the valleys of the Isel, Möll and Lieser and, in the Klagenfurt Basin, the valleys of the Gurk, which is joined by the Glan near Klagenfurt, and the Lavant further east.³³ In the east this zone is closed by the Drau gorge near Rabenstein, between Lavamünd and Dravograd (Unterdrauburg), where in ancient times the boundary of the *territorium* of Virunum crossed the river,

as the modern frontier between Austria and Yugoslavia now does. This region, with its not unfavourable climate, mineral wealth and fertile valleys, especially the Klagenfurt Basin, was one of the most important areas in Noricum.

North of the Pustertal and the Drau lies the central Norican mountain-zone with its raw mountain-ranges and long, narrow river-valleys. The ancient names of the individual mountain ridges are unknown. Only in the case of the Tauern is it certain that the name is of ancient origin and is connected with the name of the people, the Taurisci. Probably it was usual to refer in a general way to the *Alpes*: for example the road-station of Obertauern on the pass over the Radstädter Tauern was simply called *In Alpe* and the biography of St Severinus just calls the same mountain-range *summa Alpium cacumina*.³⁴ Nor are the ancient maps that have been preserved able to give us details about these mountains.³⁵ By contrast the names of the major rivers are known: north of the Hohe Tauern runs the enclosed valley of the upper Salzach, the ancient *Ivarus* or *Isonta*;³⁶ east of this the valleys of the *Murius* (Mur) and *Anisus* (Enns).³⁷

The central Norican mountain country ends in the north with the range of the Kitzbühel Alps, the Dachsteingruppe and the Lower Austrian Alps, the Salzach and the Enns breaking through in narrow gorges. From the geographical point of view the zone beyond the Alps, with the Danube valley between Passau and the Wienerwald, and the valleys of the *Aenus* (Inn), lower Salzach, Traun, lower Enns, Ybbs, *Arlape* (Erlauf) and *Tragisamus* (Traisen) forms a single great area.³⁸ It is open to the west and continues into the Vindelician plain; to the east it ends at the Wienerwald, the ancient *Cetius Mons*.³⁹ In the north the northern edge of the Austrian Danube basin blocks it off, a plateau that was thickly forested in ancient times.

In the eastern Norican zone beyond the Alps, south-eastern Styria forms a major geographical unit: it is a hill-country with plains and rivers—the Mur, *Arrabo* (Raab), Feistritz and Lafnitz—and is open on its eastern side. There follow, in the south, the Drau valley between the Possruck and Pohorje (Bachergebirge) ranges, and then the low mountain- and hill-country in north-eastern Slovenia with the river Savinja,⁴⁰ barred off in the south by the gorge of the *Savus* (Save) between Litija and Brestanica.⁴¹

Roads and communications

As a result of the pronounced division of the country, communications, trade and administration faced difficulties which could only be mitigated by the construction of a network of roads.⁴² The growth of such a network had already begun in the pre-Roman period: the old native routes, including the well-built

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Venetian road from Julium Carnicum over the Plöcken Pass to the settlement on the Gurina, permitted a lively traffic by wheeled vehicles.⁴³ However, after the Roman conquest, economic, strategic and administrative reasons made it desirable to establish a systematic network of roads. This was undoubtedly one of the greatest achievements of Roman rule in Noricum: the building of a superb road-network with well laid out routes for communications across valleys and high passes, as ancient road-maps, research into ancient roads, and milestones eloquently witness.⁴⁴

The province's major line of communications was the so-called 'Noric main highway', a continuation of the trade-road that ran north from Aquileia into the Tagliamento valley: it is described in the Antonine Itinerary and Peutinger Table, as are the other major roads in the province.⁴⁵ It crossed the frontier between Noricum and Italy on the Saifnitzer Sattel (Sella di Camporosso), where it was possible to surmount the mountains by a broad and relatively low passage (812 metres). From here it ran via the Kanaltal, Santicum (Villach) and along the north shore of the Wörthersee to Virunum; then over the Neumarkter Sattel, the Niedere Tauern and Pyhrn Pass to Ovilava, and on to Lauriacum on the Danube. In the south-west one could enter the Pustertal by way of the Eisacktal and so proceed on to Aguntum, or reach north-western Noricum over the Brenner.⁴⁶ The next crossing from Italy was the Kreuzberg Pass, on the Sextener Kreuzberg (Passo Monte Croce di Comelico), over the Carnic Alps; east of there a much more important road led from Julium Carnicum over the Plöcken Pass into the upper Gail valley and from here into the Drau valley.⁴⁷ Besides this, coming from Italy one could also enter Noricum by way of south-western Pannonia, either over the Loibl Pass to Virunum, or to Celeia by going over the Trojana Pass at Atrians and along the 'amber road'.⁴⁸

A series of routes linked the individual towns and country areas within Noricum. A road in the Drau valley led from Virunum to Teurnia and on to Aguntum,⁴⁹ and another went via Juenna and Colatio (Stari Trg) to Celeia.⁵⁰ The town of Solva in eastern Noricum had road-links with Virunum and with Poetovio in Pannonia.⁵¹ The old Carinthian 'iron road' on the north shore of the Ossiachersee and in the upper Glan valley formed an important short cut to the 'Noric main highway', as it bypassed Virunum; a branch of the 'main highway' went into the other major mining-area of Carinthia, the Görttschitz valley.⁵² One could go north on several routes in addition to the 'main highway'. In favourable weather people were even prepared to take the risk of crossing the Hohe Tauern on the Grossglockner, over the Hochtor between the Möll and Salzach valleys (2,505 metres).⁵³ The Teurnia-Juvavum road, which was excellently constructed and used a great deal, ran over the Katschberg, the Tauern

Pass *In Alpe* (Obertauern, 1,739 metres), Radstadt and the Lueg Pass in the Salzach valley.⁵⁴ It had to be renewed frequently: most of the known milestones in Noricum came from this road. Another road to the north went from Solva, in the Mur valley, crossing the 'main highway' and joining the Teurnia–Juvavum road; a branch joined the area of Bruck an der Mur with the Enns valley via the upper Styrian mining region.⁵⁵ The road-network was particularly dense in the northern part of the province, for the favourable geographic conditions permitted this there. The major east–west road led from Vindobona (Vienna) in Pannonia via Cetium, Lauriacum, Ovilava and Juvavum to Pons Aeni, and from here on to Augusta Vindelicum (Augsburg) in Raetia; the *limes*-road, right on the Danube, followed a parallel course to some extent.⁵⁶ It was possible to reach the *limes* from Juvavum and Ovilava by several link-roads; likewise along the Inn and from Cetium.

These roads were in heavy use—not only by pedestrians but by horsemen and heavy wagons too;⁵⁷ major repair-work was necessary very frequently as a result of this intensive use and of the constant weathering. But a journey along these roads was not without its dangers, especially in winter; a story in the biography of St Severinus gives a nice picture of what these dangers could be.⁵⁸ When the Norican Maximus travelled with his companions from Teurnia to Lauriacum, he was completely buried by snow one night on the top of a pass—in all probability at Obertauern in the Radstädter Tauern—and was only rescued by a miracle. A journey by boat on the Inn, the Danube and, especially, in the gorge of the Save south of Celeia,⁵⁹ could be no less dangerous; but water transport was just as important as road transport for supplying the needs of the province.

Chapter 2

Veneti, Illyrians and Celts

The problem of the pre-Roman population

When Rome made her first historical contact with the inhabitants of the future province of Noricum, in 186 B.C., the ethnic composition of the native population had already almost reached its final form. The people described by the annalists of the time as *Galli Transalpini* and by later authors, beginning with Polybius, as *Taurisci* and *Norici*, was made up of heterogeneous elements. It came into being as a result of the gradual intermingling of Celtic immigrants with older groups that had established residence earlier, and its emergence was the conclusion of a long development of prehistoric cultures up to the late Iron Age.

At the end of the early Iron Age, immediately before the appearance of the Celts, the Hallstatt culture was universally dominant in Noricum, with variations and sub-groups—a culture which owes its modern name to the famous site on the Hallstattsee below the Dachstein.¹ North of the Alps, in eastern Bavaria, the northern part of the Austrian *Land* of Salzburg, and Upper and Lower Austria, it was terminated by the arrival of the Celts, beginning c. 400 B.C. During the early and middle La Tène periods (La Tène B and C, 400–250 B.C. and 250–100 B.C.) their traditions were gradually absorbed into the La Tène culture of the Celtic immigrants; during the late La Tène period (La Tène D, 100–15 B.C.) a uniform civilisation was already flourishing north of the Alps, characterised by the predominance of La Tène culture.² The Celts first appeared in the southern part of the country in the middle La Tène period; here La Tène culture spread strongly in certain areas only, central Carinthia, the Mur valley

round Graz and parts of north-eastern Slovenia; elsewhere, however, Hallstatt culture survived even as late as the imperial period. In south-western Noricum (South Tirol, the upper Salzach valley, parts of East Tirol) one of its sub-groups, the so-called Melaun-Fritzen culture, was dominant throughout the entire late Iron Age. In other areas local forms of late Hallstatt culture developed from the third and second centuries B.C. onwards, influenced to some extent by La Tène civilisation—in the south (East Tirol and some areas of Carinthia) the so-called East Tirol-Carinthian culture, and in central Noricum and in the east (the upper Mur valley and Lower Styria) the so-called East Norican culture.³

What was the population that the Celts found living in the eastern Alps? Pre-historians and linguists now use two terms to designate the pre-Celtic population of Noricum: Veneti and Illyrians. Research was for a long time dominated by the view that the predecessors of the Celts in the east Alpine lands were Illyrians, with whom prehistorians associated not only Hallstatt culture but even the Urnfield culture of the late Bronze Age as well.⁴ Only in the last few decades has it become apparent that the problem is far more complex. The term 'Illyrian' is proving to be ever more unreliable. As we now know, it should, strictly speaking, be applied only to a small people living in the Balkans, between the mouth of the river Narenta and the Acroceraunian mountains; it is a modern technical usage to extend the term to neighbouring peoples and tribes such as the Pan-nonii and Delmatae—a usage which is justifiable to the extent that the language spoken by these groups was, from all appearances, closely related to that of the real Illyrians.⁵ The discovery made by linguistic research that Venetic was not some kind of dialect of Illyrian, but an independent Indo-European language,⁶ is particularly significant, for one must as a result presume the existence of an independent Venetic people and take into account their presence in Noricum.⁷

There is today more or less general agreement in the field of Norican studies that the country was peopled in the early Iron Age by Veneti and Illyrians, and that they intermingled with the Celts after the Celtic immigration.⁸ But in reality the question of the pre-Celtic population is still far from being solved, especially as regards the problem of the Illyrians in the east Alpine lands. To be sure, prehistoric studies are in a position to distinguish spatially and temporally between prehistoric cultures, which can be recognised by more or less uniform types of artefacts, settlement-patterns and funerary customs. But whether the individual 'non-Celtic' cultures or culture-groups may be attributed to particular peoples and tribes, when the differences between them can only be detected in their artefact-types, is difficult to decide: the patterns of settlement (mainly hill-forts) and funerary rites (mainly cremation) were fairly uniform throughout the east Alpine lands. As far as La Tène culture is concerned, it is certain that its

TABLE I *Pre-Roman cultures in Noricum*

<i>Period</i>	NORTH (South-eastern Bavaria, northern Salzburg, Upper and Lower Austria)	SOUTH-WEST (South Tirol, upper Salzach valley, parts of East Tirol)	SOUTH (East Tirol and Carinthia)	CENTRE, EAST (Upper and Lower Styria)	SOUTH-EAST (North-eastern Slovenia)
400 B.C.	Early La Tène period (La Tène B)	Early Melaun- Fritzen culture	Continuation of Hallstatt culture	Continuation of Hallstatt culture	Continuation of Hallstatt culture
350					
300					
250	Middle La Tène		Continuation of Hallstatt culture, and, in Carinthia, also:	Continuation of Hallstatt culture, and:	Continuation of Hallstatt culture, and: La Tène D
200	period (La Tène C)	Late Melaun- Fritzen culture (upper Salzach valley: La Tène C-D also)	La Tène C	La Tène C	La Tène C
150					
100	Late La Tène period (La Tène D)		La Tène D	La Tène D	La Tène D
50					
15 B.C.					

spread is, generally speaking, to be linked with the movement of the Celts; but in Noricum, on the fringe of the Celtic world, with a strong non-Celtic population, there is undoubtedly a strong possibility that the technical achievements of the Celts were taken over by other peoples. Linguistic research also finds itself up against great difficulties. The geographical names are often extremely difficult to assign to a particular language. Names of deities can be identified more readily as being either Celtic or pre-Celtic, but there is also a chance that non-Celtic elements in the population worshipped a Celtic deity, and *vice versa*. The linguistic attribution of personal names is also fairly clear-cut in most cases,⁹ but in an ethnically-mixed area like Noricum one must always reckon with the possibility that non-Celts took over Celtic personal names. Hence prehistoric and linguistic studies in Noricum can only point to 'components' which indicate Veneti, Illyrians and Celts, but the exact distribution and classification of these peoples cannot yet be established (Fig. 1).

Veneti and Illyrians (see Fig. 1)

As far as the Veneti in Noricum are concerned, they are securely attested by inscriptions in Venetic script in the upper Gail valley. The first group of these is cut on the crags on the Würmlach, between the Plöcken Pass and the prehistoric settlement on the Gurina, on the ancient prehistoric trade-route between northern Italy and southern Noricum, and was discovered by Mommsen in 1857. Venetic personal names are mentioned here, and Etruscan and Celtic ones too: they should be interpreted as the names of travellers. The second group of Venetic inscriptions in Carinthia was found on the Gurina. It consists of bronze fittings from small wooden boxes, which contained dedicatory offerings to the gods. The deities concerned were portrayed on the bronze, and the inscriptions, using the punctuation system of the Etruscan alphabet, give the names of the gods and of the dedicators. All these inscriptions probably derive from the second century B.C. as perhaps also does the recently found Venetic inscription from Findenig-Thörl in the Carnic Alps (1,800 m).¹⁰ They are evidence not only for early trading-contacts with northern Italy, but also for Veneti having settled in the upper Gail valley;¹¹ the important prehistoric hill-fort on the Gurina, which dominated the road in all directions, was its main political, economic and cultural centre.¹²

Latin inscriptions from the early imperial period, in other parts of southwestern Noricum as well, point to Venetic elements in the native population, which here went on from the early Iron Age into the Roman imperial period without a break. In the upper Drau valley (at Lavant-Bichl near Aguntum), in

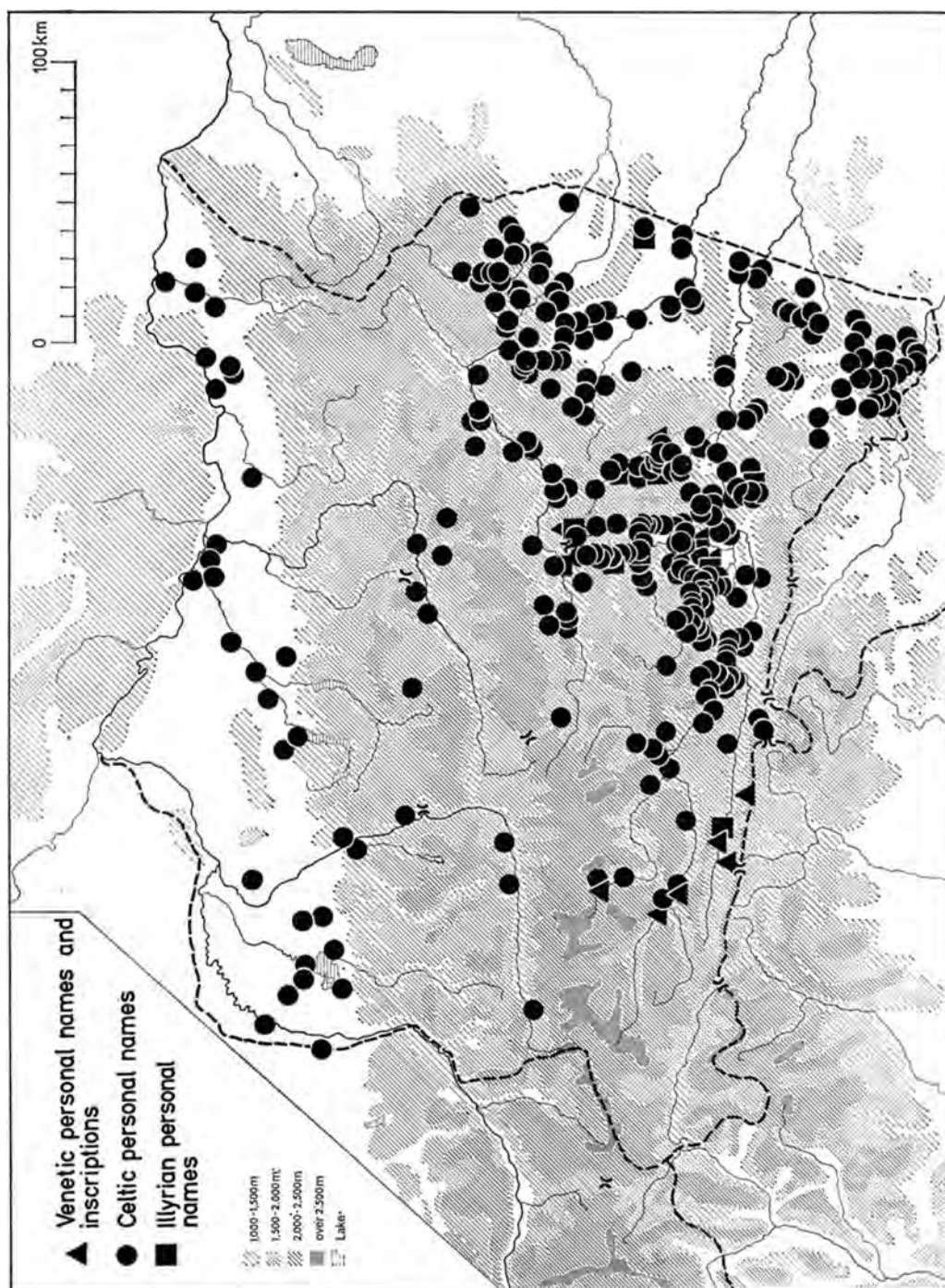


Figure 1 Distribution of native personal names in Noricum

the lower Isel valley and upper Möll valley, personal names are found which show a pronounced 'northern Adriatic' character and are completely different from the normal Celtic personal names in Noricum.¹³ Certainly their total is not large, and in any case some Celtic names are also found in this region (Fig. 1); however, the quantity of Roman inscriptions found in this region is in any case very meagre—the fact that they none the less provide evidence for a number of Venetic names at least speaks for strong Venetic traditions in native nomenclature going on into the imperial period. The names of tribes and places in this area and in the adjacent Pustertal, such as *Laianci*, *Aguntum*, *Saevates*, *Sebatum*, are at any rate not Celtic;¹⁴ the archaeological finds underline the continuing existence of an early Iron Age population. In the Pustertal, and to some extent east of here, the Melaun-Fritzen culture continued into the imperial period, as did the 'retarded' culture of East Tirol and Carinthia in the Gail valley and the upper Drau valley;¹⁵ completely isolated La Tène finds, such as on the Gurina or at Sonnenburg in the Pustertal,¹⁶ hardly prove a dense Celtic settlement. Thus one may—hypothetically—postulate an original Venetic population in the whole of south-western Noricum. The same people perhaps inhabited large parts of Carinthia east of the Gurina as well before the appearance of the Celts: the continuation of Hallstatt culture especially in southern Carinthia all through the La Tène period, and the sparse quantity of Venetic personal names in the Lavant valley and also in the upper Mur valley,¹⁷ may be evidence for descendants of these people, possibly squeezed into the fringes of Carinthia by Celtic pressure.

This Venetic population was closely related to the Veneti of north-eastern Italy; hence there is justification for applying to them the same name, *Carni*, as the people living south of the Carnic Alps.¹⁸ It is certain that this name once denoted more than a single tribe in the tenth *regio* of Italy. In south-western Pannonia, where the numerous personal names from Ig near Emona (Ljubljana) in particular demonstrate that there was a remarkably strong northern Adriatic component in the population,¹⁹ reference was still made to *Carni* in the second century A.D.,²⁰ and the later name for the Kranj area—*Carniola*—is clearly connected with this name,²¹ as indeed the name *Carnuntum* in north-western Pannonia may be.²² As far as Noricum is concerned, the name *Carinthia* (Kärnten) certainly goes back to the Carni, as does the name of *Mons Carantanus*, the Ulrichsberg near Virunum; and *Karnburg* at the foot of this mountain, which was called *Carantum* in the eighth century and took over the role of Virunum as a centre for central Carinthia in the early Middle Ages, likewise got its name, in the last analysis, from the Carni.²³

There is not such good evidence for the Illyrians in Noricum as is provided for Veneti by the Gail valley inscriptions. Of course one can only speak of

Veneti, Illyrians and Celts

'Illyrians' in the eastern Alpine lands in the broad sense of the word, as applied for instance to the Pannonii and Delmatae—but it is questionable whether or not it is legitimate to use the term even in this sense for most parts of Noricum. There is no evidence of any kind for the presence of Illyrians in south-western Noricum; and considering the apparently Venetic character of the population there is no need to look for them. Much more difficult is the question of the pre-Celtic population in the northern part of the country. There is absolutely no evidence for the view, to which most subscribe, that the Hallstatt people in the northern part of the zone beyond the Alps or at Hallstatt itself were Illyrians.²⁴ It would be more correct to avoid giving any specific name at all to the predecessors of the Celts in this region. It is only in southern and south-eastern Noricum that evidence can really be found for an 'Illyrian' element in the population. Especially in the distribution area of the East Norican culture, which maintained its Hallstatt character right up to the Roman imperial period,²⁵ we know a number of personal names which are Illyrian in the same sense as the names of the Pannonii and Delmatae.²⁶ The total number is none the less very limited, while the number of Celtic personal names here proves to be large. But that could be the result of long contacts between the original population and the Celts, for the fact that their early Iron Age material culture was not given up until the Roman period shows that they did not become completely celticised.

The geographical distribution of Illyrian personal names in Noricum allows important conclusions to be drawn (Fig. 1). The evidence from the Magdalensberg and Virunum may be disregarded: bearers of Illyrian names came to these places from other parts of Noricum or even from Italy or the Balkans as traders, soldiers or veterans. Otherwise, in the thickly settled and epigraphically very fertile country of central Carinthia there is evidence for neither Illyrian personal names nor indeed for Illyrian gods' names or place-names. Illyrian personal names are found above all on the fringes of the strongly celticised central Carinthian settlement area: there is one example in the upper Gail valley and one at Juenna, and more abundant instances in the northern fringe, between the Friesach region and the upper Mur, and further afield especially in the geographically isolated Lavant valley. Some geographical names, too, in these areas appear to be Illyrian.²⁷ In view of this distribution of personal names, one may suppose that the Celts drove the Illyrians out of the central, particularly fertile, country of Carinthia.

The correspondences between the Illyrian personal names in southern Noricum on the one hand, and among the Pannonian tribes and especially among the Delmatae on the other, are so marked that they raise a further historical question.²⁸ The original population of southern Noricum may have spoken the same

language as the Delmatae, and one may ask whether the Delmatae did not emigrate to their later home on the Adriatic precisely from Noricum. They arrived there, in the region of Salona and its adjacent hinterland, at about the turn of the third and second centuries B.C.,²⁹ and undoubtedly came from the north. The Celts occupied the central portion of Carinthia in the second half of the third century B.C. and it is possible that they completely expelled individual groups of Illyrians from the country, and that the later Delmatae were among them. However we should also bear in mind the possibility that a number of Illyrian families came to Noricum from Dalmatia during the imperial period. For example, the style of nomenclature of a married couple at Wiesenau in the Lavant valley has a pronounced 'Dalmatian' character: *Panes Lavi f.* and *Dasto Nepotis (f)*.³⁰ As Wiesenau was the centre of a gold-mining area, it is not impossible that the people involved were miners from Dalmatia, exactly like the miners in Dacia who came from the Illyrian lands.

Celts (see Fig. 1)

Among the native peoples of Noricum the Celts are the easiest to analyse.³¹ Evidence for them is supplied not only by the remains of their characteristic La Tène civilisation, but by more than 800 personal names, many of which are recorded frequently, by place-names, religious cults and, not least, by literary sources too. *Galli Transalpini* in the annalists used by Livy was, admittedly, a name that embraced non-Celtic peoples as well, but it only had meaning when applied to Celts.³² The Celts did not occupy Noricum in one fell swoop; their migration came in several waves and from various directions.

Prehistorians have established that the original home of the Celts lay in eastern France and south-western Germany. Their emigration from this area began c. 400 B.C. The first Celtic immigrants were reaching north-western Noricum via Raetia at just this time: the earliest La Tène finds—for example on the Dürrenberg near Hallein—belong to the beginning of the La Tène B period.³³ They had already pushed on eastwards into the Danube valley in the first half of the fourth century B.C., so that by c. 350 they were occupying not only eastern Bavaria and the northern part of the province of Salzburg, but Upper and Lower Austria as well. Not long afterwards they reached the upper Salzach valley too, but did not cross the northern ridge of the Alps.

The Celtic settlement in northern Noricum proved to be permanent and was not affected by any major movements of peoples until the Roman imperial period. The La Tène culture gradually absorbed the earliest Iron Age traditions, and the pre-Celtic population slowly became celticised. Celtic finds are

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concentrated especially in the Salzburg area and round the Dürrenberg in the middle Salzach valley, as well as in eastern Bavaria and on the Tullner Feld in Lower Austria. However, they are not lacking in other areas, such as the upper Salzach valley, on the lower Salzach north of Salzburg, in the Inn valley, on the Danube between Passau and the Tullner Feld, besides the interior of Upper Austria as far as Hallstatt.³⁴ The Celts had a number of *oppida* in north-western Noricum, which were the centres of military and political power and of the economy: Saalfelden-Biberg in the upper Salzach valley, Karlstein near Bad Reichenhall, the Dürrenberg near Hallein, where—as also at Hallstatt—they continued the prehistoric salt-working, the Rainberg at Salzburg, Burghausen on the Salzach, the Kürnberg and the Freinberg at Linz, and the Gründberg near Linz on the north side of the Danube, the Georgenberg near Micheldorf, and Schwarzwöhr and Passau on the west side of the lower Inn.³⁵ A great number of place-names in northern Noricum are certainly Celtic, for example Boiodurum (Passau-Innstadt), Stanacum (probably Oberranna), Joviacum (Schlögen), Lauriacum (Enns-Lorch), Artobriga (between Salzburg and the Chiemsee), Juvavum (Salzburg), Laciacum (between Salzburg and Wels), Ovilava (Wels), Tutatio (near Micheldorf—the name is connected with that of the Celtic god Toutates), Gabromagus (Windischgarsten), and so on. In the Roman imperial period Celtic personal names are found in northern Noricum in all areas where the epigraphic material is abundant, principally in the Chiemgau, the Salzach and Traun valleys, and the Cetium area. Celtic gods' names are also attested; these include, as well as the patron goddess Noreia, Jupiter Arubianus, Apollo Grannus, Sirona, the Alounae and Bedaius on the Chiemsee, as well as Marmogius at Perwarth west of Cetium,³⁶ and at Moos near Linz a representation of the Celtic wheel-god identified with Jupiter is preserved on a dedication by *Ti. Claudius Soni fil. Provincialis*.³⁷

The Celts first reached southern Noricum at a late date: north-eastern Slovenia in the course of the third century B.C., Carinthia in the second half of the third century, and Lower Styria later still probably shortly after 200 B.C.³⁸ The archaeological finds in these areas indicate dense Celtic settlement. In the north-eastern part of Slovenia the Celtic settlements of Slovenjgradec and Poštela near Maribor, as well as the La Tène cemetery at Drešinja Vas near Celeia, must be singled out for mention.³⁹ In Carinthia the importance of the Celtic settlement has been correctly recognised and proved only in the last few decades: there can be no talk of a predominance of the 'retarded' East Tirol–Carinthian culture in the last two centuries B.C., at least in central Carinthia. The number of La Tène finds in Carinthia of the middle and late La Tène periods is considerable. They are concentrated in the lower Gail valley, the Villach area, the Glan valley, as

well as on both sides of the Drau east of Klagenfurt. The major discoveries are the Celtic *oppida* on the Magdalensberg and near Feistritz in the Drau valley,⁴⁰ besides the La Tène burial-grounds at Fölk in the lower Gail valley, St Andrä near Villach, Feldkirchen and Klagenfurt-Untergoritschitzten.⁴¹ In Styria the Celtic settlement is confined to the Mur valley only, south of Bruck an der Mur. The major find-spot here is the Celtic cemetery at Frohnleiten south of Bruck, which is so far the most northerly point in the Mur valley where the La Tène culture has been found. The hill-forts to the west and east of the river-valley, such as the Frauenberg near Solva or the Ringkogel near Hartberg remained, by contrast, centres of the East Norican culture up till the beginning of the Roman imperial period.⁴²

The importance of the role of the Celts in these areas can be seen particularly clearly from the traces they left behind, of which the onomastic material from the Roman imperial period is some of the most important. Most of the place-names in southern and south-eastern Noricum are Celtic, such as the names of the major settlements like Virunum, Teurnia, Solva and Celeia, and many others besides, for example Santicum (Villach), Tasinemetum (between Villach and Virunum), Matucaium (near Treibach, north of Virunum), Juenna (Globasnitz), Upellae (between Slovenjgradec and Celeia), and so on.⁴³ Celtic personal names appear everywhere in remarkably large numbers (Fig. 1): mainly in the Villach area, the Glan valley and in the eastern Carinthian Drau valley, but also on the fringes of this Carinthian settlement area, round Teurnia, along the 'Noric main highway' north of the Glan valley, in the Görttschitz and Lavant valleys, besides the Mur valley and everywhere in north-eastern Styria and north-eastern Slovenia.⁴⁴ A number of Celtic gods' names are also attested. Some Celtic deities were widely worshipped, for example Noreia, recorded in Lower Styria and north-eastern Slovenia too, as well as in Carinthia; Mars Latobius on the Magdalensberg, in the Lavant valley and at Solva; others appear only seldom, such as the mountain-gods identified with Jupiter; many are known from one find-spot only, for example Casuontanus, Dis Smertrius, Jovenat, the Vibes and Vocretanus in Carinthia, Sinatis (?), Toutates and Mogetius at Solva or Sedatus at Celeia.⁴⁵ Then there are the Celtic coinage and Celtic works of art, possibly including the stone basin with three heads from the Magdalensberg⁴⁶—there can be no doubt that the Celts achieved predominance in the political, economic and cultural sphere shortly after their arrival in southern and south-eastern Noricum.

Where the Celts who occupied southern and south-eastern Noricum came from is a debatable question. Prehistorians are agreed only in concluding that these Celts must have become separated from their kinsmen in northern Noricum, and that they did not emigrate south from the northern part of the zone

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beyond the Alps, which was already celticised in the early La Tène period. The onomastic material supports this conclusion. Although in general Celtic styles of nomenclature follow a fairly uniform pattern, there are considerable differences between the practice in northern and southern Noricum. A number of Celtic names, which are very widespread in southern Noricum, especially in Carinthia, Lower Styria and north-eastern Slovenia, are totally, or almost totally, unrepresented in the north;⁴⁷ the same applies to the name-stems and formations used in the south.⁴⁸ The majority of the Celtic names attested in the north either have no parallels at all in the south or diverge from the southern versions by sound-shifting, duplication of consonants or in their formation.⁴⁹ These differences presumably derive from the fact that different Celtic dialects were spoken in north and south, and this may provide evidence for a different origin of these two groups of Celtic peoples.

A number of scholars used to maintain that the southern Norican Celts emigrated from northern Italy in the second half of the third century B.C., after the Romans had defeated the Celts of that region on several occasions.⁵⁰ As yet there is no archaeological evidence for such an emigration. The fact that the Norican Celts attempted to gain a foothold in northern Italy in 186 B.C. does not prove that they were trying to reconquer their old home there; since at that time Rome knew hardly any details about these Norican Celts, their identification as descendants of the northern Italian Boii whom the Romans had defeated a generation earlier is difficult. The more recent view is that the southern Norican Celts came from Pannonia or the Balkans, perhaps in several different waves;⁵¹ the historical background of the third century B.C. in Asia Minor and the Balkans could in fact have resulted in bands of Celts being driven out of those areas and pushing into Noricum. There were undoubtedly numerous groups of Celts at that time who tried in vain to gain a foothold in south-eastern Europe and were driven out, including among others the Scordisci, who occupied their later home in the Belgrade area at that time.⁵² Other such groups may have reached the eastern Alps, coming along the valleys of the Save and Drau.

The Celtic migrations resulted in the pronounced celticisation of large parts of Noricum. Principally in the northern part of the zone beyond the Alps, central Carinthia, the Mur valley round Graz and north-eastern Slovenia, the earlier population was either expelled or assimilated. This can be seen from the material remains of the last century B.C. and from the onomastic sources of the Roman imperial period. In other parts of Noricum celticisation was not so intensive. By far the greater part of the native personal names in the imperial period were Celtic indeed, even in districts where material remains of the La Tène period are completely or almost completely lacking.⁵³ By contrast, in many areas, especi-

ally in the out of the way river-valleys, the material culture of the earlier part of the Iron Age continued into the Roman imperial period; for example in the upper Drau and upper Gail valleys, besides the upper Mur valley and eastern Styria, where—as at Katsch or Gleisdorf—remains of the East Norican culture are found in association with early imperial pottery; another similar area was the upper Görtschitz valley where the St Margarethen am Silberberg hill-fort remained a centre of East Norican culture up to the end of the La Tène period.⁵⁴ The earlier Iron Age funerary custom of cremating the dead and placing the ashes in urns continued everywhere during the La Tène period and was very widespread under the early empire, whereas the number of recorded Celtic interments is meagre.⁵⁵

The varied distribution of Celtic finds and Celtic personal names can scarcely be explained in the first instance as a reflection of different phases of Celtic settlement, namely the middle and late La Tène periods, or in the imperial period: there were no major movements of peoples into Noricum from the second century B.C. onwards. The difference lies principally in the fact that the pre-Celtic peoples took over the intellectual culture of the Celts to a greater extent than their material civilisation. This is revealed by the religious cults as well: apart from the god Atrons, whose name is at the same time a place-name, there is not a single native deity in Noricum whose name is definitely of pre-Celtic origin.⁵⁶ In the light of the predominance of Celtic personal names, place-names and gods' names in Noricum in the early imperial period, one may suppose that at the time of the Roman conquest most of the native inhabitants spoke Celtic and that the pre-Celtic languages had mostly lapsed. In reality, one can hardly say that there were 'Celts', 'Veneti' and 'Illyrians' any longer in Noricum at this time—rather, a mixed people had already come into existence in most parts of the country in the La Tène period, whose intellectual culture showed a mainly Celtic character,⁵⁷ not least for the reason that the Celts had gained the leading political role soon after their immigration.

Taurisci and Norici

Even the ancient authors made no distinction between Celts and non-Celts in Noricum. The two terms used from the mid-second century onwards to denote the population of Noricum referred to an ethnically heterogeneous people that had none the less become ethnographically uniform—these are the terms *Taurisci* and *Norici*. Their meaning was for a long time a matter of debate, for the ancient authors seem to have used them in a mutually contradictory fashion. Polybius, who also knew of Taurisci in the western Alps, mentions 'Norican

TABLE 2 *The changes in use of the terms Taurisci and Norici*

<i>Period</i>	WESTERN NORICUM	SOUTHERN NORICUM (Carinthia, Upper Styria, East Tirol, Pustertal)	EASTERN NORICUM (Lower Austria, north-eastern Slovenia)	NORTH-WESTERN PANNONIA	SOUTH-WESTERN PANNONIA
before 150 B.C.	(Taurisci)	(Taurisci, including, in central Carinthia, Norici)	(Taurisci)	(Taurisci)	(Taurisci)
150-100 B.C.	(Taurisci)	(Taurisci = Norici, 'Norican Taurisci')	(Taurisci)	Taurisci	Taurisci
100-40 B.C.	(Norici)	Norici	Taurisci	Boii and Taurisci	Taurisci
c. 15 B.C.	Norici	Norici	Taurisci, as part of the Norici	Boii under Norican rule	Taurisci
after Augustus	<i>quondam Taurisci appellati, nunc Norici</i>			Boii	<i>civitates of the Latobici, Varciani, etc.</i>

Taurisci' in southern Noricum; Strabo regarded the 'Taurisci' as a branch of the 'Norici'; and the elder Pliny thought that 'Taurisci' was an earlier name for the 'Norici'.⁵⁸ Earlier modern scholars tried to resolve the disparity by arguing that there were two names for one and the same people;⁵⁹ or that the Norici were Illyrian and the Taurisci Celtic;⁶⁰ or that they were neighbouring peoples, and the Taurisci had their home either west or south-east of the Norici.⁶¹

Today the question can be regarded, in general terms, as solved.⁶² The name 'Taurisci' originally designated a people spread widely over the east Alpine lands: the name was apparently formed from the Tauern and is almost certainly Celtic.⁶³ The name is attested for the population of southern and eastern Noricum and north-western and south-western Pannonia, where in all cases it designated the mixed population celticised from the third century B.C. onwards;⁶⁴ but it was gradually pushed out, since from the second century onwards reference is made ever more frequently to Norici. The name 'Norici' referred originally only to a single tribe in central Carinthia—which maintained its existence, as a *civitas peregrina*, until the beginning of the Roman imperial period, as we know from the Magdalensberg *civitas*-inscriptions and from Ptolemy.⁶⁵ The name, formed from that of the goddess Noreia or from the place-name Noreia, is probably just as Celtic as that of the Taurisci; the attempt to put it back into the period before the Celtic immigration has not been successful.⁶⁶ The rulers of this tribe gradually united the whole of Noricum into a tribal federation in the course of the second and first centuries B.C. As a result, the name 'Norici' gradually extended over the whole country and supplanted the name 'Taurisci': the other southern Norican tribes were also labelled as 'Norici' by the mid-second century B.C.; before the Roman conquest this had happened to the inhabitants of north-western Noricum as well, and to the people of eastern Noricum too after c. 60 B.C.⁶⁷ From the Roman conquest onwards, therefore, the name 'Taurisci' disappeared from current usage all over Noricum, as it did in Pannonia too, where it was replaced by the names of individual *civitates*.⁶⁸ Polybius, Strabo and Pliny the elder, who associated the two terms, were taking different phases of the situation into consideration: Polybius noted the 'Norican Taurisci' around the mid-second century B.C. in southern Noricum, because the Taurisci in that region had already recognised the authority of the Norican king; Strabo, for the year 15 B.C., records Taurisci only in eastern Noricum, and according to him they formed part of the Norici—hence at that time Taurisci were only mentioned in the part of Noricum over which the Norican king had but recently acquired control; and later on Pliny, a scholar well-informed in history and ethnography, also knew that the Norici, in his day the entire population of the province of Noricum, had once been called 'Taurisci'.

Chapter 3

The rise of the *regnum Noricum*

Rome and the east Alpine lands

Soon after the Celts settled in central Carinthia in the second half of the third century B.C., a strong, centralised political power grew up here. Its strength was based on the precious iron, which was mined mainly in northern Carinthia, and on the military superiority of the Celtic Norici over the groups of the original population still living there. From this time onwards the chief of the Norici ruled central Carinthia. Unfortunately the details of the development of this state, which was soon regarded as a kingdom, remain unknown. The light of history was first cast on the country from the beginning of the second century onwards, when it entered the perimeter of Roman politics.

The conditions which brought about direct contacts between Rome and Noricum were created by the expansion of Roman power over northern Italy immediately beforehand. After the battle of Telamon (in 225 B.C.), the great Gallic defeat at Clastidium and the storming of the Celtic *oppidum* of Mediolanum (Milan, 222 B.C.), the power of the northern Italian Boii and Insubres collapsed. Hannibal's attack on Italy, when many Celtic tribes in the Po valley deserted Rome, interrupted the Roman expansion here, and it was only the further expeditions against the Insubres and Boii, beginning in 197 B.C., which led to the final establishment of Roman power in northern Italy; it soon became firmly entrenched with the foundation of new colonies such as Bononia (Bologna, 189 B.C.), Parma and Mutina (Modena, 183 B.C.) and, above all, Aquileia (183–181 B.C.). In the final phase of this military and political expansion by Rome in the Po valley, the first contacts between the Roman state and the Norican kingdom

came about; we learn from Livy of their development in the years 186–169 B.C.¹

In 186 a band of Galli Transalpini appeared in the region of the later colony of Aquileia, and, without plundering the country, began building an *oppidum*. Roman diplomacy interpreted this act as interference in the Roman sphere of interest and at once intervened. An embassy was immediately sent to the country north of the southern ridge of the Alps. There the envoys learned that the band of Celts had not emigrated from those parts as the result of the *auctoritas gentis*, and that it had not been known there what they were doing in Italy.² No concrete measures were taken against these Celts at first, for during the years 186–184 B.C. the attention of Roman politics was focused above all on Liguria.³ It was in 183 B.C. that the decision was first taken at Rome to regulate the situation in north-eastern Italy, the Celts having in the meanwhile begun to plunder the country;⁴ for the consul M. Claudius Marcellus had already begun to prepare an expedition against the Istrians⁵ and needed to restore order along his line of march. The praetor L. Julius (Caesar?), who received the *provincia Gallia* as his sphere of duty this year, was told to prevent the construction of the *oppidum* if possible by diplomatic means, or to inform the two consuls, who had been sent to the army in Liguria, if a military expedition should seem necessary.⁶ Diplomatic measures, if tried at all, brought no results, and Claudius Marcellus thereupon ordered the proconsul L. Porcius Licinus to move against the *oppidum* (which had probably by now been completed) with his legions, while he himself followed. Although they apparently numbered 12,000 warriors, the Celts submitted to the consul; they were disarmed and obliged to hand over not only their booty but their own possessions also.⁷ Their *oppidum* was destroyed.⁸

This event resulted in a lively diplomatic activity. After the imposition of these terms the Celts sent a deputation to Rome, complaining to the senate about the consul's measures. The envoys maintained that they had left their home on the far side of the Alps because of the pressures of overpopulation and lack of fertile soil. In Italy they had settled in an unpopulated area and did not want to use force against anyone; they had chosen peace voluntarily and had submitted to the consul, but had been under the impression that they had thereby entered into an alliance, rather than acquired the status of a conquered people; therefore the senate should not treat them as enemies.⁹ The senate reacted with cunning. The Celts had, to be sure, done wrong by coming to Italy without asking the Roman authorities, and by building fortifications there. But as they had submitted peacefully, they could have their possessions returned to them on condition that they returned home. Rome also sent an embassy with them to the country beyond the Alps, consisting of the senators L. Furius Purpurio, Q. Minucius Rufus and L. Manlius Acidinus. They had the task of explaining the

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express Roman wish that the Transalpine peoples should not cross the frontier of the Alps any more. The Roman embassy had a friendly reception;¹⁰ peace between Rome and the east Alpine lands was thus secured, and Claudius Marcellus was able to begin his expedition against the Istrians. At the same time, the foundation of the colony of Aquileia was decided upon, to strengthen Roman power in Venetia and Roman influence in the adjacent areas; the foundation of the colony was completed in 181.¹¹

In the years that followed nothing disturbed the good relations between Rome and the east Alpine lands. In 182 B.C., to be sure, there was a rumour that a Gallic band wanted to invade Italy, and 3,000 Gauls did in fact cross the Alps in 179. It is, however, certain that they did not come from the east Alpine lands but from France, and that they disturbed north-western Italy.¹² The relations between the Roman state and the Norican kingdom were excellent: in 178 B.C. a Celtic contingent about 3,000 strong fought side by side with the Romans against the Istrians. The contingent was commanded by one Catmelus, who represented the *regulus* of the east Alpine lands.¹³

There was brisk diplomatic activity between Rome and the *regnum Noricum* again in 170. In 171 Gallia had been assigned to the consul L. Cassius Longinus as his sphere of duty. However, he did not concern himself with his *provincia*, but moved through Istria and Illyricum against Macedonia, in order to participate in the third Macedonian War, although Macedonia had been assigned to his consular colleague P. Licinius Crassus as his *provincia*. When the senate learned of the ambitious consul's wayward action, it sent him orders to return immediately.¹⁴ During his march back, Cassius' troops plundered the lands of the Iapodes, Istri and Carni. Deputations from these peoples appeared at Rome in the following year to complain to the senate. But at the same time there came a deputation from the Transalpine Gallic king Cincibilis, led by the king's brother, with the reproach that the lands of the king's *socii* had also been plundered and that many of the inhabitants had been carried off into slavery.¹⁵ The people referred to here were probably Tauriscan groups in the Suha Krajina (Unterkrain) on the Save, north of the Iapodes;¹⁶ at any rate, it was not a matter of peoples north of the Carnic Alps and Karawanken, as the latter are called *Transalpini* in Livy, while he described the *socii* of Cincibilis as *Alpini populi*.¹⁷ The senate dissociated itself from Cassius' action, promised to investigate what had happened, and even, if warranted, to punish Cassius. The Roman wish to maintain good relations with the east Alpine lands was made clear by the fact that Rome sent envoys of its own to conduct this embassy back to the east Alpine lands. Once again Roman envoys set off, one each to the Carni, Istri and Iapodes, as well as two respected senators, the consulars C. Laelius and M.

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Aemilius Lepidus, to Cincibilis. They brought with them gifts for the king, his brother, and the Norican nobles, and granted his request to buy horses in Italy.¹⁸

These good relations remained undisturbed in the following years as well. In 169 B.C. an embassy of the *regulus Gallorum* Balanos appeared at Rome offering military assistance for the third Macedonian War—apparently a contingent of the same kind as the Norican king had already provided in 178. The senate expressed its thanks to Balanos by gifts, although apparently not taking up the offer of assistance.¹⁹

The early regnum Noricum

There can be no doubt that the ‘Gauls’ mentioned under the years 186, 183, 178, 170 and 169 B.C. were one and the same as the people in the southern part of the later province of Noricum—and everything that we learn about them from Livy suggests that this people had begun to form a state. In Livy’s terminology the Gallic emigrants of 186 B.C. did not leave their home *ex auctoritate gentis*, but *gentis iniussu*.²⁰ Some kind of central authority is meant here, deriving from a single tribe, doubtless the Norici in central Carinthia, which, however, claimed a certain influence over the neighbouring *Gallici populi* or *Transalpini populi* too.²¹ But apparently there was not yet a strong confederation of several tribes. The looseness of the links between the individual tribes is revealed by the fact that a group could undertake a migration completely of its own accord, without the leading *gens* being aware of what this band of warriors 12,000 strong had decided, or what they were doing in Italy. One can at most postulate that the tribal chieftain of the Norici had acquired a firm position as ‘king’ of his own people in central Carinthia—and that he aspired to gain authority over the neighbouring tribes as well. The fact that Livy, when dealing with the years 186–183 B.C. does not yet speak of any ‘king’, does not prove that the Norican tribal chief’s position was at that time still markedly inferior to what it was to become some years later: the *seniores* with whom the Romans negotiated in 183 B.C. were probably the Norican king and the leading nobles of his tribe, whom Livy also describes as *comites*.²²

Shortly after this we do hear of kings. In 178 B.C. Catmelus was leading an allied contingent in the capacity of representative of a *regulus*. Catmelus himself was apparently a leading noble, perhaps a brother of the king and possibly none other than the brother of King Cincibilis. Cincibilis was king in Noricum in 170 B.C. and the mission he sent to Rome was led by his brother, whose name is not given by Livy, but who could be identical with Catmelus. The latter had acquired personal links with Roman senators in the Istrian war and was particularly well-

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suitied to negotiate with the senate. The description of Cincibilis' and his brother's rank tells us how the annalists of the time viewed the position of these leading personalities from beyond the Alps. Cincibilis is called *rex Gallorum*, but also *regulus Gallorum* or *regulus trans Alpes*, and the place occupied by his brother was not markedly lower: the two are described as *duo fratres reguli*.²³ That means that Cincibilis and his family were already seen at Rome as a royal house—the variation of titulature between *rex* and *regulus* suggests, however, that the ruler's position was not yet regarded as one of firm authority over a major political structure. Balanos, apparently the immediate successor of Cincibilis and probably his son, was likewise described as *regulus* in 169 B.C.²⁴ But the embassy sent by Cincibilis to Rome in 170 B.C. shows how the Norican king's influence was gradually increasing and how he was able to exploit his role as the leading authority in the east Alpine lands. Through his envoys the king acted as spokesman for his *socii*, presumably in the Suha Krajina, without regard for the fact that Cincibilis' own country had not been directly affected at all by the action of Cassius Longinus. At the same time his *socii* respected him at least as their leader in a common foreign policy. The Norican royal house knew how to make use of its good relations with the Roman state in order to strengthen its own power in the east Alpine lands nor was this unwelcome to Rome.

As far as relations between Rome and the southern Norican kingdom are concerned, the first contacts were established by the Roman embassy of 186. Before this no connections whatever had existed. Livy emphasises that the route taken by the Transalpine Gauls in their invasion of northern Italy at that time (the valley of the Tagliamento or perhaps the road across the Birnbaumer Wald) had been completely unknown to the Romans up to this moment.²⁵ No details were known about these Celts, not even their exact name. Livy, following his sources, speaks only of *Galli*, *Galli Transalpini*, *Gallici populi*, *Transalpini populi*;²⁶ the country is called either *Gallia* or simply the land *trans Alpes*.²⁷ Indeed, even for the year 169, Livy notes that he found nothing in his sources about the name of the Gallic people whose king Balanos was;²⁸ one hears from him of neither Taurisci nor Norici, although these names were undoubtedly in use at that time in the east Alpine lands. Trading relations too first developed after 170 B.C., for in that year Cincibilis still had to ask for explicit permission to buy horses in Italy.

After the establishment of diplomatic contacts, political relations between Rome and the *regnum Noricum* developed in a thoroughly amicable fashion. From the beginning Rome followed a consistent policy towards the kingdom, with two clear goals. On the one hand she insisted that northern Italy was her sphere of interest and that the Norican Celts must have no ambitions there—her

ambassadors emphasised in 183 B.C. that the Alps must be respected once and for all as an impassable frontier set there by nature.²⁹ On the other hand, however, Roman policy was determined to ensure the friendship of the Norican kingdom by all the means at its disposal: she needed a friendly neighbour in the eastern Alps, to secure her rear while carrying out a policy of expansion in Istria and Liguria. This desire for good relations corresponded exactly with the interests of the *regnum Noricum*. Again and again embassies went from Rome to Noricum, or *vice versa*, 'and each side outbid the other in the exchange of courtesies and gifts'.³⁰ Rome put an end to unauthorised military actions by her generals. In 183 the Celts who had invaded Italy were treated so mildly as to excite amazement in Noricum.³¹ The three envoys sent to Noricum at that time were distinguished senators, who understood how to gain the sympathies of the Norican *seniores* by Roman *indulgentia*, for they already had experience of how to deal with Celtic peoples.³² In 170 the senate sharply condemned Cassius Longinus' encroachments; once more a distinguished senatorial embassy with appropriate diplomatic abilities repaired to the Norican king.³³ The ruler of Noricum was overwhelmed with gifts; perhaps from this time onwards each new Norican king received a standard set of presents from Rome on his accession—golden torques, splendid dishes, a horse with rich trappings, cavalry weapons.³⁴ The Norican kings likewise sent embassies to Rome³⁵ and offered military assistance of their own accord.

There was, however, no formal treaty between Rome and the *regnum* either in these years or at any time in the course of the second century B.C. Even in 183 B.C. when the Celts who had invaded Venetia expressed a preference for being Rome's allies rather than her enemies,³⁶ this no more led to a formal treaty than did the later embassies. And in 113 B.C. during the Cimbric war, no alliance between the two states came into being, only a relationship of 'mutual hospitality'—which did not presuppose a special treaty and only meant that the two partners had friendly relations, without having entered into commitments laid down by treaty.³⁷ Such commitments would not have been necessitated either by trading links or by military affairs. The trading links only began after 170 B.C., and throughout the entire republican period the situation never reached the stage of the Romans supplying military aid, with the exception of Cn. Papirius Carbo's unauthorised action in 113. Neither in 102, when the Tigurini occupied south-western Noricum, nor in 60, when the Boii laid siege to Noreia, did Rome make a move.

Close trading relations first developed from the mid-second century B.C. onwards. The earliest Roman coins found on the Magdalensberg are issues of the period 172–151; they could have come into the country after 150 B.C. at the

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earliest.³⁸ At about this time the first Roman pioneers appeared in Noricum: gold-hunters and traders. The occasion for this was the discovery of rich gold deposits in southern Noricum, the exploitation of which led to friction between Roman adventurers and the country's rulers.³⁹ Strabo gives a detailed account, drawing from Polybius:⁴⁰

Polybius further says that in his own time there was found, about opposite Aquileia, in the country of the Norican Taurisci, a gold-mine so well-suited for mining that, if one scraped away the topsoil for a depth of only two feet, one at once found dug-gold, and that the diggings were never deeper than fifteen feet; and he goes on to say that part of the gold is immediately pure, in sizes of a bean or a lupine, when only the eighth part is boiled away, and that although the rest needs more smelting, the smelting is very profitable; and two months after the Italiots joined them in working the mine, the price of gold suddenly became a third less throughout the whole of Italy, but when the Taurisci learned this they cast out their fellow workers and carried on a monopoly.

Gold in large quantities was found within the area of Noricum only in upper Carinthia, in the Teurnia region south of the Hohe Tauern, and the gold-workings described by Polybius must be sought somewhere here.⁴¹ The Italian gold-seekers probably came here via the old route leading over the Plöcken Pass and past the Gurina towards the north.

The expulsion of the gold-miners scarcely resulted in any deterioration in relations between Rome and the *regnum Noricum*. The Roman state accepted the monopoly in gold-mining established by the country's rulers, and peaceful trade was not particularly disturbed by this episode. The expedition of C. Sempronius Tuditanus to the east Alpine lands in 129 B.C., which has been seen as a Roman reaction to the gold affair,⁴² had nothing to do with the *regnum*. The expedition was directed in the first instance against the Iapodes and Liburni in north-western Dalmatia. The Carni whom Tuditanus also defeated were a group of this people in northern Istria, and the Taurisci against whom his troops fought were not Norican Taurisci but a Tauriscan group in what was later south-western Pannonia, in the Nauportus area. The general wanted to protect his rear in these parts, and possibly also to ensure the security of Roman trading interests on the road from Mt Okra into the upper Save valley: Oberkrain was an area of which the inhabitants seemingly never recognised the authority of the Norican king, and, likewise, did not follow his pro-Roman policy.⁴³

As Polybius' account shows, Norican power had already extended, at latest by the mid-second century B.C., in the direction of south-western Noricum as well.

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If the inhabitants of upper Carinthia were already called 'Norican' Taurisci in Polybius' day, this means that the authority of the Norici reached the Taurisci there—or, more precisely, the individual tribe of the Ambidravi, who lived in the Teurnia area.⁴⁴ The Laianci and Saevates of eastern and southern Tirol may have followed them not long afterwards: by the end of the second century B.C. at the latest their territory was also regarded as Norican.⁴⁵ Thus, by now, if not before, the whole of southern Noricum from the Pustertal to eastern Carinthia may already have recognised the overlordship of the Norican king. In the meanwhile the extension of Norican power into central Noricum and some parts of eastern Noricum had already commenced, at an early stage. The Celts who settled in the Mur valley round Graz in the first decades of the second century B.C. were perhaps the Celtic band which had been forced back into Noricum from Venetia by the Romans in 183; they probably had to recognise the Norican king as their overlord at that time—but that remains a hypothesis. Norican influence was exerted on the region south of Celeia on the Save, where the *socii* of the Norican king probably lived—they were plundered in 171 B.C. At any rate, the Norican king already had *socii* in the south-east in 170.⁴⁶ The Roman state did not hinder this development, indeed it doubtless took a kindly view of it, although not intervening actively.⁴⁷ The sole Roman intervention in Noricum before the annexation in 15 B.C. came about during the Cimbric invasion in 113.

The Cimbric invasion and Noricum

The Cimbri appeared in south-eastern Europe c. 120 B.C. after leaving their own country (probably Jutland) and attempting first of all to settle in the territory of the Boii. When their attacks on the Balkans had been repulsed, they moved west in 113 through the country of the Scordisci, and entered the land of the Taurisci and Norici.⁴⁸ Appian gives a detailed account, in chapter 13 of his *Celtica*, of the events that were played out in Noricum (although he mistakenly speaks of Teutones instead of Cimbri):

A large band of Teutones attacked the land of the Norici and pillaged it. Then the Roman consul Papirius Carbo feared that they might invade Italy as well and occupied the Alps at the point where the crossing is narrowest. But when they did not attack, he himself set off against them, denouncing them for attacking the Norici, who were on terms of 'mutual hospitality' with the Romans. (The Romans gave this status to those to whom they guaranteed their friendship without there being necessity of their providing assistance as friends.)

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As Carbo approached the Teutones, they sent an embassy to him: they had been unaware, it was explained, that Rome had this relationship of 'mutual hospitality' with the Noricans and would in future keep clear of them. Carbo praised the ambassadors and provided them with guides, who were however secretly instructed to lead them round by a long detour. He himself hurried ahead by the shorter route and fell on the Teutones unexpectedly while they were resting—but he paid a penalty for his faithlessness, for he lost many men. He would soon have lost all his soldiers if dust, thunder, rain and a heavy storm, which occurred during the battle, had not cut them off from the enemy and brought an end to the struggle because of the terror from above. In spite of this, the Romans were scattered, fled into the forests and had scarcely joined up with one another again on the third day afterwards. And the Teutones moved on to the Gauls.

Only Strabo provides any significant addition to this account: according to him Carbo's defeat took place not far from the town of Noreia.⁴⁹

It was doubtless in Rome's interests for Carbo to concentrate his forces in an Alpine pass: Rome was nervous at the time that there might be a threat to Italy.⁵⁰ By contrast the consul's thrust into Norican territory was his own unauthorised action. It has been supposed quite unjustifiably that he hurried to the assistance of the Noricans in accordance with a treaty of alliance: Appian clearly emphasises that the 'mutual hospitality' between Rome and Noricum did not oblige the Romans to provide any military assistance. Carbo's claim that he wanted to defend the Noricans because they were on terms of 'mutual hospitality' with Rome had been only a pretext for this ambitious senator to gain an easy victory: he was perhaps provoked to emulation by the military successes of his consular colleague C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius, who had been given a three-year mandate in Macedonia to wage war against the Thracians.⁵¹ He was later called to account at Rome and the trial ended with his suicide;⁵² charges were brought against him not because of his breach of faith with the Cimbri—the Romans were not, after all, so generous towards these barbarians—nor because of his defeat, but because he had undertaken the venture without the authority of the senate, like L. Cassius Longinus six decades earlier.

The problem of locating the battlefield has exercised scholars—and amateurs—no less, for example, than that of finding the site of Varus' defeat in A.D. 9. The various attempted solutions mostly depend on where Noreia is thought to have been situated.⁵³ Apart from the fact that the site of Noreia is itself very debatable, we do not really have any reason for looking for the battlefield in its immediate vicinity. Strabo only says that the battle took place near this town

(περὶ ἧν). But by this he means no more than that the battle was joined somewhere in the mountain country north of Aquileia and north of the southern ridge of the Alps: according to him the Norican gold-fields also lay in the area (τόπος) of Noreia, while elsewhere he says that they were in the area of (or opposite) Aquileia (κατ' Ἀκυλῆϊαν).⁵⁴ These locations are given in a quite generalised way, and this is understandable because Strabo only knew the name of one place in Noricum, and all he knew about the place was that the best way for the Romans to reach it was from Aquileia. If in the present work it is argued that Noreia is identical with the Magdalensberg, it does not therefore follow that the battle with the Cimbri took place, say, on the Zollfeld; 'near Noreia' in Strabo's sense could mean anywhere he pleased in the whole of Carinthia. Strategic considerations provide no further assistance either: the ambitious Carbo does not seem to have bothered particularly about strategic conditions, for he was reckoning on an easy victory, and as far as the question of supplies, for example, was concerned, he was no doubt counting on the assistance of the Noricans.⁵⁵

One could perhaps work on the basis that the Cimbri were probably moving west via the valley of the Drau and wanted to drive on through Carinthia. That they attacked the Noricans, as Carbo claimed, should most probably be understood in the sense that they thrust into the heartland of the Noricans in Carinthia. In that case the consul and his army were probably lying in wait on the Saifnitzer Sattel, and may have received the Cimbric envoys here. The Cimbric forces will have been lying up in the meantime somewhere on the river Drau in central Carinthia, probably in the Villach area. Carbo perhaps despatched the Cimbric envoys, who were completely ignorant of the geography of the area, back via the Bleiberg valley, going round the Villach Alps, while he himself marched off into the Kanaltal. But that would be only one of numerous possibilities⁵⁶—and perhaps after all it is not as important to solve this question as has often been represented. The route followed by the Cimbri on their subsequent march into Gaul, i.e. the lands of the Helvetii, also remains unknown: some at least of the Helvetii were at that time living in southern Germany.⁵⁷ As they were unfamiliar with the country in Noricum, they may have wandered about on lengthy detours in the Norican valleys.

Noricum saw an epilogue to the movement of the Cimbri and their allies a decade later. In 102 B.C., when the Teutones and Ambrones burst into the western Alps from southern Gaul, these allies of the Cimbri wanted to grip the Roman army in a pincer movement from the north. The Cimbri wanted to invade Italy through Noricum, but delayed, and probably crossed by the Brenner into the Adige valley, where they succeeded in defeating the consul Q. Lutatius

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Catulus.⁵⁸ At the same time the Helvetian Tigurini occupied southern Noricum—more precisely, it would seem, the Pustertal, East Tirol and at least part of Carinthia, including a number of Norican hill-forts. However, they did not join in the fighting in northern Italy, and when C. Marius and Lutatius Catulus had annihilated the Cimbri at Vercellae in 101, the Tigurini took flight back to the Helvetii in a panic.⁵⁹

Chapter 4

The *regnum Noricum* in the first century B.C.

Noricum and the Boii

The Cimbric invasion and its aftermath did not bring about any major changes in the history of the *regnum Noricum*, and during the century following, up to the Roman annexation, the kingdom remained for the most part free from warfare. A new political situation was, to be sure, created around the turn of the second and first centuries B.C. on the fringes of the eastern Alps with the settlement of the Boii in what was later to become north-western Pannonia, that is, the Wiener Becken, Burgenland and the Small Hungarian Plain. This powerful Celtic tribe had occupied Bohemia and Moravia from the fourth century B.C. onwards and was already pushing into Slovakia from the mid-second century.¹ A few decades later they crossed the Danube as well and took possession of north-western Pannonia.² Here they were faced with a mainly Celtic population that was counted among the Taurisci, although it was not under the authority of the Norican kings.³ While these Boii were able to subjugate some at least of the Taurisci, the Boian expansion carried with it no serious consequences for the *regnum* in southern Noricum for the time being. The Boii made no movement either into Carinthia or Styria; their further expansion in the first half of the first century B.C. was in an easterly direction. They pushed smaller Celtic groups eastwards, such as the Eravisci who moved to Budapest, while others came as far as the northern boundaries of Dacia, where there is record later on of a splinter group of Taurisci; at the same time the Boian power itself extended as far as the river Tisza (Theiss).⁴ The *regnum* played no part in this expansion, nor was it affected by it.

The regnum Noricum in the first century B.C.

Boian power in the Carpathian basin reached its high point under the rule of King Kritasiros, probably shortly before the middle of the first century B.C. The view that this ruler was a Norican king is misleading; a coin from the Mallnitzer Tauern in Noricum with the name *Ecritusirus rex* is probably a forgery, or—if none the less genuine—perhaps reached the Alps in the course of trade.⁵ Strabo specifically states that Kritasiros was a Boian king, whose authority was also recognised by the Taurisci who were allied to him;⁶ the latter were not the Norican Taurisci, but the north-eastern Taurisci in the Boian territory. But Boian power in the Carpathian basin did not prove long-lasting, for the Boii and their Tauriscan allies were soon defeated by Burebista, the king of the Dacians.⁷ Thereafter the Dacians pushed into the centre and west of the Carpathian basin and occupied not only the plain between the Danube and the Tisza, but also the line of the Danube westwards from Budapest as far as southern Slovakia.

The wars between the Boii and the Dacians were probably fought c. 60 B.C., although we do not have any firm basis for dating.⁸ They took place in the Danube–Tisza plain and in the north-western plain of the Carpathian basin and at the time did not touch the *regnum Noricum*.⁹ But their consequences probably affected the Norican kingdom. We read in Caesar's *Gallic Wars* that, c. 60 B.C., 32,000 Boii invaded the land of the Norici, besieged Noreia there and then moved on to the Helvetii (then living in Switzerland).¹⁰ This much debated piece of information may perhaps be explained as meaning that part of the Boii who had been defeated by the Dacians had left their home in southern Slovakia and north-western Pannonia under Dacian pressure. The Boian expedition against Noreia may have been a daring attempt to find a new home in the southern Norican Alpine valleys.¹¹ But the attempt evidently miscarried when it came up against the power of the Norican king. It is not recorded that the Boii captured Noreia; at all events, traces of an enemy siege of the Celtic *oppidum* on the Magdalensberg round the middle of the first century B.C. may be harmonised with Caesar's evidence.¹²

After the unsuccessful siege of Noreia the Boii had to move on westwards, perhaps making a great detour by the Danube valley. They were received as allies by the Helvetii in Switzerland. The Norican king who was then ruling the *regnum Noricum* was Voccio; it seems that he now attempted a diplomatic manoeuvre, by giving his sister in marriage, at about this moment, to the Suebian leader Ariovistus—possibly because he was looking for allies in the rear of the migrating Boii and their Helvetian allies, who had, after all, likewise invaded the *regnum* as enemies in 102 B.C.¹³ This measure was apparently well regarded by Rome too, for she now recognised Ariovistus as *rex atque amicus*, whereas the Helvetii and Boii were attacked by Caesar. When war broke out

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between Caesar and Ariovistus in 58, Voccio was apparently able to accommodate himself to Roman interests again. He remained on excellent terms with Caesar, who probably sent him Roman engineers to assist in building new defences for the damaged Magdalensberg *oppidum*,¹⁴ and in 49 B.C. Voccio sent three hundred Norican cavalymen to support Caesar in the civil war against Pompey.¹⁵

A further consequence of the break-up of Boian power was that the *regnum Noricum* soon gained a free hand in eastern Noricum and north-western Pannonia. The powerful position of Kritasiros had no doubt stood in the way of any Norican expansion there previously. But after the great Boian defeat a vacuum was created in this area, for the Dacians did not press on as far as the Alps. Besides, Dacian power in the Pannonian area also collapsed after the death of Burebista (probably in about 45 B.C.); Dacian influence was pushed back behind the line of the Danube from Budapest to Belgrade. Only the Hungarian plain remained under Dacian rule until the arrival of the Iazyges c. A.D. 20.¹⁶ Hence the *regnum Noricum* was able to extend its power not only over eastern Noricum but over the land of the Boii as far as Lake Balaton, in what was later north-western Pannonia, as well. According to Strabo, after the defeat of the Boii and Taurisci this area came under the rule of the neighbouring peoples—by which he undoubtedly meant the Noricans in the first instance.¹⁷ When dealing with the period around 15 B.C. he already counted the Taurisci of eastern Noricum among the Noricans, and under Augustus north-western Pannonia also belonged to the *regnum*, the eastern boundary of which at that time ran from the confluence of the Raab and Danube to Lake Balaton.¹⁸

Norican power probably also stretched out over the northern part of the future province of Noricum in the second half of the first century B.C. In the north the *regnum* reached the Danube, and into the zone beyond it in the section between the Wachau and the Vienna basin, probably as far as the present Czech frontier.¹⁹ In the north-west the Ambisontes in the Salzach valley had recognised the overlordship of the Norican king at latest by c. 15 B.C. when they were already included among the Noricans, and the Alauni in the same part of Noricum will have behaved likewise.²⁰ In the south-west and south and in the south-east as well, the frontiers of the *regnum* coincided with those of the later province, running over the Dolomites, Carnic Alps, and Karawanken, and south of Celeia around the river Save. But Oberkrain, with the upper Save valley, lay outside the Norican kingdom, as it was later outside the province of Noricum.²¹

The regnum Noricum in the first century B.C.

The state, society and economy

We know little of the structure of the *regnum Noricum* in the period shortly before the Roman conquest. It is assumed, doubtless correctly, that the individual tribes of Noricum formed a league, and that the leaders of these tribes recognised the chief of the Carinthian Norici as *rex* and highest authority.²² The rulers of the Norici were apparently already taking steps to build up a tribal league in the eastern Alps in the first half of the second century B.C., when they assumed the role of spokesmen for their *socii*, probably peoples on the Save south of Celeia. The gradual extension of the term 'Norici' and with it of the authority of the Norican king, on the one hand, and the continued existence of other separate Norican tribes on the other, can in fact best be reconciled by supposing that there was a federal system. This development resulted in the creation of a more or less uniform political structure, within which, however, the free movement of individual members of the league could not be completely restricted.

It is indicative of the authority enjoyed by the Norican king that the Romans took official cognisance of only one political power, only one unit with the structure of a state, in the area between the Raeti and Vindelici and the Marcomanni and Pannonians—namely the *regnum Noricum*. The respect accorded to its powerful position must have been bound up with the Norican king's overlordship of the other tribes of the eastern Alps. The leading position of the Carinthian Norici is also typified by the fact that on the Magdalensberg inscriptions they are named in the first place, before the other tribes. However, these inscriptions also demonstrate that the other tribes dwelling in the territory of the *regnum Noricum* never went out of existence. Their tribal rulers probably acknowledged the *rex* as their common army commander and perhaps as supreme arbiter of justice too; and they mostly, if not always, followed his lead in foreign policy. The individual tribes could manage their internal affairs more or less independently, even being able to mint their own coinage. Around the mid-first century B.C. Celtic coins were certainly minted elsewhere, as well as by the Norici in central Carinthia, for example by the Ambidravi around Teurnia and also in the Celeia area.²³ These issues record personal names, of which the favourite interpretation is that they are the names of rulers: *Boio*, *Tinco*, *Copo*, *Eccaiio*, *Suicca*, *Conge(sa)*, *Congestlus*, *Atta*, *Nemet*, *Adnamat*, *Escingo*.²⁴ But they are far more likely to refer to merchants than native rulers: the number of names is much too large for the short period in which the coins were minted (c. 70–40 B.C.), and some of them must have been issued simultaneously; besides, it is noteworthy that the name of the Norican king Voccio, who was already in power c. 60 B.C. at the latest and was still ruling in 49, does not appear on these issues at all.

There were even occasions when an independent foreign policy could be followed by individual tribes—in the main by the lords of the north-west Norican *oppida*, which lay a long way off from the centre of the *regnum*, were difficult of access from there, and possessed a not insignificant military might. In 15 B.C. the Ambisontes, in conjunction with the Raeti and Vindelici, waged war against Rome, in opposition to the thoroughly pro-Roman policy of the *regnum*; and, in the previous year, it seems that even a southern Norican tribe undertook a raid into Istria on its own initiative.²⁵

The social structure of the population in the *regnum Noricum* is not adequately known either. The *rex* was of course at the apex of the social pyramid. He presumably possessed great estates and was probably also the owner of the iron mines, which provided the economic basis of his power in central Carinthia and the adjacent area to the north. The *patrimonium regni Norici* of the Roman imperial period, which embraced the major Norican iron mines and extensive estates as well, as crown property, was seemingly inherited by Augustus and the emperors as successors to the Norican kings. The tribal rulers allied to the king, and also apparently the leading warriors of each tribe (already described under the year 170 B.C. by Livy as *comites* of the Norican king), formed the nobility. This 'retinue' also provided troops for the king, mainly no doubt a kind of mounted bodyguard; Voccio's three hundred cavalrymen in 49 B.C. may have been this bodyguard, or part of it. The great majority of the population consisted of free peasants, herdsmen, miners, manual workers and traders; their social position in the last decades of the *regnum Noricum* will not have been significantly different from that in the early imperial period, when it is better known, above all from the epigraphic evidence. Slavery in a patriarchal form at least was likewise customary in the *regnum*. It is already mentioned under the year 170 B.C. by Livy, who speaks of *servi* at the king's court,²⁶ and the widespread slavery among the native population in the early imperial period had doubtless already developed in the *regnum* and not under Roman influence only.

The economic life of the country depended on agricultural production, pastoralism, mining, industry—above all iron-smelting and metal-working—and trade. The first century B.C. brought important changes, above all in the sphere of trade, with far-reaching consequences for the history of the Norican kingdom. Internal trade and commercial relations with other Celtic peoples flourished. The beginning of an independent Celtic coinage in southern Noricum c. 70 B.C. was a clear sign of the growth of trade within the country itself. The southern Norican coinage, which scarcely spread outside the frontiers of the *regnum*, served local trading purposes only; the coinage of other Celtic peoples was also used for trading between the *regnum* and its eastern and western

The regnum Noricum in the first century B.C.

neighbours. As these coins show, the *regnum Noricum* was engaged in trade with Pannonia on the one side and Gaul on the other;²⁷ Celtic clothes-fasteners and other metal goods were also sold in other areas.²⁸ Already this Celtic trade and monetary circulation, with its economic basis of iron-smelting and metal-working, was able to foster the emergence of wealthy elements in society, as evidenced by finds of Celtic coin-hoards containing more than five hundred coins.²⁹ But the decisive economic factor in the first century B.C. was the trade with Rome, which increased markedly during this period and drew the links connecting the *regnum* with the Roman state significantly closer.

Probably one of the earliest and most important evidences for Roman trade in Noricum is 'Austria's oldest Roman tombstone', from Matrei in East Tirol, in the upper Isel valley below the Grossglockner—perhaps dating to c. 100 B.C. This is the stone pillar found in 1932 with the portrait bust of a Roman, bearing the inscription *Popaius Senator*. The man was doubtless a trader from northern Italy, drawn to the Aguntum region by the trading possibilities that the rich ore deposits offered; *Senator* is perhaps not a *cognomen* but a title, indicating his membership of the town-council of a northern Italian town, probably Aquileia.³⁰ His starting-point to reach East Tirol may have been Julium Carnicum, along the old Venetic road which probably provided the most frequently used line of communication between Italy and southern Noricum in the second century B.C. But in the first century B.C. Romano-Norican trade was concentrated along the road leading from Aquileia over the Tagliamento valley and the Saifnitzer Sattel into Noricum. By this road the capital of the *regnum Noricum* and the most important trading-centre in the kingdom during the late republic could be reached: the Magdalensberg.

The republican settlement on the Magdalensberg (Plates 1, 2)

This 'holy mountain' in Carinthia, with its summit 1,058 metres high, between the Zollfeld and the lower Gurk valley, some twenty kilometres north of Klagenfurt, commands the surrounding countryside as its natural centre point; its 'protected position, ample water-supply at a high level and fertile soil resulted in occupation there early on, but it was the precious iron that first produced dense settlement'.³¹ Unfortunately, we do not yet know nearly enough about the beginnings of the Magdalensberg settlement, altogether an area of about three square kilometres forming the largest enclosed settlement in the whole of Noricum.³² All that is certain is that the Celtic *oppidum* on the summit of the mountain already existed at the latest by the second half of the second century B.C., for the Roman trading colony below it (Fig. 2), which alone has been

investigated in detail so far, began to grow up from about the turn of the second and first centuries B.C.; its coming into being presupposes the existence of the Celtic *oppidum* under the protection of which it grew up. Celtic finds have also come to light in the Roman part of the settlement: the earliest of these can likewise be dated to the period about 100 B.C.³³ The *oppidum* itself was without doubt the seat of the Norican kings and thus the 'capital city' of the *regnum Noricum*. It was originally defended by a *muris Gallicus*, which was, it seems, considerably damaged shortly before the middle of the first century B.C.—probably c. 60 B.C. when, according to Caesar, the Boii besieged Noreia. In Caesar's time the fortifications were renovated and the earlier walls were replaced by an extraordinarily strong *muris duplex*.³⁴ It was probably with this that the *oppidum*'s greatest period of prosperity began, lasting until the Roman conquest.

Roman merchants were already being drawn to the Magdalensberg c. 100 B.C. Here they could meet many native craftsmen and traders, who sold them their prized products, above all goods made of iron; and the precious Norican iron was even smelted on the mountain itself.³⁵ On a south-facing terrace of the mountain, below the *oppidum*, at a height of 920–5 metres, a Roman trading settlement, 114 by 55 metres in extent, soon came into being. Its timber period had already begun c. 100 B.C.³⁶ In the middle of this settlement lay a large open space—a market-place, surrounded on all sides by the shops of the individual merchants; one is fully entitled to speak of a trading *forum*, like that on Delos, for example.³⁷ The earliest living quarters for the merchants were still of timber. Later they were rebuilt in stone, with cellars where the merchants' wares were stored.³⁸ Thus what must be regarded from the point of view of settlement-history as a real town with richly decorated houses had already come into existence here in the late republican period. Roman merchants could even commission painters from the south, c. 40–20 B.C., to adorn their houses with lavish frescoes: in a house in the north-eastern part of the trading quarter paintings of Minerva and Venus have been discovered, with the artist's signature *Cosmus pinxit*; and in another house south-west of the *forum* pictures of Iphigenia, Dionysus and a dancer (Plates 9–11), likewise painted by a master from the south, have come to light.³⁹ The high point in the settlement's development was attained after Noricum's annexation by the Romans in 15 B.C., when the Roman administration was installed here and further buildings were erected on the mountain (Fig. 2).

The Roman merchants who met Norican traders on the Magdalensberg were mostly representatives of great republican business houses, above all from Aquileia; many of these business houses conducted trading operations on a really large scale in other parts of the ancient world as well, as for example on Delos.⁴⁰

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The leading role was played by the Barbii of Aquileia; inscriptions from the late republican period already testify to their activity, and to that of other trading families, on the Magdalensberg. The most important monument to them, and at the same time the major single find in Noricum from the time of the independent kingdom, is the famous bronze statue, the 'Helenenberg youth'—so called from the earlier name of the Magdalensberg. This life-size statue, which is in the tradition of the school of Praxiteles, was found in 1502 below the summit of the Magdalensberg. It originally stood there as the cult-statue in a temple. The inscription on the upper thigh of the right leg, and on the shield (which today no longer survives), stated that the statue was dedicated to the god Mars: evidently the figure of the naked youth with a shield represented the Celtic god Latobius, and was identified with the Roman Mars (Frontispiece). The dedicators were a freedman of the Aquileian Poblucii, two freedmen and a slave of the Barbii, and a native Celt; they were agents of northern Italian business houses and, probably, a native trading partner.⁴¹ The *libertus* of the Poblucii is also known from another inscription, which he dedicated to a Norican goddess somewhere in the northern hinterland of Tergeste (Trieste)⁴²—and, like the inscription on the bronze statue, it is to be dated approximately to the middle of the first century B.C.⁴³

A number of other Latin inscriptions from the Magdalensberg also belong at all events to the period before the Roman annexation, and probably to the Caesarian or early Augustan period. A small bronze statuette of the goddess Nemesis was dedicated by a freedman of the Barbii of Aquileia.⁴⁴ Three tombstones testify to the presence of the merchant families of the Fundanii, Vetilii and Postumii. The freedmen of the first two families came from Italy, where the Postumii lived as well, but this family also had *liberti* who were Norican-born—as was a slave of the Barbii who was one of the dedicators of the 'Helenenberg youth'.⁴⁵ There may have been a significant number of Italian merchants; certainly freedmen of many other Italian families, who are first attested by inscriptions from after the Roman conquest, carried on trade on the mountain. These Italian merchants doubtless had some kind of communal organisation here, most probably in the shape of a *conventus civium Romanorum*; but as yet there is a complete dearth of evidence for semi-municipal functionaries such as the *magistri* and *quaestores* recorded in Dalmatia.⁴⁶

The intensive Roman trade in Noricum in the late republican period had important consequences for the country. The *regnum's* close trading contacts with its southern neighbour led to economic prosperity. The mining and smelting of iron, the major item of export, was strongly encouraged by Roman trading interests. This produced riches and prosperity for the royal house and for native

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craftsmen and traders too. Roman influence, close trading-relations and the presence of Roman merchants contributed to the romanisation of the natives. Economic and material demands increased: the native traders purchased from their Roman counterparts items such as amphorae with oil and wine, tools, lamps and pots—including the so-called ‘black sigillata’, an expensive ware exported by Etrurian factories, especially in the time of Caesar;⁴⁷ the richer elements in the native population on the mountain probably also had stone houses built and thus began to give up their primitive wattle and daub dwellings.⁴⁸ The Latin script was already becoming familiar through the medium of the local coinage, and the trading partners of Italian merchants may have gradually learnt Latin. The son of the Celt Vindilus who, together with Italian freedmen, dedicated the statue of the ‘Helenenberg youth’ in the temple of Latobius, already bore the completely romanised name Gallicinus, and native freedmen of Italian merchants began to set up funerary inscriptions in Latin just as the Italians did.

The flourishing trade, in which both partners had an equal interest, also ensured the continuance of good relations between Rome and the Norican kings; at the same time it strengthened the political as well as the economic influence of Rome. When a Roman town had come into being on the Magdalensberg, the political centre of the *regnum Noricum*, there can have been increasingly less question of the kings being able to pursue an independent policy. When the Romans occupied the country in 15 B.C. practically without a struggle, this was only the final act in a long and peaceful development; the foundation for Roman rule had long been laid. The seat of the Norican kings, the Magdalensberg, became the headquarters of the Roman administration without any necessity for it to be besieged and stormed by Roman troops.

The Noreia question

But what was the name of this mountain, the centre point of the *regnum Noricum*, Roman trading town and, finally, Roman administrative centre? This question is intimately connected with the most disputed problem in the history of the *regnum Noricum* (a problem that is unjustifiably presented as being of great importance): where was the place frequently mentioned in the ancient sources under the name of Noreia? Scholars have struggled for a hundred years to fix the location of Noreia, mostly in connection with the site of the battle against the Cimbri. The areas or places where this problematic Noreia has been searched for cannot be counted on the fingers of both hands: central Carinthia, the Zollfeld or the surrounding area, northern Carinthia, Hohenstein, St Veit an der

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Glan, the northern fringe of the Zollfeld, St Margarethen am Silberberg (today officially called 'Noreia'!), Paternion on the Drau, Gurina in the Gail valley, the Maribor area in north-eastern Slovenia, Kranj (Krainburg), or the surrounding area, in the upper Save valley in north-western Slovenia—and the Magdalensberg.⁴⁹ No wonder that many scholars have opted out and remain sceptical.⁵⁰

The place-name *Noreia* is mentioned in five ancient sources. According to Sempronius Asellio the *urbs Noreia* lay in *Gallia*; 'Gaul' here of course means 'Noricum', just as *Galli Transalpini* in Livy means the inhabitants of Noricum.⁵¹ According to Caesar, *Noreia* was besieged by the Boii c. 60 B.C.⁵² Strabo gives more details:⁵³

Aquileia is outside the boundaries of the Veneti. The boundary between the two peoples (i.e. Veneti and Illyrii) was marked by a river flowing from the Alps, which affords an inland voyage of as much as 1,200 *stadia* to the city of *Noreia*, near which Gnaeus Carbo clashed to no effect with the Cimbri. This region has places that are naturally well-suited to gold-washing, and also has iron-works.

According to Pliny, *Noreia* was a town of the Taurisci that had ceased to exist.⁵⁴ Finally, the place-name *Noreia* is recorded twice on the Peutinger Table, among the road-stations of the 'Noric main highway' north of Virunum.⁵⁵

It is certain that the name *Noreia*, which is at the same time the name of the 'national goddess', could be applied to more than one place in Noricum. The Peutinger Table does in fact mention a different *Noreia* from the one in the other sources. The double mention on this map is however the result of an error: the cartographer mistakenly repeated the name (with identical mileage figures).⁵⁶ The place in question is the road-station between Matucaium (near Althofen/Treibach) and Ad Pontem (Lind an der Mur), at Einöd, excavated by W. Schmid.⁵⁷ This small posting-station is not of course identical with the pre-historic settlement referred to by the other sources. But, apart from this, there can be no doubt that Asellio, Caesar, Strabo and Pliny were all referring to the same *Noreia*: all four authors were speaking of a pre-Roman site and certainly regarded it as an important settlement in view of the fact that they found it worth mentioning at all—since no other place in Noricum is mentioned by name in the ancient sources before the beginning of the imperial period.

The information supplied by Strabo and Pliny is not sufficient to give an exact localisation. Strabo's comment, that a navigable river flowed down to the vicinity of Aquileia from *Noreia*, is a mistake. He or his informants have misunderstood a source which may have stated that from Aquileia *Noreia* was reached by travelling first along a river, but then over an Alpine pass. The river that was

meant here was almost certainly the Tagliamento:⁵⁸ Roman merchants could reach the Saifnitzer Sattel or the Plöcken Pass by this valley. The passage has some value at least in so far as it evidently derives from the records of Roman merchants who had an interest in the transport of goods, and the trade-route, between Aquileia and Noreia. Strabo's further piece of information, that the distance between Aquileia and Noreia was 1,200 *stadia*, similarly ought to have derived from the same sources, namely merchants whose trading was with Noreia. It follows from all this that Noreia was an important trading-centre for the Romans in the republican period. The distance he gives—which is obviously an approximate round number—does not help much further. If one calculates the length (the equivalent of about 240 kilometres) measured along the Tagliamento valley and the 'Norican main highway', one could search for Noreia anywhere one fancied between the Zollfeld and Neumarkt.

The further information we can gain from Strabo is likewise meagre. The statement that the battle against the Cimbri took place in the vicinity of Noreia means no more than that the battlefield lay somewhere in the mountain country north of Aquileia, not that the battle must actually have taken place in the immediate vicinity of Noreia. It follows from the reference to gold and iron that Noreia can hardly have been anywhere outside Carinthia, but not that it was close to the gold-workings around Teurnia—Noreia was simply Strabo's sole point of orientation in the mountain-country north of Aquileia.⁵⁹ Pliny also is far too vague: 'among the Taurisci' can mean the entire eastern Alpine lands to him, since he knew that the whole population of Noricum had once borne the name 'Taurisci'.⁶⁰ His statement that Noreia was one of the extinct settlements *in hoc situ* is more important. By this he means *regio X* of Italy and the adjacent parts of the Alps, and Noreia is mentioned at the end of a list which gives the individual places in a south-north order.⁶¹ However, this only provides us, again, with a general pointer to the mountain-country north of the Carni, in southern Noricum.

What we in fact know from the sources about Noreia is the following. The place named by Asellio, Caesar, Strabo and Pliny may have been the original centre of the tribe of the Norici, whose own name derives from it. The place must have had great importance in the pre-Roman period, since it is the only place in Noricum known to ancient authors in this period: it is cited to indicate the location of the battle against the Cimbri, as a mining and industrial area, and as the destination of a trade-route. There is no difficulty in regarding this Noreia as the capital of the *regnum Noricum* in the late republican period. The fact that none of the sources explicitly describes Noreia as 'the capital' need not be a stumbling-block:⁶² apart from the fact that one would hardly expect such a

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description in these brief passages in any case, Noreia was none the less the most important place in the *regnum* for these republican authors for the simple reason that they knew no other place there. Apart from this, Asellio—or, at least, the Virgilian scholiast who uses him—calls Noreia *urbs*, and Strabo speaks of a *polis*—hardly terms that would be applied to an insignificant prehistoric settlement. Besides, according to the sources Noreia was a trading-centre; its economic importance was intimately connected with the Norican iron industry, and the southern Norican gold-workings seem likewise to have been controlled by its rulers. Then, the settlement was apparently fortified, since it was besieged by the Boii; as the eponymous home of the Norici it can hardly have lain anywhere outside central Carinthia; and, finally, when the elder Pliny was writing his *Natural History* it had already ‘become extinct’ in some way.

These considerations lead to the conclusion that a number of areas and places are not serious candidates for the identification: the places in Slovenia can be eliminated, for they are not in the heartland of the Norici and could not have competed with Nauportus as trading centres. The Gurina in the Gail valley and the *oppidum* near Paternion likewise are situated outside the Norican heartland, and in the light of present knowledge even some of the places in central Carinthia such as Hohenstein or St Veit can no longer be considered. And the prehistoric settlement of St Margarethen am Silberberg in the upper Görtzschitz valley has been re-named Noreia somewhat prematurely: the settlement excavated here was a centre of the East Norican culture and not a Celtic centre at all, which one would expect in the case of Noreia; hardly any trade with the Romans is attested here and the site can scarcely have had the importance that the repeated mention of the name Noreia in the ancient sources suggests.⁶³ There were certainly large numbers of similar late Iron Age hill-forts in southern Noricum and in other parts of the country—they were the *Norica castella in tumulis* of which Virgil speaks.⁶⁴

By contrast the Magdalensberg fulfils all the conditions of Noreia recorded by the literary sources. It is situated in the heartland of the Norici. At least in the first century B.C., but probably earlier as well, the Celtic *oppidum* on the summit was the political centre of the Norican kingdom—and certainly the most important place in the whole *regnum*. From c. 100 B.C. onwards the mountain was the main goal of Roman merchants in the country—and it is also clear that travellers could take their bearings more easily from this settlement than for example from the site of St Margarethen am Silberberg. The Magdalensberg was of central importance economically, because of its iron industry and iron trade. The ‘siege of Noreia’ mentioned by Caesar can be satisfactorily associated with the damage to the *oppidum* c. 60 B.C. As far as Noreia’s ‘going out of existence’, according to

Pliny, is concerned, this evidence exactly fits the Magdalensberg. The settlement was given up under Claudius and almost completely abandoned and the mountain served only as a place of worship; Pliny does not state that Noreia was the victim of a hostile destruction. And it is perfectly possible that he could have known about the extinction of the Magdalensberg town: he was well-briefed about the Norican towns, not only from earlier sources but from contemporary information, since he knew about the foundation of Solva (*Flavium Solvense*) under Vespasian as well as about the five Claudian *municipia*.⁶⁵ It is not surprising that the name of the Magdalensberg settlement has not yet been supplied by inscriptions: there were no *duumviri*, *aediles* or *decuriones*—whose tombstones or votive inscriptions elsewhere mention the name of Norican towns—and, likewise, the name could hardly have been given as an *origo* by soldiers or other natives.⁶⁶ All the same, the identification of Noreia with the Magdalensberg must in spite of all these considerations remain a hypothesis only, in the absence of positive concrete evidence; but this hypothesis is probably the best that can be put forward today.

Chapter 5

The Roman annexation

The occupation of Noricum

The creation of the principate meant the beginning of a new era for Noricum too: under Augustus the country was included in the Roman empire. After the *princeps* had ended the civil wars and firmly established his power, he launched his active, expansionist foreign policy, which in Europe led eventually to the setting up of a long river-frontier from the mouth of the Rhine to the mouth of the Danube. From 17 B.C. onwards the Gauls and Germany and the Alpine and Danubian lands, together with the northern Balkans, stood in the forefront of political interest and of the programme of expansion. New administrative arrangements were made in Gaul and in 16 B.C. preparations began for the offensive on the Rhine. Shortly afterwards Roman rule was extended over the Alpine and Danubian lands. In 15 B.C. Drusus, the stepson of Augustus, and his brother Tiberius subdued the Raeti and Vindelici, and Tiberius conquered the Scordisci in the northern Balkans in the same year. Heavy fighting against the tribes of Dalmatia and Pannonia began in 16 B.C., resulting in the conquest of the northern Dalmatian mountain country and the zone beyond it as far as the Danube, in the *bellum Pannonicum* of 12–9 B.C.¹ It was in connection with this vast offensive on the empire's northern frontiers that the *regnum Noricum*, also, came under Roman rule. The exact date of the annexation is disputed: most scholars place it in 15 B.C., but others prefer 16, 14 or 8 B.C., or even the period 9 B.C.–A.D. 6.²

The difficulty arises from the fact that the ancient authorities scarcely mention any fighting in Noricum and appear to give different dates for the annexation.

Suetonius, the author of the *Epitome* of Livy and Eutropius do not mention any fighting in the *regnum Noricum* at all in their brief accounts of the Alpine campaign.³ The inscription of La Turbie near Monaco, from the victory monument for this war, set up in 7 or 6 B.C., does not include the names of the Norici, or of most of the other tribes in the country, among the forty-six *gentes Alpinae devictae*, subdued by Augustus: only the Ambisontes appear on the list.⁴ Strabo gives the following account:⁵

But the Vindelici and Norici occupy the greater part of the outer side of the mountain, along with the Breuni and Genauni, the two peoples last named being Illyrians. All these peoples used to overrun, from time to time, the neighbouring parts, not only of Italy, but also of the country of the Elvetii, the Sequani, the Boii and the Germans . . . Directly after these peoples come the peoples that dwell near the recess of the Adriatic and the districts around about Aquileia, namely the Carni as well as certain of the Norici; the Taurisci, also, belong to the Norici. But Tiberius and his brother Drusus stopped all of them from their riotous incursions by means of a single summer-campaign so that now for thirty-three years they have been in a state of tranquillity and have been paying their tribute regularly.

The campaign is the Alpine war of 15 B.C.; Strabo was writing in A.D. 18. Twelve years after this Velleius Paterculus published his *History of Rome*, which includes two passages that have an important bearing on the campaign of 15 B.C. According to Velleius, in this year Tiberius subdued by force of arms not only the Raeti, Vindelici, Pannonians and Scordisci, but the Noricans as well, and added their territory to the empire as new provinces.⁶ In another passage Velleius enumerates the provinces to which Tiberius' soldiers accompanied him as a victorious commander; but Noricum is not named in this list.⁷

Florus wrote an account of the *bellum Noricum*, to be sure, but he seems not really to have meant a war against the inhabitants of the Norican kingdom when he speaks of *Norici*, since all that he describes is the subjugation of the Breuni and Ucenni in Raetia and of the Vindelici.⁸ A century and a half after the events, Appian admitted that he had not been able to find any details about the conquest of Noricum in his sources. He drew the conclusion that the Noricans might have been overrun in connection with Caesar's Gallic wars or the Pannonian campaigns of Augustus.⁹ However, two generations later Cassius Dio was better informed. He knew of a Norican attack on Istria in 16 B.C. which was the cause of the *regnum's* subjugation: 'The Pannonians, together with the Noricans, invaded Istria. The former, defeated by Silius and his lieutenants, capitulated

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again; and the attack provided the grounds for the subjugation of the Noricans.¹⁰ In a late source, Festus, there is another noteworthy passage:¹¹

Under Julius Octavianus Caesar Augustus the route across the Julian Alps was opened up, and, after all the Alpine peoples had been conquered, the Norican provinces also joined [the empire]. After the defeat of the Pannonian king Bato, the Pannonian provinces too came under our sway.

Octavian's Illyrian expedition in the years 35–33 B.C., which prepared the way for the conquest of the Danubian lands, did not touch the *regnum Noricum* at all.¹² It was the incursion of Pannonians and Noricans into Istria, mentioned by Dio, that first led to the annexation. P. Silius Nerva, *proconsul Illyrici* in 17–16 B.C., was given the task of securing the lines of advance in the foothills of the Alps for the planned campaign against the Raeti and Vindelici, and he waged war against the Camuni and Vennii south of Raetia. Then he moved into his actual *provincia* and was obliged to repel the Pannonians and their Norican allies from here—so there is no reason to cast doubt on the accuracy of Dio's report by arguing that Silius could not have fought simultaneously in both the southern Alps and Istria.¹³ Certainly not all the Pannonian and Norican tribes participated in the invasion of Istria. The leading role was taken by barbarian bands from southern Pannonia, probably from the powerful tribe of the Breuci on the river Save; only a small band of Noricans joined them, perhaps from the Celeia region, and at all events not from the central area of the *regnum Noricum* in Carinthia. The consequences of this ill-starred undertaking differed for the Pannonians and Noricans. When Dio says that the Pannonians 'capitulated again', he means that the situation that had existed since 35–33 B.C. was restored: the tribes dwelling in this region gave nominal recognition to Rome's overlordship, although their fighting strength had not really been broken—this was to come about first in the *bellum Pannonicum* of 12–9 B.C., and, finally, after the suppression of the Pannonian and Dalmatian revolt of A.D. 6–9. As far as the Noricans are concerned, one can by no means infer from the passage in Dio that the Romans conquered Noricum in 16 B.C. What Dio means on the fate of the Noricans, in the aftermath of the Istrian war, is clear: the episode gave Rome the pretext for annexing the *regnum*.¹⁴ But as he does not give any further details about the annexation in his work, he apparently regarded it as a direct result of the invasion of Istria, following not much later. From other sources it can be seen that this annexation is directly associated with the great offensive carried out by Tiberius and Drusus in the summer of 15 B.C. against the tribes of Raetia and Vindelicia.¹⁵

It is certain that in 15 B.C. there was some actual fighting in the territory of the

Norican kingdom as well. The Ambisontes, who were named on the La Turbie monument as one of the subjugated Alpine tribes, are without doubt identical with the Norican tribe in the upper Salzach valley, also known from the Magdalenberg *civitas*-inscriptions and from Ptolemy.¹⁶ The tribe threw in its lot with the Raeti and Vindelici in 15 B.C. and was defeated with them. Velleius can only have meant this Norican tribe when he says that the Noricans too were defeated by force of arms—*armis*—in 15 B.C. Likewise with Florus, it can hardly be simply through a mistake that he gives his account of the Alpine campaign the title *bellum Noricum*: he may have read in his sources, which he drastically abbreviated, of the participation of a Norican group on the side of the Raeti and Vindelici in their war against Drusus and Tiberius. But the passage from Strabo cited above is particularly important. It follows from this that Strabo knew of three groups of Noricans in the period about 15 B.C.: Noricans beyond the Alps, adjacent to the Vindelici, Breuni and Genauni, who had all undertaken raids into Italy; other Noricans north of Aquileia and the Carni, hence in the southern and central part of Noricum; and Noricans who were at that time still known as 'Taurisci'—by which he can only have meant the eastern Noricans. The western Noricans were thus allies of the Raetian and Vindelician tribes; it is clear that here it is above all the Ambisontes who are in question, the tribe who did in fact fight against Rome together with the Raeti and Vindelici.

Thus this much at least is clear: Roman troops conducted an expedition in the western part of the *regnum Noricum* in 15 B.C.¹⁷ What were the consequences for the other parts of the country, where the traditional pro-Roman policy of the earlier Norican kings evidently stayed in force? Modern views, that the greater part of the *regnum* was not affected at all in the aftermath of the Alpine campaign,¹⁸ cannot be accepted. Strabo makes it quite clear in the passage cited that Tiberius and Drusus forced the submission of *all* the peoples there enumerated in the summer campaign of 15 B.C.—not just the Raeti and Vindelici therefore, but the three groups of Noricans too. The statement that all these peoples had been in a state of tranquillity, and paying their tribute regularly, for thirty-three years, applies to all the Noricans too; in A.D. 18, when Strabo wrote this, the whole of Noricum had long since been tributary, and he gives no indication that this obligation was only imposed later on certain groups.

It follows from this that the whole of the *regnum Noricum* was annexed by Rome in 15 B.C. There can be no doubt that the extension of Roman rule over the country was carried out peacefully, with the exception of the resistance by the Ambisontes. It was precisely for this reason that Velleius, Dio and other writers were unable to describe any major Roman campaigns in Noricum. To be sure, Velleius knew of warfare here, but not of any particular exploits by Roman

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soldiers, and thus he indicates that the fighting in the *regnum* could in no way be compared with the tough campaigns in Armenia, Raetia, Vindelicia, Pannonia and Germany. This is also the explanation of the statement in Festus that 'after all the Alpine peoples had been conquered, the Norican provinces also joined [the empire]'. One cannot deduce from this passage that Noricum was first subjugated some years after Raetia and Vindelicia:¹⁹ it was rather the view of Festus that the Noricans came over peacefully, by and large, at the conclusion of the Alpine campaign.

This was then the first time since the rash expedition of Cn. Papirius Carbo a century before that Roman forces had entered the *regnum Noricum*—but now it was 'for ever'. From the legal point of view the annexation was a one-sided act on the part of Rome, for which she needed at most a pretext and probably a treaty obtained more or less under duress. There is no more likelihood that a military treaty of alliance between Rome and the *regnum* existed in the first century B.C. than that there had been one before. If there was one at all, a treaty may have been concluded for the first time in 16 or 15 B.C., authorising the Romans to use the country as a base for operations beyond it, to station troops there and, besides this, to introduce the taxation system.²⁰ These were of course major changes in the country's history, yet the ground had been prepared for them long before, and the Noricans accepted them without opposition (except for the warlike lords of the hill-forts in the north-west). The traditionally good relations between Roman and native remained unaltered. As early as 10 or 9 B.C. inscriptions were set up on the Magdalensberg in honour of the ladies of the Augustan imperial house, and, further, they were dedicated by the assembly of several Norican tribes, in which even the Ambisontes—officially at least on the best of terms with Rome—were represented.

The pretext for the annexation came at the best possible time for Rome: the fate of the *regnum* was sealed from the moment when the offensive policy on the empire's northern frontiers began. When the plans for the military occupation of the central Alps and the Pannonian area had been worked out, there could be no remaining doubt that the subjugation of Noricum was only a matter of time and opportunity. Rome's economic interests had of course been secured for more than a century without annexation, which would not have been necessary either to ensure the import of iron into Italy or to protect Roman merchants. But the military situation of the empire on its northern frontiers had radically changed. The pro-Roman *regnum Noricum* had previously guaranteed the safety of the Alpine frontiers, but now it became a factor of insecurity on the new frontiers which had been pushed forward. A free and militarily independent kingdom, with its loose political structure, permitting individual tribal chiefs, rulers of

hill-forts and leaders of war-bands to undertake expeditions of plunder and military actions on their own initiative, would not have fitted in with Rome's interests in the area between Raetia and Vindelicia on the one side and Pannonia on the other. Augustus recognised this and drew the obvious conclusion.

The establishment of the province's borders (see general map)

To begin with, the boundaries of this new Roman possession corresponded with those of the independent *regnum Noricum*. However, Rome's strategic interests soon led to certain changes—unfavourable to Noricum from the point of view of territory. In the north the Danube line was established as a strategic frontier. Important territorial changes followed in the east, where Noricum had to give up a wide strip of land to the province of Pannonia. There was a legionary garrison at Poetovio, probably from the time of the *bellum Pannonicum* of 12–9 B.C., and its presence there made necessary the inclusion of this area in the *provincia* of the *legatus Augusti pro praetore Illyrici*.²¹ The country north of here, along the old 'amber road' to Carnuntum on the Danube, remained Norican for the time being. Carnuntum was still reckoned to be part of the *Noricum regnum* by Velleius, dealing with A.D. 6, and the *deserta Boiorum*, i.e. the region of Scarbantia and Savaria, still belonged to Noricum at the beginning of the imperial period, according to Pliny.²² No doubt Carnuntum was detached from Noricum at the moment when the Legion XV Apollinaris was transferred there from Emona, in other words probably at the end of A.D. 14, straight after the death of Augustus.²³ It is not recorded when the land of the Boii was attached to Pannonia²⁴—the likeliest answer is that this occurred at the same time as the change was made for Carnuntum: small garrisons were already stationed along the 'amber road' between Savaria and Carnuntum under Tiberius, probably from as early as A.D. 14.²⁵ It was logical, from the military and administrative point of view, to place this entire stretch of road, with its garrisons and adjacent territory, under the authority of the Pannonian legate—and in this way the territory of the *civitas Boiorum*, which likewise needed a unitary system of administration, also remained undivided. The province's frontiers remained unchanged from this time up till the reforms of Diocletian.²⁶

Noricum's western neighbour was the province of Raetia. The river Aenus (Inn) is generally reckoned to have been the frontier between the two provinces, on the authority of Tacitus and Ptolemy.²⁷ Arrian, however, only states that the Inn flows into the Danube in the frontier area (*ἐν μεθορίῳ*) of the country of the Noricans and Raetians.²⁸ At its mouth, at least, the Inn doubtless served as the provincial boundary—which later on was marked by the Raetian fort of

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Castra Batavorum (Passau) on the left bank and by the Norican fort of Boiodurum (Passau-Innstadt), and the Norican customs-post of the same name, on the right bank.²⁹ But south of here, at the confluence of the river Rott with the Inn, Norican soldiers, and families that are definitely Norican, are attested west of the Inn,³⁰ and still further south, at Wasserburg and Kornberg, likewise on the left bank of the river, inscriptions have been found that mention magistrates of Norican towns.³¹ The Norican–Raetian frontier-station Pons Aeni, with the frontier customs-post *statio Enensis*, also lay in this area. The customs-post, although situated at Pfaffenhofen on the west bank of the Inn, was none the less still in Norican territory: in the third century employees of the Illyrican customs-zone were serving there, as in Noricum in general, whereas Raetia definitely belonged to the Gallic customs-area from the beginning of the third century onwards.³²

Thus a strip of land on the west bank of the Inn south of Passau seems to have been assigned to the province of Noricum. Tacitus and Ptolemy, who—as so often with ancient authors—were fond of equating frontiers with the courses of rivers, say nothing about this; but in any case one would hardly expect them to take note of such a narrow strip of land in their brief accounts. The actual frontier was perhaps nothing other than the Roman road which ran from Pons Aeni on the west bank of the Inn as far as Schärding or possibly even to Passau.³³ The reason for drawing the boundary in this way was probably that the Roman government wanted to place the valley of the Inn under a single provincial administration. The busy river traffic on the Inn downstream from Pons Aeni mainly supplied the needs of the Danubian *limes* of Noricum, right on into the fifth century,³⁴ and had no importance for Raetia. Hardly any examples of the wares from the samian factory at Westerndorf near Rosenheim (on the left bank of the Inn), have turned up at Raetian sites while they are found in large quantities in the Norican *limes* area.³⁵ As the find-spots show, the major part of this samian reached its market via the river passage along the Inn and Danube. The choice of site for the pottery was of course determined by the presence of suitable clay at Westerndorf, but it is probable that the area was detached from Raetia and joined to Noricum precisely because of the position of the samian works.

South of Pons Aeni the province's frontier probably left the Inn valley at Kufstein and ran along the watershed of the Salzach and Ziller, as did the western boundary of the diocese of Salzburg in medieval times.³⁶ On the south side of the Tauern the natural boundary would have been the watershed that divides the upper Drau valley from the Pustertal. However, the Pustertal, where the *civitas* of the Saevates must be located, was still part of Noricum. The Roman

milestones in this valley calculate distances from the Norican town of Aguntum, even at Hinterbichl near Ehrenburg west of Bruneck (Brunico), sixty-seven Roman miles from Aguntum.³⁷ Thus Noricum stretched at least as far as the junction of the Pustertal with the valley of the Isarco (Eisack).

In the opinion of modern scholars part of the Isarco valley also formed part of Noricum. The section of it between Bressanone (Brixen) and Chiusa (Klausen), that is, the lower continuation of the Puster valley, was known in the ninth and tenth centuries as *vallis Noricana* or *vallis Norica*. From this the conclusion was drawn that the Isarco valley as far as Chiusa was Norican territory in the imperial period.³⁸ The fact that a post of the Illyrican customs-zone is attested at Sabiona (Säben, Subsabione) near Chiusa is cited as confirmation.³⁹ The existence of this customs-post is evidence that an ancient frontier was somewhere in the vicinity, which cannot have been the Raetian frontier: Raetia formed part of the Gallic customs-zone from, at latest, the beginning of the third century, and probably earlier.⁴⁰ A Raetian customs-post in this area was the *statio Maiensis* at Partschins on the *via Claudia*, west of Merano in the upper Adige valley: in A.D. 217 it was certainly a post of the Gallic customs-zone.⁴¹ Thus the customs-post at Sabiona will have been set up to deal with Italian–Noric traffic and not for Raetia. However, these arguments do not prove that Noricum extended into the Isarco valley. The medieval name ‘Noric valley’ is not necessarily of ancient origin,⁴² but in any case it need only have signified ‘the valley leading to Noricum’. As far as the customs-post at Sabiona is concerned, the Illyrican customs-zone did in fact have posts in northern Italy, along the trade-routes, for example at Timau and Resiutta, south of the Norican–Italian border. Whether Sabiona lay in Italy or Noricum must remain uncertain, since we are ignorant about the post that will have been its opposite number on the other side of the frontier. But from purely geographical considerations it is more likely that Noricum did not extend into the Isarco valley, of which the southern section belonged to Italy and the northern (the *vallis Vipitena* below the Brenner) to Raetia. Chiusa and Bressanone, and Sabiona too, will rather have been assigned to Italy. The boundary between Noricum and Raetia probably ran along the crest of the Zillertal Alps as far as the confluence of the Rienz with the Isarco; south of here, the Dolomites divided Noricum from Italy. A further modern supposition, that in the early imperial period the whole Brenner road, and even Veldidena (Innsbruck), belonged to Noricum, and was only joined to Raetia later, is not convincing.⁴³

The boundary between Noricum and Italy ran along the southern crest of the Alps,⁴⁴ in the Dolomites on the watershed between the valleys of the Rienz and Piave and east of this in the Carnic Alps. Inscriptions on the south side of the

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Plöcken Pass show that the competence of the authorities of the Italian town of Julium Carnicum reached as far as the summit of the pass;⁴⁵ the two customs-posts for this pass were situated respectively at Timau and at Loncium (in the upper Gail valley). On the Saifnitzer Sattel was the Norican frontier-post Larix with the customs-post *statio Bilachiniensis*, which corresponded to the *statio Plorucensis* at Resiutta in the Fella valley on the Italian side. East of Tarvisio Noricum bordered the province of Pannonia along the crest of the Karawanken;⁴⁶ the western Oberkrain below the Wurzen Pass already belonged to Pannonia.⁴⁷ East of the Steiner Alps the frontier reached the Emona–Celeia road at the Trojana Pass. The *statio Atrantina* lay here, a Norican customs-post and *beneficiarius*-station; its opposite number on the Pannonian side was the post of *Ad Publicanos*, six Roman miles away.⁴⁸

South of Celeia Noricum reached at least as far as the Save.⁴⁹ But its frontier must indeed have gone beyond the river: milestones found opposite Brestanica (Reichenburg-Rajhenburg) on the south side of the Save calculate the distance from Celeia in Noricum and not from Neviodunum in Pannonia, and were certainly in Norican territory.⁵⁰ They marked the line of a road which led from Celeia to Neviodunum and probably crossed the Save several times in the gorge near Zidani Most. The whole area of this Save gorge between Litija and Brestanica will have belonged to Noricum—and likewise the shrine of Neptune and Adsalluta at Za Savo east of Litija on the south bank of the river. There was a lively river traffic in this dangerous gorge, and the maintenance of the towpath may have made a unitary administration desirable.⁵¹ There may even have been a small *civitas* of the Ambisavi, the territory of which extended on both sides of the Save gorge;⁵² but the territory of the Latobici south of there was already in Pannonia.⁵³

The course of the eastern boundary of the province ran east of Črešnjevec in Slovenia, where there was a Norican *beneficiarius*-station; the road-station of Ragando, eighteen Roman miles from Celeia and certainly Norican, may be located west of here.⁵⁴ North of it not only was the Maribor area undoubtedly part of Noricum, but a part of the Draufeld as well, immediately west of Poetovio, for a milestone from St Johann in the Draufeld on the Solva–Poetovio road must have stood in Norican territory.⁵⁵ North of Poetovio the road-station *Ad Vicesimum*, at the Mur crossing east of Ratschendorf, lay in Pannonia. Further north still the Norican–Pannonian border probably ran along the river Lafnitz, then over the Semmering and the watershed of the Wienerwald.⁵⁶ The Vienna basin belonged to Pannonia from the time of Tiberius; the modern view, that Vindobona (Vienna) was still Norican up to the end of the first century A.D., is unfounded.⁵⁷ The border reached the Danube at Gugging, where

there was a small Pannonian frontier-post;⁵⁸ the first Norican fort west of here was Zeiselmauer—the ancient Astura, *in vicinia Norici Ripensis et Pannoniorum*.⁵⁹

Rome regarded the Danube as the northern frontier of her domains in Noricum—as already noted by Tacitus with reference to A.D. 19.⁶⁰ But this does not exclude the possibility that the Roman state claimed certain rights in the eastern sector of the zone beyond the Norican *limes*, a buffer-area dividing the empire from the Marcomannic kingdom, and exercised more or less direct military control over it. However, the building up of the Danubian *limes* and the erection of small outposts north of the Danube was a step that was not taken until long after the Roman annexation of Noricum; these were part of a development which had its beginnings with the reforms of Claudius.⁶¹

Chapter 6

Noricum under Augustus and Tiberius

The administration and the army

The annexation of the *regnum Noricum* in 15 B.C. resulted in the introduction of a Roman administration. The prevailing view is that the subjugation of the *regnum* did not bring about the immediate creation of a *provincia* with the normal organs of administration: it is postulated that during the six decades that elapsed until the towns were founded by Claudius there was a 'state of occupation'. The idea is that the country must have been governed provisionally either by a native prince of the former royal house or by a high-ranking Roman centurion. Claudius would then have initiated normal provincial administration by nominating a procurator as governor, founding a provincial capital at Virunum and installing the appropriate administrative institutions there, and raising four other towns as well as Virunum to the rank of *municipium*.¹

In reality very little is known about the administration of Noricum in the pre-Claudian period. Neither native or Roman *praefecti* nor procurators are attested; the first known presidial procurator of Noricum, C. Baebius Atticus, did not govern the province until the reign of Claudius. To be sure, Velleius comments with reference to 15 B.C. that Noricum was included among the Roman *provinciae* at that time, but speaks of the *Noricum regnum* under A.D. 6.² None the less, one cannot place too much value on his use of this term: *Noricum regnum* may simply be used as the old geographical name and be identical with the 'province of Noricum'—as indeed it is even in inscriptions of governors from the mid-second century.³ But it is equally possible that he had used the term *provincia* incorrectly earlier on. The earliest mention of *Norica provincia* apart from that in

Velleius comes in Tacitus, under A.D. 19, but it is questionable whether this term applies to the period he is dealing with, or whether it simply corresponds to the usage of Tacitus' own day.⁴

The Norican royal house may have died out under Augustus; in view of the continuously pro-Roman policy of the *regnum* up till the annexation the possibility that it was removed by force may be almost certainly excluded. It may be that from 15 B.C. a Roman *praefectus civitatum* from the higher grades of the centurionate in the Pannonian army ruled the country. One may cite as a parallel the situation in Raetia, where at least at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius a *primus pilus* of the Upper German army was serving as *praefectus* of the Raeti and Vindelici and the Vallis Poenina; or that in Judaea, where Pontius Pilate held office as *praefectus Iudaeae* from A.D. 26–36, and was in some degree dependent on the commander of the Syrian army.⁵ Detachments of the Pannonian legions are in fact attested in Noricum under Augustus and Tiberius. However, it does not necessarily follow from this that they were under the orders of the Pannonian legate and that a *primus pilus* of a Pannonian legion was governing the country in the legate's name: detachments from Pannonia were stationed in Noricum after the time of Claudius as well, at a time when Noricum had long since had a normal provincial administration under its own governor, a presidial procurator.⁶ Besides, the situation in Noricum was quite different from that in Raetia, which had been conquered after heavy fighting, or in Judaea which was always turbulent. Peace reigned unbroken in Noricum: as early as the time of Augustus many natives were granted Roman citizenship here, and there was a relatively large number of Roman immigrants; and Noricum's mining, industry and trade were of the highest importance for Rome. All these circumstances not only made possible, but required, that a totally different policy should be pursued here from that adopted in Raetia and Judaea: a purely military administration would hardly have been able to cope satisfactorily with the complicated tasks of a civilian authority, for which appropriate specialised capacities were required. A more likely possibility is that Augustus and Tiberius installed the descendants of the native kings as prefects—as in the *regnum Cottianum*, where Augustus appointed M. Julius Cottius, son of the king C. Julius Donnos, as *praefectus civitatum*.⁷ All the same, a native prefect in Noricum could hardly have commanded the Pannonian legionary vexillations, at most the native auxiliary units such as the Cohors Montanorum prima.⁸ Besides, one would have to ask why a prefect from the royal family was not mentioned along with the Norican *civitates* in the Magdalensberg inscriptions of 10–9 B.C.; the inscription on the arch at Susa, dedicated to Augustus in 8 B.C., names at the head of the list of fourteen Cottian *civitates* their prefect, M. Julius Cottius. Thus the problem

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remains unresolved; but one must not exclude the possibility that a normal provincial administration with a presidial procurator was in fact installed in Noricum before Claudius—if not immediately after the annexation, at least under Tiberius or Caligula, as in Raetia.⁹

It is at any rate probable that a civilian administration of a permanent kind was installed in Noricum immediately after the annexation. The so-called 'House of Representatives' (*Repräsentationshaus*) on the Magdalensberg did not, to be sure, necessarily serve as the residence of a high official. But the building adjoined an official structure with a raised tribunal (Pl. 4) and, extending in front of this, a courtyard surrounded by colonnades (Fig. 2). One may be justified in seeing this building-complex, which was constructed shortly after 15 B.C., as the seat of the official whose task it was to act as the highest authority for the administration of the country, until the Magdalensberg was evacuated under Claudius.¹⁰ The finds do not make it clear who the holder of this high office was. This much however is certain: he carried on the civil administration here, whether or not he was simultaneously commander of the Norican troops. It was not a coincidence that the official residence was constructed in the Roman civil settlement and not in the fort occupied by the troops stationed on the Magdalensberg, which is presumed to have been sited on a south-facing terrace lower down the mountain-side.¹¹ Obviously this Roman official must have had civilian personnel at his disposal—above all for running the economy of the province: a freedman of the emperor, who lived in the beginning of the imperial period and was perhaps a native Norican, and at all events was married to a Norican woman, may have belonged to this staff.¹² All things considered, there must already have been a permanent civil administration in Noricum before Claudius, an administration which was probably not significantly different from that in any normal province. Thus the reforms of Claudius do not mark any sudden transition from a 'state of military occupation' to regular provincial administration, but merely changes in an already existing civil administration.

Whereas scarcely any members of the civil authorities are known from the period of Augustus and Tiberius, the sources from this time supply a larger amount of evidence for the Roman army, which likewise played a role in running the country.¹³ When the greater part of the native population submitted to Roman rule without resistance in 15 B.C., Rome did not regard it as necessary to station a major army here. The presence of strong forces in neighbouring Pannonia and, at that time, in Raetia too, was sufficient guarantee of her position. In Noricum itself small garrisons, at most, were all that were necessary. The northern frontier was also calm. About the year 8 B.C. the Marcomannic state did, to be sure, come into existence in Bohemia, bringing with it a certain foreign

danger. But only what was then eastern Noricum, with the Vienna basin, was affected: from Passau as far as the Wachau a thickly forested and almost uninhabited high plateau north of the Danube separated Romans and Germans. The 'amber road', with its terminal point at Carnuntum, was a Roman line of advance: in A.D. 6 Roman forces aimed to thrust forward from there against the Marcomannic kingdom.¹⁴ But after this important military zone had been transferred to Pannonia in A.D. 14, Noricum ceased to have any military significance for a long time.

The Norican garrison-troops of the earliest imperial period are only partially recorded—they were detachments of the legions of the Pannonian army and *auxilia*.¹⁵ It is certain that under Augustus and Tiberius they were not yet concentrated on the Danube line, but dispersed in the interior. The most important military strongpoint in Noricum at this time was the Magdalensberg. A funerary inscription from the mountain, which may date to the last years of Augustus, mentions three troopers (*equites*) of the Pannonian Legion VIII Augusta (Pl. 12); one of them, who died after twenty-eight years' service, had also been *quaestor veteranorum*.¹⁶ The vexillation of the legion (which at this time had its permanent base at Poetovio) will have consisted of selected cavalymen, including veterans who had remained under the colours. The arms and armour found on the Magdalensberg, including the cheek-piece of a legionary's helmet, are mainly to be associated with this small legionary garrison.¹⁷ It would seem that these soldiers joined the mutiny of the Pannonian legions in A.D. 14, for it was probably these men who at this time destroyed the dedicatory inscriptions with which the Norican *civitates* had honoured the ladies of the Augustan imperial house.¹⁸ Apart from this force, the Magdalensberg garrison also included at least a detachment of the Cohors Montanorum prima—an auxiliary unit which was undoubtedly raised in Noricum itself under Augustus.¹⁹ Two inscriptions on the Magdalensberg from the reign of Tiberius name soldiers of this unit; whether it took over from the legionary vexillation in about A.D. 14, or whether both these forces were stationed on the Magdalensberg, before and after A.D. 14, is a question that remains unanswered.

There were similar small garrisons elsewhere as well. Four tombstones of soldiers from the Cohors Montanorum prima, found at St Veit an der Glan, in the Schloss Tanzenberg and in the monastery of St Georgen am Längssee, have been carried there from the Zollfeld, and a detachment of the cohort must therefore have been based under Tiberius in the area of the later town of Virunum.²⁰ One Ambidrabus, *eques auxsiliaris*, buried by his parents at Paternion between Villach and Teurnia, perhaps served in this unit at the beginning of the imperial period.²¹ It must remain very doubtful whether a fort for the unit in which he

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served need be postulated in the area of the earlier Celtic *oppidum* of 'Stadt Görz' near Paternion;²² the soldier, who died at the age of twenty and hence probably straight after his enlistment, is more likely to have been enrolled in the Cohors Montanorum on the Magdalensberg or in the Zollfeld—but this depends upon whether this unit, like a later Cohors Noricorum, was a *cohors equitata*. Another fort of the earliest imperial period, thought to exist in the upper Glan valley, at Liebenfels, below the temple of Noreia at Hohenstein, is not adequately proved.²³ A number of other traces of early garrisons also remain problematical. The famous Negau helmets (*Negauer Helme*), a find of Roman helmets from Ženjāk north of Celeia, belonged to auxiliaries stationed in south-eastern Noricum under Augustus, including a German named Harigastus, owner of one of them (Pl. 13); however this auxiliary unit was probably only in Noricum on a temporary basis, perhaps in the course of Augustus' wars of conquest in the Danubian lands.²⁴ Perhaps a Roman helmet found in the Völkermarkt region in eastern Carinthia should be explained similarly.²⁵ By contrast, a small garrison does seem to be attested at Celeia, stationed here permanently in the pre-Claudian period. As with the detachment on the Magdalensberg, the men were supplied by VIII Augusta in Pannonia.²⁶ A further small legionary vexillation from the Pannonian army perhaps lay in the central Norican mountain-country, between the crossing over the Niedere Tauern and the Pyhrn Pass: a tombstone of a serving soldier of the Legion XV Apollinaris, which was stationed at Carnuntum from A.D. 14 onwards, has been found probably at Rottenmann, in a valley close to the river Enns.²⁷ The stone indicates that the 'Norican main highway', leading north, was already in use as a natural line of communication, and under military surveillance, before its construction was completed under Claudius. There may even have been a small detachment of XV Apollinaris at the terminal point of this road, Lauriacum²⁸—but the transfer of Norican troops from the interior to the Danube did not begin until around the mid-first century.

The civitates

No military risk was involved in splitting up individual units into small detachments and dispersing them in the interior near trading-centres and along trade-routes, for there was no reason to fear a native rising; besides, in this way the army could be of more use to the central authorities in the administration and control of the country, than if they had been concentrated at a single point. Above all, the individual native *civitates*, on which the administration of particular sections of the country and particular groups of the population was based, could be brought under control better by this means. The tribes of the eastern

Alps, who had formed the *regnum* under the leadership of the Norici before the Roman annexation, continued to exist after 15 B.C. as communities of the native population, as *civitates peregrinae*—or, to be more precise, as they probably had a treaty with Rome from the time of the annexation onwards and had to pay taxes, as *civitates foederatae et stipendiariae*. Unfortunately, very little is known of their history.²⁹ The two principal sources, namely the inscriptions on the Magdalensberg and Ptolemy, do not even give a complete list of the Norican *civitates*. The inscriptions were found broken in pieces in the Roman settlement on the Magdalensberg, in the 'House of Representatives' and its immediate vicinity. There were originally three stone tablets (Pl. 15), set up in 10 or 9 B.C. in honour of the empress Livia, Julia the daughter of Augustus and the younger Julia, by eight Norican *civitates*:³⁰

NO. 1	NO. 2	NO. 3
<i>Liv[i]ae C[aesaris]</i>	<i>[Iuli]ae Ca[esaris]</i>	<i>Iuliae C[aesaris]</i>
<i>Augu[sti ux(ori)]</i>	<i>Au[g]usti f. Neron(is uxori)</i>	<i>August[i nepti]</i>
<i>Norici A[m]bilini</i>	<i>[N]oric[i Am]bilinei</i>	<i>[No]rici Am[bilini]</i>
<i>Ambidr. Uperaci</i>	<i>[A]mbidr. Up[eraci] Saev.</i>	<i>[A]mbidr. U[peraci] Saev.</i>
<i>Saev[ates] Laia[n]ci</i>	<i>[L]aianc. Amb[is]ont.</i>	<i>[Lai]anci [Ambisont.]</i>
<i>[A]m[bisont. E]lveti</i>	<i>Elveti</i>	<i>[Elveti]</i>

The order in all three inscriptions is the same: *Norici*, *Ambilini*, *Ambidravi*, *Uperaci*, *Saevates*, *Laianci*, *Ambisontes*, *Elveti*. The list given by Ptolemy is somewhat different: 'In the western part of the province dwell, beginning in the north, the Saevates, Alauni and Ambisontii, in the eastern part the Norici, Ambidravi and Ambilini.'³¹ Other sources scarcely record Norican *civitates*: the only other mentions are of the *Ambisontes* on the inscription of the Tropaeum Alpium near Monaco and of the *civitas Saevatum et Laiancorum* on an honorific inscription from Julium Carnicum.³²

Some of these tribes are difficult to locate (Fig. 11, p. 98). The order given by Ptolemy is in some cases definitely wrong, for the Saevates lived to the south of the Ambisontes and not vice versa. The Norici, named first on the inscriptions in honour of the imperial ladies, apparently as the most important tribe and the one that gave its name to the province, inhabited the heartland of Noricum—central Carinthia and the neighbouring areas in Upper Styria around Neumarkt.³³ The Ambilini have been placed generally in the Gail valley.³⁴ Definite proof is lacking, but this is none the less the likeliest position for them, for the tribe clearly lived on both sides of a fairly long river, as did the Ambidravi on the Drau and the Ambisontes on the Salzach. If, as is very probable, the *civitas* lay in

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southern Noricum, it is difficult to see where else it could have been situated other than in the Gail valley. Perhaps the place called *Ἰλουνον* lay in their territory; on Ptolemy's map it comes in south-western Noricum.³⁵ The Ambidravi are to be sought at all events on the river Drau, not on the lower Drau in eastern Noricum, but almost certainly in the Teurnia area, for example between Greifenburg and Villach—the personal name Ambidrabus recorded at Paternion could be a pointer to this.³⁶ It is not known where the Uperaci lived—their name does not appear at all in Ptolemy³⁷—but there seems no reasonable alternative to the supposition that it was in the vicinity of the place called Upellae; this road-station lay fourteen miles from Celeia and sixteen miles from Colatio (near Stari Trg = Altenmarkt), according to the Peutinger Table, hence somewhere near Vitanje in the Bachergebirge.³⁸ The territory of this *civitas* may have stretched north of the Bachergebirge into the Solva region: one example of Uperacus as a personal name is recorded here.³⁹

The location of the Saevates is certain: they dwelt in the Pustertal, where the road-station Sebatum (San Lorenzo) preserved their name.⁴⁰ The Laianci were their immediate neighbours—under Claudius the two communities were already being administered in a joint *civitas Saevatum et Laiancorum*. The only possible area to be considered for the Laianci is East Tirol, with the area of Lienz, the name of which may be derived from that of the former *civitas*.⁴¹

The Ambisontes inhabited the upper Salzach valley: the Salzach was called in antiquity not only the Ivarus but also the Isonta; the Ambisontes derived their name from this—and it is still preserved to this day in the upper Salzach valley in the name of the Pinzgau region (known in the Middle Ages as Bisontia, Pisontia, etc.).⁴² The Alauni, recorded only in Ptolemy, were the northern neighbours of the Ambisontes, dwelling in the area of Salzburg and the Chiemsee. The Lueg Pass probably marked the boundary between the two. The name of the *civitas* is probably connected with the rich salt deposits around Salzburg and Bad Reichenhall, and the goddesses known, on the Chiemsee, as the Alaunae, Alounae or Alonae, seem to have been the deities of the Alauni.⁴³

The Elveti are the most difficult case. It is hard to believe that they were derived from remnants of the Helvetic Tigurini who occupied southern Noricum temporarily in 102 B.C., and that they lived north of the Wörthersee, where the modern place-name Tigring is supposed to have preserved their name.⁴⁴ The Tigurini appear to have evacuated Noricum in 101 B.C. and the Tigring area—bounded by the Ossiacher See, the upper Glan valley, the Zollfeld and the Wörthersee—will have belonged to the tribal territory of the Norici. Even the name of the Elveti does not necessarily indicate that this tribe was first separated from the western Helvetii c. 100 B.C. There are a number of cases of Celtic tribes

with similar names living in widely separated areas, as a result of the Celtic migrations, although it is by no means clear in individual cases that they had a common origin. There were, for example, Boii both in northern Italy and in Bohemia (and later on the Danube), Belgae in Belgica and in Britain and Belgites in Pannonia, Uberi in the Vallis and Uperaci in Noricum. Perhaps the Elveti are to be sought somewhere in the vicinity of the Ambisontes, whose name precedes them in the list of Norican *civitates* on the Magdalensberg inscriptions. It appears that the order of the tribes on these inscriptions is geographical: the most important tribe, the Norici, is followed by its immediate neighbours in the west (Ambilini, Ambidravi) and east (Uperaci), then come tribes in the south-west (Saevates, Laianci) and their northern neighbours (Ambisontes); the Elveti, who come in the last place of all, perhaps dwelt not far from the tribe mentioned before them, for example in the upper Mur valley or on the lower Salzach.⁴⁵

Apart from these nine *civitates* there were certainly others, namely in northern and eastern Noricum.⁴⁶ Even the Magdalensberg inscriptions only give the names of the southern and western tribes. It remains unknown why the remaining *civitates* did not participate in this act in honour of the Julian house.⁴⁷ Absent from this list are not only the Alauni but the Boii, who likewise belonged to Noricum up to A.D. 14. But there is no other information about any further tribes; it is only a hypothesis that there were 'Ambisavi' in the valley of the Save, and one can hardly reckon with a *civitas* of the Latobici in eastern Noricum.⁴⁸ Hence the exact number of Norican *civitates* also remains unknown. There is no basis for the modern theories which suppose that there were thirteen of them. The thirteen Norican place-names known to Ptolemy in no way indicate that there was a similar number of *civitas*-capitals, for Sebatum, which was evidently the *chef-lieu* of the Saevates, does not appear in his work; and the thirteen niches in the walls of one room in the 'House of Representatives' on the Magdalensberg do not permit the conclusion that it was an assembly-room or record-office for these supposed thirteen tribes.⁴⁹

The sources are also completely silent as to how the Norican *civitates* were administered before the foundation of the first *municipia* under Claudius. In other Danubian provinces, one, or often several, *civitates peregrinae* were headed either by a Roman officer or by a member of the native aristocracy, with the rank of *praefectus* or *praepositus*, and a council of native *principes* under him.⁵⁰ The Norican *civitates* will have had a similar organisation; the men who presided over them are more likely to have been members of the native upper classes than Roman officers, in view of the largely peaceful annexation of the country. The institution of the later *praefecti iure dicundo* in some of the Norican towns perhaps grew out of earlier native *civitas*-prefectures.⁵¹ But the military personnel,

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distributed at numerous points in the interior of the province, almost certainly had some supervisory role *vis-à-vis* the *civitates*.

The golden age of the Magdalensberg (Fig. 2: Plates 3–8)

The centre of the Norican administration under Augustus and Tiberius was on the Magdalensberg, where the already existing settlement now enjoyed its greatest period of prosperity—although it did not receive the rank of an autonomous town.⁵² The Roman settlement acquired a new character after 15 B.C. The trading establishment with its shops and cellar-warehouses on the east side of the market-place did, to be sure, continue in existence; it has produced a particularly rich series of finds which illuminate the commercial activity there precisely from the succeeding six decades. Apart from this, however, the booths around the market-place were demolished to provide space for new buildings. On the west side of the forum the ‘House of Representatives’ grew up⁵³—perhaps a religious building. Inscriptions scratched on the inside walls contain good wishes for the Augustan imperial house and references to sacrifices, including ones made in A.D. 4 and 5,⁵⁴ and other finds probably also indicate that the people living in the house worshipped local deities.⁵⁵ North-east of this rooms were built for the administration, decorated with wall-paintings, and a tribunal (Pl. 4) was set up, looking out on a great courtyard with colonnades.⁵⁶ As the inscriptions dedicated by the Norican tribes in 10–9 B.C. were placed somewhere in the building-complex which embraced the ‘House of Representatives’ and the official building adjoining it, the whole thing must have come into being straight after the annexation of the country. To the east of it, on the north side of the forum, a start was made, after the death of Augustus, with the construction of a temple for two deities, probably Dea Roma and Divus Augustus (Fig. 22); after a change in the original design, this temple ought to have achieved its final form under Claudius, but it was never completed.⁵⁷ Further Roman buildings stood, round the forum, on the individual terraces of the Magdalensberg, some of them apparently the dwellings of rich merchants, as was perhaps also the luxurious ‘great villa’ south of the ‘House of Representatives’, which was first completed after the death of Augustus.⁵⁸ It is, to be sure, as yet unknown how many Roman buildings were put up in the area of settlement, which comprised three square kilometres. But it is certain that the excavations carried out so far have brought to light the central portion of the Roman town. The number of inhabitants must have been considerable: a burial-ground that has been identified to the south-east of the summit, where the tombstones of the Roman merchants have been found, extended for six hundred metres along a street of tombs.⁵⁹

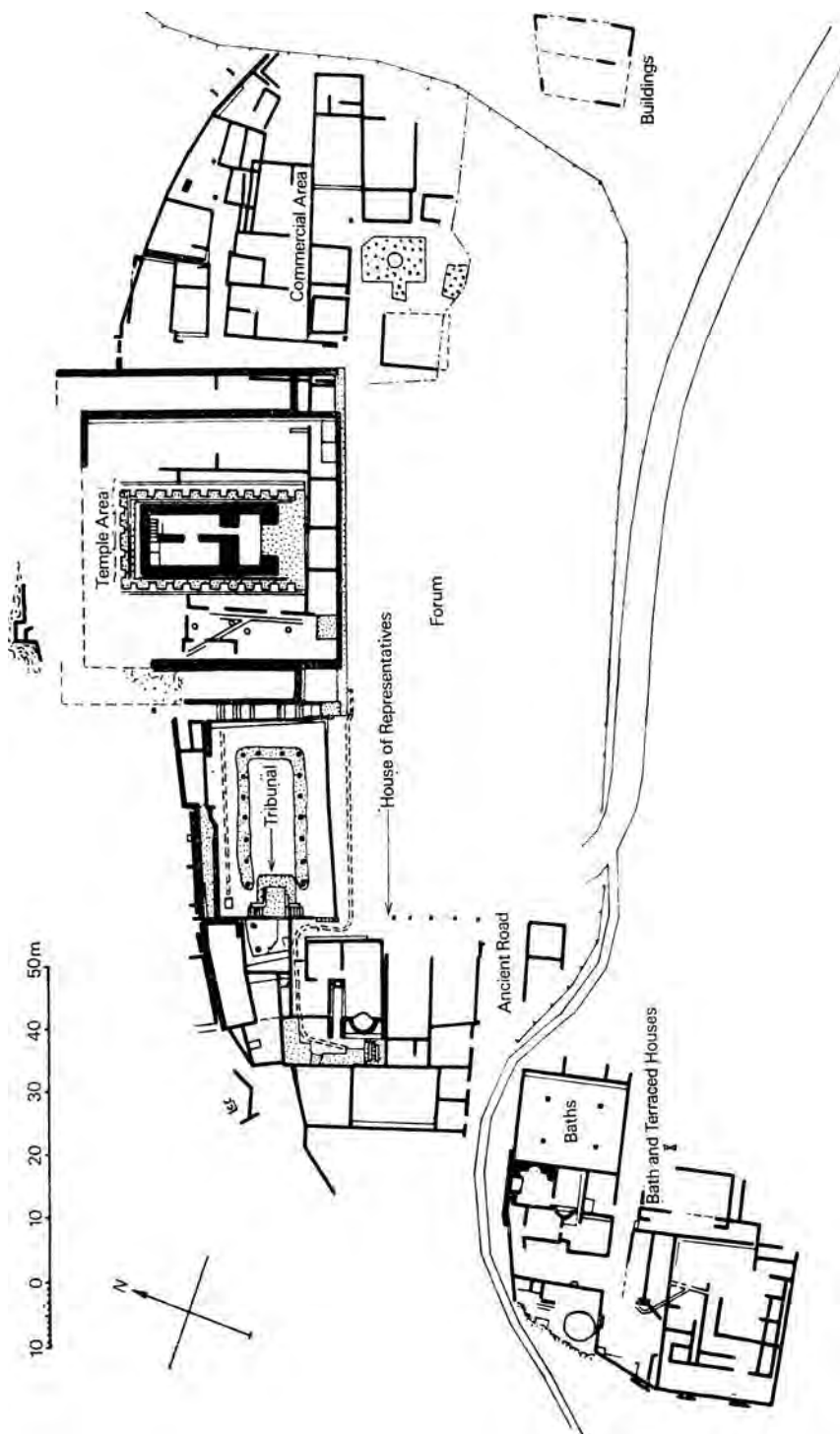


Figure 2 The Roman settlement on the Magdalenberg

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More than fifty funerary inscriptions and further inscriptions, in surprising profusion, on the walls of shop-cellars, on tokens and weights, on vessels and various other small objects from the Magdalensberg, mostly belonging to the early imperial period, provide good evidence for the population of the settlement.⁶⁰ A considerable number of the inhabitants was made up of the native element: the names of natives occur not only on the wall-graffiti of Italian merchants as their customers, and thus only temporary visitors to the mountain, but on many of the tombstones as well, indicating that they were permanent residents. The majority of the known native inhabitants of the Magdalensberg under Augustus and Tiberius still lacked the Roman citizenship; they were *peregrini*, who mostly bore Celtic names, such as Coma Lottonis f., Tertio Mannonis f., Redsatus Matugenti f., Conságio Saturiónis f.⁶¹ But a process of assimilation was already under way at this time, which led to the gradual disappearance of the differences between the natives and the Roman immigrants. The Celts here had good relations with the foreigners in more spheres than a mere trading-partnership: family connections became ever more frequent. Thus it often happened that foreign freedmen, who settled on the Magdalensberg as agents of Italian merchant houses, married native wives there. For example one T. Kanius T. l. Philocrates took a lady named Banona as his wife.⁶² Besides this, there were already a small number of Celts who had acquired Roman citizenship under Augustus and Tiberius.⁶³

The foreign immigrants were mostly merchants, in the main freedmen of the great business houses of Italy. As well as the Barbii, Fundanii, Poblicii, Postumii and Vetilii, already known on the Magdalensberg before the Roman annexation, a long series of agents of other Italian trading houses are recorded under Augustus and Tiberius. More than twenty merchant families are attested with permanent representatives on the Magdalensberg—families from northern Italy, especially from Aquileia, but also from other parts of Italy and not least from Rome itself. Some of them had already built up their trading network in the Mediterranean in the late republican period.⁶⁴ But many small-scale traders also came to the Magdalensberg, mainly to make purchases in the shops of the great business-houses—and they came not only from Italy, but from very varied parts of the ancient world. Inscriptions on walls of shop-cellars mention merchants from many Italian towns, such as Aquileia, Bononia, Vetulonia and Rome, perhaps also from Lanuvium, Anxur (in Latium) and Bantia (in Lucania).⁶⁵ But individual merchants also came from Patara in Asia Minor⁶⁶ or even from Volubilis in Mauretania (at a time when that country was not yet a Roman province),⁶⁷ and there were trading-links with the Rhineland: a Roman millstone found on the Magdalensberg can be shown from the type of stone to derive from

the Mayen region—the quarries and workshops there supplied a wide area with their products.⁶⁸

Inscriptions and archaeological finds provide an excellent insight into the economic life of the Magdalensberg. Industrial production was of importance even on the mountain itself. Not only was Norican iron smelted here, but brooches and native pottery were made too;⁶⁹ there were workshops used by joiners, harness-makers and tailors, and even a fullery for textiles.⁷⁰ But it was trade that was of decisive importance for the settlement's economy: the Magdalensberg was 'a market for the wholesale trade'. Italian merchants sold here all the goods that were obtainable in the Mediterranean world and were of interest to their native trading-partners. As a result of bulk importing from Italy, pottery in vast quantities arrived at the Magdalensberg—Aco-beakers, Arretine ware and, under Tiberius, sigillata from the Po valley, bowls with barbotine decoration and lamps,⁷¹ as well as other household goods, glass-ware,⁷² and, not least, amphorae filled with oil, wine and even fish-sauce.⁷³ The principal export was of course Norican metal goods, which were already renowned at Rome under Augustus.⁷⁴ Wall-inscriptions in two shop-cellars north-east of the trading forum make numerous mention of the following items: *anuli* (rings), *unci* (hoes), *incudes* (anvils), *securae* (axes), all made of iron; *cumbae* (cauldrons) of iron or of copper, *cadi* (jugs), *disci* (plates), *scifi* (cups), and *urcei* (jugs with handles) of copper (and for which brass was also used).⁷⁵

These wall-inscriptions accord with a kind of book-keeping which the Roman merchants sedulously practised. They noted down in the main the names of those native traders from whom they made purchases, and the types of goods, with figures and weights. These records made plain what their trading practice was. Most of the goods concerned were certainly not made on the Magdalensberg, but came from all parts of Noricum where there were raw materials and small native workshops. They were then transported to the Magdalensberg by the native craftsmen or by small native traders and sold to the Italian shopkeepers here. Many native salesmen may have been regular clients, who returned to the mountain every year—for some names recur frequently in these records, such as a certain Ruscus, or Atpomarus. The goods bought from these contractors were collected in the shop-cellars in great dumps, and then transported to the south. Many deliveries were no doubt despatched by the freedmen of Italian families direct to the business houses of their *patroni* in Aquileia and elsewhere. But other stocks of goods were resold straight away on the Magdalensberg to individual traders from the south, who then had to see to the transport into the towns of Italy and the Mediterranean themselves. The merchants' records contain the names of these business partners as well, among which some recur several times,

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as with the Celtic suppliers—for example, the man from Volubilis, Orosius, must have visited the Magdalensberg three or four times.⁷⁶ The goods were frequently sold in astonishing quantities—over five or six hundred rings, hoes or plates on a single occasion.⁷⁷ Payment was made mostly in cash and probably often in gold;⁷⁸ but credit was also obtainable, with a short-term repayment period of less than five months.⁷⁹

This flourishing economic life led to wealth and prosperity. The largest profit was of course made by the owners of the great Italian firms, but the merchants directly involved in the trade were also able to enrich themselves. During the late republic, the freedmen were already in a position to adorn the native temples with gifts as lavish as the statue of the 'Helenenberg youth' (Frontispiece) and to build themselves houses decorated with wall-paintings (Plates 9–11). After the annexation of Noricum this prosperity on the Magdalensberg increased still further; most of the freedmen of Italian trading-houses were able to create a considerable private fortune for themselves, out of which, not least, they paid for their own funerary monuments.⁸⁰

Population and society

The Magdalensberg settlement had no rival in the other parts of Noricum—there were no Roman settlements and centres of trade of comparable size elsewhere. It seems, in general, that Roman merchants only settled in a few places in the country apart from the Magdalensberg, and in small numbers. There is hardly any trace in the time of Augustus and Tiberius of Italian merchants and other foreign immigrants at the sites of the later towns founded by Claudius, Vespasian and Hadrian. There may already have been, to be sure, a small Italian trade centre around this time at Celeia, where veterans of the Legion VIII Augusta were sent under Augustus or his successor. The same probably applies to Juvavum: stone buildings were already standing on the site in the pre-Claudian period, and Italian goods, including Arretine ware, had already reached the area in limited quantities in the time of Tiberius.⁸¹ In the neighbourhood of Teurnia, a small Italian trading station is attested at Laubendorf on the Millstättersee: freedmen of the northern Italian families the Barbii and Cisprii are recorded here—some of them Norican born, as were a fair number of *liberti* of Italian merchants on the Magdalensberg.⁸² By contrast, there is a complete dearth of Arretine at Aguntum, for example,⁸³ and hence no pre-Claudian Italian trading centre may be postulated here; and in numerous settlements of the central Norican mountain-country and north of the Alps, as for instance at Katsch and Moosham in the upper Mur valley, at Hallstatt or at Bedaium, the

import of Roman goods only began under Claudius or thereabouts. Likewise, the regular circulation of Roman money did not by and large move north of Carinthia until Tiberius and Claudius: coins minted earlier than this are seldom found, and the coin-series in second-century hoards mostly begin with issues of Claudius and Nero.⁸⁴

Probably the only area which was at all intensively visited by Italian merchants was that traversed by the 'Noric main highway' on its way north. Along the line of this road, under surveillance by small military posts in the pre-Claudian period, there were probably a number of trading-stations at an early date. The Magdalensberg merchant P. Veturius P.l. Amphioravus is probably mentioned on two stones, one from the Zollfeld and another found at Mariahof near Neumarkt;⁸⁵ other early merchants are also known in the last-mentioned area which was rich in iron.⁸⁶ A small trading-station may even have existed shortly before Claudius at Lauriacum on the Danube, inasmuch as the Barbii from Aquileia had already settled at this place under Tiberius.⁸⁷ The earliest Roman finds from here and from neighbouring Lentia (Linz) do in fact date to the first half of the first century A.D., in contrast to those from most of the rest of the *limes* area.⁸⁸

Although there can be no talk of an extensive Italian colonisation in Noricum, the Roman influences, markedly strengthened from 15 B.C. onwards, were of great importance for the native population: the process of romanisation was beginning. Since native contractors, traders and craftsmen regularly met Romans on the Magdalensberg and elsewhere, Rome's cultural influence in the spheres of language, script and customs also grew: a number of the native customers of Roman merchants already bore Latin names, to judge from the inscriptions in the Magdalensberg shops.⁸⁹ To be sure, the natives went on living in their farmsteads and villages, as before, and the material civilisation of the Roman world was only beginning to penetrate here before Claudius—as for instance at Baldersdorf near Teurnia or Gleisdorf in Lower Styria⁹⁰—but there soon grew up in many places a rich and ever more 'Roman-thinking' upper class, the members of which obtained Roman citizenship and often served in the Roman army.

When Rome annexed the Norican kingdom, there was only a very small number of Roman citizens in the country: apart from foreign settlers, the vast majority of the population consisted of *peregrini*, who possessed no rights in the fields of self-government, taxation, inheritance or military service in the favoured branches of the Roman army. Around 15 B.C., members of the Norican royal house at most and a few leading nobles may have had Roman citizenship, on the assumption that it had already been granted under Caesar or in the first decades of Augustus as a token of goodwill on the part of Rome. Even Augustus'

Noricum under Augustus and Tiberius

citizenship policy after the country had been annexed was only the beginning of a long process: citizenship was extended only gradually to the population of particular parts of the country and to particular social classes; the process did not reach its conclusion until the reign of Caracalla.⁹¹

Under Augustus and Tiberius it was the normal practice for native new citizens to assume the *nomen* of the emperor, and this was borne by their descendants too: the custom which was later so characteristic for Noricum, to form a *gentilicium* from the father's *cognomen*, only came in from the mid-first century A.D. onwards. Under Augustus citizenship was granted in Noricum only on a *viritim* basis, and not to whole communities—and the same applied under Tiberius. The best example of this is provided by an inscription from Celeia (Pl. 16) it names one *C. Iulius Vepo donatus civitate Romana viritim et immunitate ab Divo Aug(usto)*—but his wife, *Boniata Antoni fil(ia)*, remained peregrine in status.⁹² The granting of citizenship to such individuals could come about for various reasons. The nobles in the *civitates*, on whom the Roman administration relied heavily, were probably particularly favoured, but the influential Italian business houses could probably arrange for their native trading-partners to obtain citizenship as well. Thus two sons of a native father and an Italian mother are recorded on the Magdalensberg, with citizenship gained under Augustus; they were enrolled in the tribe Velina⁹³—to which the Barbii and other Aquileian families belonged.

The number of native Julii in Noricum, whose citizenship goes back to the beginning of the imperial period, is surprisingly large.⁹⁴ The citizenship of most of the Julii, who in the main have the *praenomen* Caius, derived from Augustus. Almost 150 known Noricans bore the name of the first emperor, whereas the numbers attested for all later imperial *gentilicia* are more limited. Augustus made these grants above all to people living in central and northern Carinthia, including natives on the Magdalensberg, but we also know many Julii in the region of Celeia and Solva, and round Juvavum as well (Fig. 3). By contrast, the natives in the central Norican mountain area and, north of the Alps, to the east of Juvavum, were excluded; the isolated cases of Julii at Ovilava may well have been people who had migrated there later from other parts of the country. One group of Julii—with the *praenomen* Tiberius—received their citizenship from the second emperor, and they included not only long-serving soldiers of the Cohors Montanorum prima but also many civilians, and in the Celeia and Solva areas as well as in Carinthia.⁹⁵ The great number of Ti. Julii in Noricum is noteworthy, for Tiberius was otherwise exceedingly sparing with grants of citizenship: apparently in Noricum he continued the generous policy of his predecessor without a break.⁹⁶

Recruiting of Noricans for the Roman army had also already begun under the

first two emperors.⁹⁷ As the descendants of Celtic warriors, hardened by the cold Norican winters and accustomed to move on foot or on horseback over difficult roads, the Noricans were valued recruits, and were enrolled into the Roman armed forces throughout the imperial period. Under Augustus and Tiberius they mainly served in auxiliary units—they were first taken into the legions from Claudius onwards, when urban territories began to be available here as recruiting grounds. The Cohors Montanorum prima was first raised under Augustus, and under the first emperors was manned exclusively by Noricans.⁹⁸ Augustus and Tiberius perhaps founded other Norican *auxilia* also: there was already an Ala Noricorum by the mid-first century at the latest, stationed in Upper Germany at that time, and subsequently on the Lower Rhine; likewise there was the Cohors I Noricorum equitata, which was based in Pannonia under Nero.⁹⁹ But the Roman government had already begun, under Augustus, to recruit Noricans for the praetorian guard as well: two Roman citizens from the Magdalensberg, sons of a native new citizen and an Italian woman, were already serving under the first emperor as *speculatores Caesaris Aug(usti)* in the guard at the city of Rome.¹⁰⁰

Roman administration, the presence of Roman troops, close connections with Roman merchants, the granting of citizenship, and native military service, all these factors soon led to certain parts of Noricum being ready for the right to govern themselves—in *municipia*. When the emperor Claudius ascended the throne, and began an active urbanisation policy in the empire, there were very few Noricans old enough to remember the free kingdom: in the meantime the second generation had already grown up, born under Roman rule and brought up under Roman influence—and ready and able to develop and live in an urban civilisation in place of the ‘village-culture’ of the Celts.

Chapter 7

The reforms of Claudius and their consequences

Provincial administration

The reign of the emperor Claudius marked a profound turning-point in the history of Noricum. If a Roman merchant from the south, who had visited the Magdalensberg *c.* A.D. 40, had returned to Noricum a decade later, a changed scene would have met his eyes: he would have found new towns, including a new provincial capital—and there would have been virtually nothing for him to do on the Magdalensberg any more. For the Magdalensberg settlement was abandoned under Claudius, and the largest part of the population moved to the newly founded Norican capital, Virunum in the Zollfeld (Pl. 18).¹ The decision to evacuate the Magdalensberg was doubtless one that was taken suddenly—and taken by the government, at a moment, when, for example, the temple on the north side of the market-place had not been completely finished. The reason for the measure was obviously that the Magdalensberg had gradually proved, after all, to be impracticable as a political and economic centre, owing to its poor communications. At any rate, the authorities of the provincial administration were transferred to Virunum, and most of the inhabitants, above all the merchant class with its trading interests, followed in their train. As a result the settlement on the mountain completely lost its importance, and there are hardly any finds here dating from the post-Claudian period.² The empty cellar-storerooms of the traders' shops were filled in with rubble,³ and the buildings themselves gradually collapsed into ruins. The mountain's only remaining role was as a cult-centre. The shrine of Mars Latobius on the summit, which presumably lay under the medieval church of SS Helena and Magdalena, probably survived into the

fourth century: the cult-statue, the figure of the 'Helenenberg youth' (*Jüngling vom Helenenberg*), was probably concealed from the Christians, near the summit, by adherents of the pagan cult.⁴

So Virunum became the provincial capital. This was where the governor resided, a presidial procurator, and where the administrative authorities were installed, the procurator's staff and the officials of the economic and financial administration, known mainly from the later period. The structure of the administration was only gradually built up.⁵ At any rate the appointment of the presidial procurator himself, and with this the setting up of the normal administrative machinery of a *provincia*, was first made under Claudius at latest, if not earlier,⁶ and presidial procurators from the equestrian order governed the province uninterruptedly till c. A.D. 170–75. The official title of these governors, who were appointed directly by the emperor, was at first *procurator Augusti in Norico*,⁷ later *procurator Augusti Norici*,⁸ or *procurator Augusti provinciae Noricae*,⁹ although these variations in titulature did not indicate any difference in their position. By contrast, the last four known presidial procurators, between the years 160 and 169, were called *procurator Augusti regni Norici*.¹⁰ Basically, the old geographical name *regnum Noricum* in this titulature was simply the equivalent of *provincia Norica*, yet the change of name, which apparently first came in under Antoninus Pius, may have had a reason behind it. Perhaps it derived from a change in the economic administration: the most important sources of imperial revenue in Noricum, still known in the third century as *patrimonium regni Norici*, were previously leased out to private *conductores*; then, perhaps as early as the reign of Antoninus Pius, they were placed under the control of the procurator's subordinate officials. Hence the procurator's new title could have marked his new direct responsibility for the property of the *patrimonium*.¹¹

The position of presidial procurator of Noricum was one of the ducenary procuratorships (with an annual salary of 200,000 sesterces).¹² This serves to indicate that the post was rated highly in the imperial administration. From the mid-first century to c. A.D. 170, twenty-two Norican procurators are known. Assuming that they mostly served for three years, there must have been about forty to fifty equestrian governors of the province in this period: hence we know about half of them. As a rule, an *eques Romanus* could only hold this position after quite a long previous career, including, normally, previous procuratorial posts.¹³ At all events he had to have served either in the equestrian *tres militiae* or in the centurionate up to the second primipilate. Only C. Baebius Atticus, the earliest known governor, under Claudius, was appointed straight after his military service; his successors had already served in at least one position as a centenary procurator, more often in two or even three posts as ducenary procurator, before

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appointment to Noricum. Among the ducenary procuratorships those in Africa, Lusitania, Asturia and Callaecia, Sardinia, Raetia and Thrace, as well as that of the *vicesima hereditatium*, could precede the Norican governorship. A procurator of Noricum could be promoted from this province to Mauretania Tingitana, Mauretania Caesariensis, Belgica and the two Germanies, and also to Raetia and the *vicesima hereditatium*.

The administration of the province of Noricum was a task that demanded of the procurator no little experience and skill. As well as his duties in the spheres of finance and the economy he had to administer justice and command the army of the province, composed of auxiliary units. In fulfilling this role he had to find the right tone for dealing also with a native and Celtic-speaking population, strongly attached to its local traditions. The government had to take all these factors into consideration when selecting an *eques Romanus* to be governor of Noricum. The earlier procuratorships in a man's career would give him good opportunities of gaining administrative experience, mostly under the supervision of a superior from the senatorial order: the procuratorial posts in Asturia and Callaecia, and in Lusitania, for example, provided useful background for someone who had to run the very important mining industry in Noricum; and the earlier career as an army officer guaranteed that he would have the necessary military grounding. However, an *eques* of Greek or eastern origin would hardly have been in a position to govern a province like Noricum, with its Celtic population, even with experience of this kind. In fact, all the known procurators were men from the western half of the empire, including natives of the neighbouring Celtic areas or even of Noricum itself. Baebius Atticus came from Julium Carnicum and other procurators were from Brixia, probably from Gemonia and Mutina, and, in the case of Claudius Paternus, from Abodiacum in Raetia. Men like this, from Celtic regions or from areas close to Noricum, would find it easy to establish a good relationship with the Norican Celts—Claudius Paternus, a romanised Celt himself, may even have been able to converse with the Noricans in their native tongue. Censorius Niger, a governor in the reign of Hadrian, seems to have been Norican-born, from Solva. The other known procurators were mostly Italians, from central and southern Italy, although Sextilius Felix, procurator in the year 69, was perhaps an African. It was no doubt of importance also that certain among the governors of Noricum had already served in the adjacent Danubian provinces, for example as prefect of a cohort in Pannonia or as procurator in Upper Pannonia or Raetia: here they would have found prior opportunities of familiarising themselves with the problems of defending the Danubian frontier, and of cultivating relations with the Celts.

Very little is recorded of the activities of individual procurators. They are

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mentioned in Noricum itself principally in the inscriptions of their subordinates, including a long series of *beneficarii*-inscriptions from Celeia. The procurator's headquarters were at Virunum, possibly on the eastern edge of the town (Fig. 5), where a large complex of buildings is perhaps to be regarded as the governor's palace.¹⁴ They probably had official buildings constructed in the town and its surroundings and perhaps paid part of the cost of erecting religious buildings as well. A piece of a monumental architrave from the quarry at Kraig (north-west of St Veit an der Glan) bears the name of Petronius Urbicus: it was certainly intended for a large building and perhaps never went to the place earmarked for it when this governor was relieved of his post under Vitellius. It was probably somewhat later than this that A. Trebonius had the temple of Noreia on the Ulrichsberg rebuilt (Pl. 14), and under Hadrian Claudius Paternus is named on a building-inscription from the temple of the same goddess at Hohenstein. Two procurators played an historical role in the year 69 when—following the lead of the powerful Pannonian army—they entered the civil war on the side of Otho and of Vespasian respectively. There were however very few great 'historical personalities' among the Norican procurators. Only two of the known procurators rose higher than to further positions in the ducenary grade. Flavius Titianus, procurator *c.* A.D. 153, was appointed prefect of Egypt ten years after that date. Bassaeus Rufus, a citizen of humble origin, went much further: after various higher posts he was made praetorian prefect in A.D. 169, and distinguished himself to such an extent in the great Danubian wars under Marcus Aurelius that he received the *ornamenta consularia*.

Urbanisation and citizenship (Figs 3, 4)

The founding of the new provincial capital of Virunum, with the governor's headquarters, was only one part of the reforms that altered the appearance of the country during the reign of Claudius and were of decisive importance for the future. The major reforms were made in the spheres of citizenship and organisation. Whereas Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula had not granted the people of Noricum any self-government and had not even given the Magdalensberg settlement the status of an autonomous town, there now began an urbanising process, which went ahead in leaps and bounds: Claudius founded five *municipia* in Noricum at one stroke. The elder Pliny enumerates these new towns and also mentions Solva, which was founded later: *oppida eorum* (i.e. of the Noricans) *Virunum, Celeia, Teurnia, Aguntum, Iuvavum—omnia Claudia, Flavium Solvense*.¹⁵ The first five on this list either have the name *Claudium* on inscriptions or are actually called *municipium Claudium*,¹⁶ and they were enrolled in the tribe Claudia.¹⁷

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The exact date when these Claudian towns were founded (the same year that the settlement on the Magdalensberg was abandoned) is not recorded: there is no direct evidence for it having been A.D. 45, as has been assumed.¹⁸ One might perhaps think of A.D. 48, when Claudius was holding office as censor and was granting privileges to the Gallic aristocracy. However this may be, the towns were certainly already founded before the last years of the reign: a citizen of the *municipium* of Celeia was recruited into the Ala Noricorum at latest in A.D. 51.¹⁹

Later emperors continued the process of urbanisation. Solva became a *municipium* under Vespasian, for it is described as a 'Flavian *oppidum*' by the elder Pliny, who died in A.D. 79. The town was a *municipium Flavium*, although in the inscriptions the imperial name takes the same case-ending as the geographical name (i.e. *Flavia Solva*), as is indeed general with the Claudian *municipia*; it belonged to the tribe Quirina of which the Flavian emperors were members.²⁰ The emperor Hadrian founded two further *municipia* in Noricum, namely Ovilava and Cetium, between the Alps and the Danube; both towns had the title *municipium Aelium*.²¹ The final act in this process came with Caracalla, who raised the civil settlement outside the legionary fortress of Lauriacum to municipal rank²² and raised the status of Ovilava to *colonia Aurelia Antoniniana*.²³

Claudius' town-foundations involved a major change in citizenship policy for Noricum. Hitherto citizenship had only been granted to individuals; now whole communities received it. Thus the numerous native Claudii in Virunum and the surrounding area were new citizens, whose citizenship went back to the time when the *municipium* of Virunum was founded; similarly later on, Aelii in large numbers in Cetium and the surrounding area gained the citizenship when the Hadrianic town was founded—they could also describe themselves as *Aelienses Cetienses*.²⁴ However, wholesale grants of citizenship could also be made without founding new towns—thus the Ulpii in and around Cetium, of which there are a fair number, had already gained the citizenship under Trajan. In the meantime the process of making individual grants by no means dried up, for block grants to communities, while they certainly dealt with enclosed groups of people, never extended to the entire population of a particular settlement and its *territorium*. Many Noricans obtained the citizenship by serving in the Roman army, either as auxiliary soldiers after a minimum of twenty-five years' service, or on recruitment, if they were accepted into the legions or the garrison of the city of Rome.²⁵ Apparently rich natives could also get the *civitas Romana* by another method—taking on the post of aedile in a *municipium*.²⁶ For women, marriage with a Roman citizen perhaps gained the citizenship; at least that would be an explanation for the fact that native women often had the same *nomen* as their husbands, in spite of being free-born and not freedwomen.²⁷ However, marriage frequently

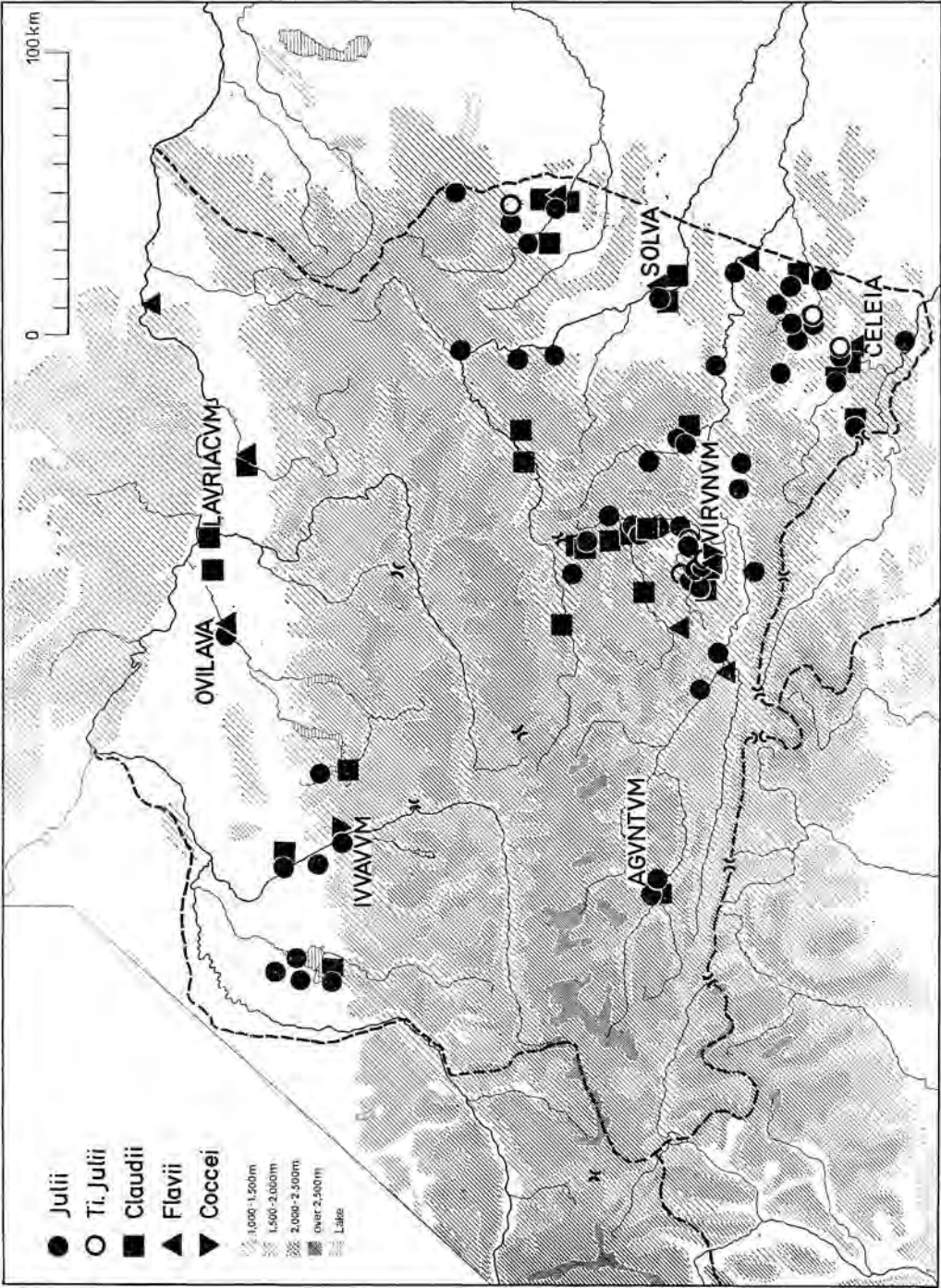


Figure 3 Distribution of native Julii, Claudii, Flavii and Coccei in Noricum

The reforms of Claudius and their consequences

did not affect the partners' legal status. The wives of many citizens remained *peregrinae* or at most had Latin status;²⁸ or, on the contrary, quite a few men who were married to citizens none the less lacked that status themselves.²⁹ In the case of many mixed marriages of this kind the children's status also varied: frequently the offspring inherited citizenship, but there were other cases where they did not.³⁰ Now and then it happened that citizenship was granted to all members of a family at one and the same time,³¹ but frequently brothers and sisters of a recipient were excluded and his wife and children as well.³²

We know of new citizens who owed their status to Claudius in all the areas where Augustus had already made grants of citizenship, including the new Claudian towns of Virunum, Celeia and Teurnia. But native Claudii also appear in Noricum in some areas where no grants—or virtually none—had been made before, for example along the 'Noricain main highway' north of the Zollfeld, in the upper Mur valley and even north of the Alps.³³ Thus with the Claudian grants the boundaries of the *municipia* were crossed and citizenship spread even to districts which up till then had hardly been romanised (Fig. 3). The Flavian emperors followed the same policy in Noricum, except that they were apparently more generous than their predecessors in the previously very backward north-eastern part of the country: the native Flavii in the area of Cetium are the earliest attested new citizens there. Coccei, whose citizenship derived from Nerva, can only be found in very isolated instances at Virunum and Juvavum, Trajanic new citizens with the *nomen* Ulpus are known in isolated places in southern Noricum and, in relatively large numbers, in the north of the province. Hadrian made generous grants not only in southern Noricum and on the Danube but also in parts of the country which were not yet much romanised, as on the eastern slopes of the Koralpe north-west of Solva. Grants of citizenship were again made on a large scale in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, to whom the Aurelii recorded before Caracalla owed their status; while the *constitutio Antoniniana* under Caracalla marked the completion of the whole process (Fig. 4).

Grants of citizenship and the founding of new towns had a major effect on the legal and social status of the native population. However, the five Claudian *municipia*, and Solva, founded under Vespasian, seem to have had only Latin rights, not full citizenship.³⁴ The fact that from the time of Claudius onwards many Noricans did not have imperial *nomina* but names formed from those of their fathers or grandfathers³⁵ may perhaps be connected with this. Imperial *nomina* seem mainly to have been borne by full citizens.³⁶ The patronymic-type of *nomina* were perhaps more characteristic of those with Latin status³⁷—at least at the beginning of the development; later on full Roman citizens certainly had

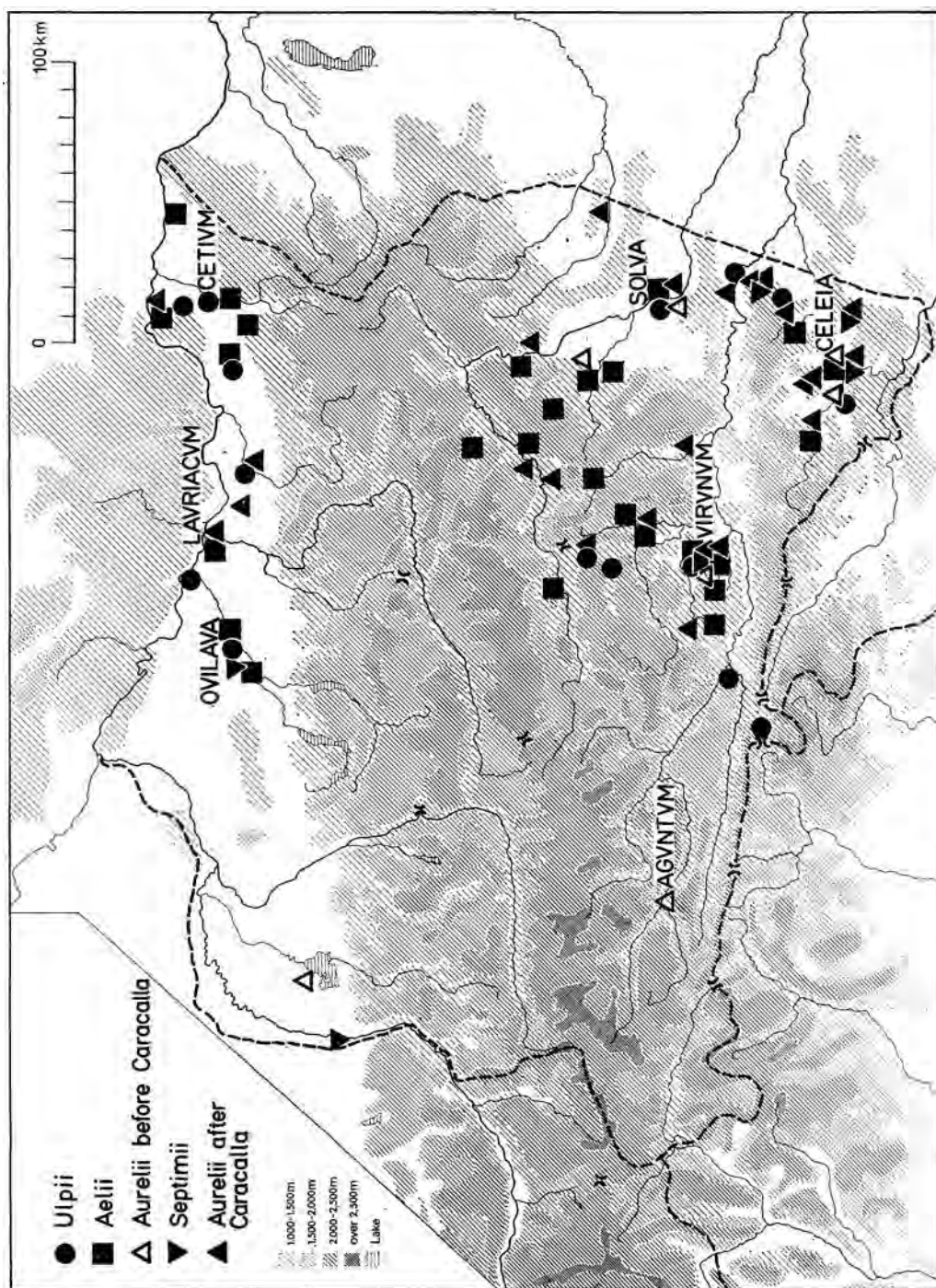


Figure 4 Distribution of native Ulpian, Aelian, Aurelian and Septimian in Noricum

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names of this kind, but they were perhaps, in part at least, the descendants of former *Latini*. It is particularly striking in the towns of Noricum before the Edict of Caracalla that many of the inhabitants did not have the *tria nomina* at all, but only a personal name with the father's name in the genitive case: these people cannot possibly have been full citizens. In Virunum the ratio of bearers of the *tria nomina* to people with peregrine names in the period Claudius–Caracalla was 140:220, against 140:115 at Celeia—and 170:110 at Solva in the period Vespasian–Caracalla.³⁸ In the membership lists of various organisations in these towns around the year 200, a remarkably large number of persons lack a Roman *nomen gentilicium*.³⁹ In fact, as late as c. A.D. 212 an inscription from Kugelstein near Solva records natives without *nomina*, Vibena Vibeni (f.) and Finitus Corbi (f.).⁴⁰ Apart from this, the emperors still had to make grants of citizenship in the towns long after the particular town had received its foundation charter. For example, we know cases in the Claudian *municipia* of new citizens who gained their status later, with the names Ulpus, Aelius and Aurelius. Thus a significant part of the population in these towns did not possess full Roman citizenship: the likeliest explanation is that the communities had only been given Latin rights.⁴¹ The same perhaps applied to the two Hadrianic *municipia*. Full citizenship was probably first accorded to the whole of Noricum by the *constitutio Antoniniana* under Caracalla. From that time onwards the inscriptions only record persons with the *tria nomina* or at any rate *nomen* and *cognomen*.

With the conclusion of the urbanising process that had been energetically begun under Claudius there were altogether nine autonomous towns in Noricum: eight *municipia* and the *colonia* of Ovilava.⁴² Considering the geographical conditions of the province, with its uninhabited mountain-ranges, the number of towns is considerable. The emperors carried out in Noricum more or less the same policy as in Dalmatia, Pannonia and Upper Moesia, where likewise a quantity of native *municipia* were founded—in contrast to Raetia, the Gallic and German provinces, and Britain, where scarcely any *municipia* at all were created. Excluding the later promotion in status of Ovilava, it was *municipia* only that were founded, and not *coloniae*, as was the case in most of the other Danubian lands and in the west. The reason for this was that there were fewer foreign settlers in Noricum. Veterans or Italian urban poor were never settled here in closed groups, and after the abandonment of the Magdalensberg there were no longer the right conditions for the spontaneous growth of Italian settlement either.

The urbanising process under Claudius, and his successors too, depended above all on the natives. Their communities received chartered status as *municipia* as was the normal practice in the early imperial period. Most citizens of the new

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Norican towns were romanised Noricans, and even the magistrates and decurions were chosen in the main from the natives—as is the case with the earliest recorded examples after the town-foundations, for example C. Vindonius Successus, aedile at Celeia, T. Julius Bellicus, decurion of the same town, or C. Antestius Ambudsuilus, aedile at Teurnia.⁴³ The *municipia* came into being either near earlier native settlements or even within the area they had occupied. Celeia and Teurnia, for instance, grew out of Celtic settlements, Virunum took over the role of the Magdalensberg, Solva came into existence below the native hill-fort on the Frauenberg. Even the town of Lauriacum will have had a mainly native population.⁴⁴ The main effect of Roman urbanisation policy in Noricum was to strengthen the romanised native population. Of course, a uniform and consistent political concept which all imperial governments followed need not be postulated; yet all the town-foundations in Noricum were probably carried out with the same purposes in view: they strengthened the economy of the country, rewarded the loyalty of the native population, met their demands for self-government—thus lightening the burden of the provincial administration—and at the same time prepared the ground for the social development which led to the creation of a ‘Roman’ upper class with men suitable for high-ranking positions in the imperial service.

The building of the towns

Great steps were made in building the new towns soon after their foundation.⁴⁵ Naturally, in no case was the final shape of the town arrived at all at once: there was continuous building activity, not interrupted until the great Danubian wars under Marcus Aurelius, in the eight *municipia* founded under Claudius, Vespasian and Hadrian.⁴⁶ Still, this development followed the lines laid down by the great building activity at the time the towns were founded: the town-plans were set out then, the street-system established and numerous public buildings and residential areas constructed.

The largest and most important town in Noricum, the new provincial capital Virunum, grew up on the Zollfeld (Pl. 18), on a terrace east of the river Glan, on the western flank of the Töltschachberg. Lying at a height of 460–70 metres above sea-level, its favourable communications along the ‘Norican main highway’, good climate, fertile countryside round about and proximity to sources of raw materials ensured favourable conditions for the growth of the town. Although the Zollfeld was doubtless already inhabited in the prehistoric period, there is no evidence for an earlier native settlement on the site apart from the native names of the townspeople and some very isolated finds of

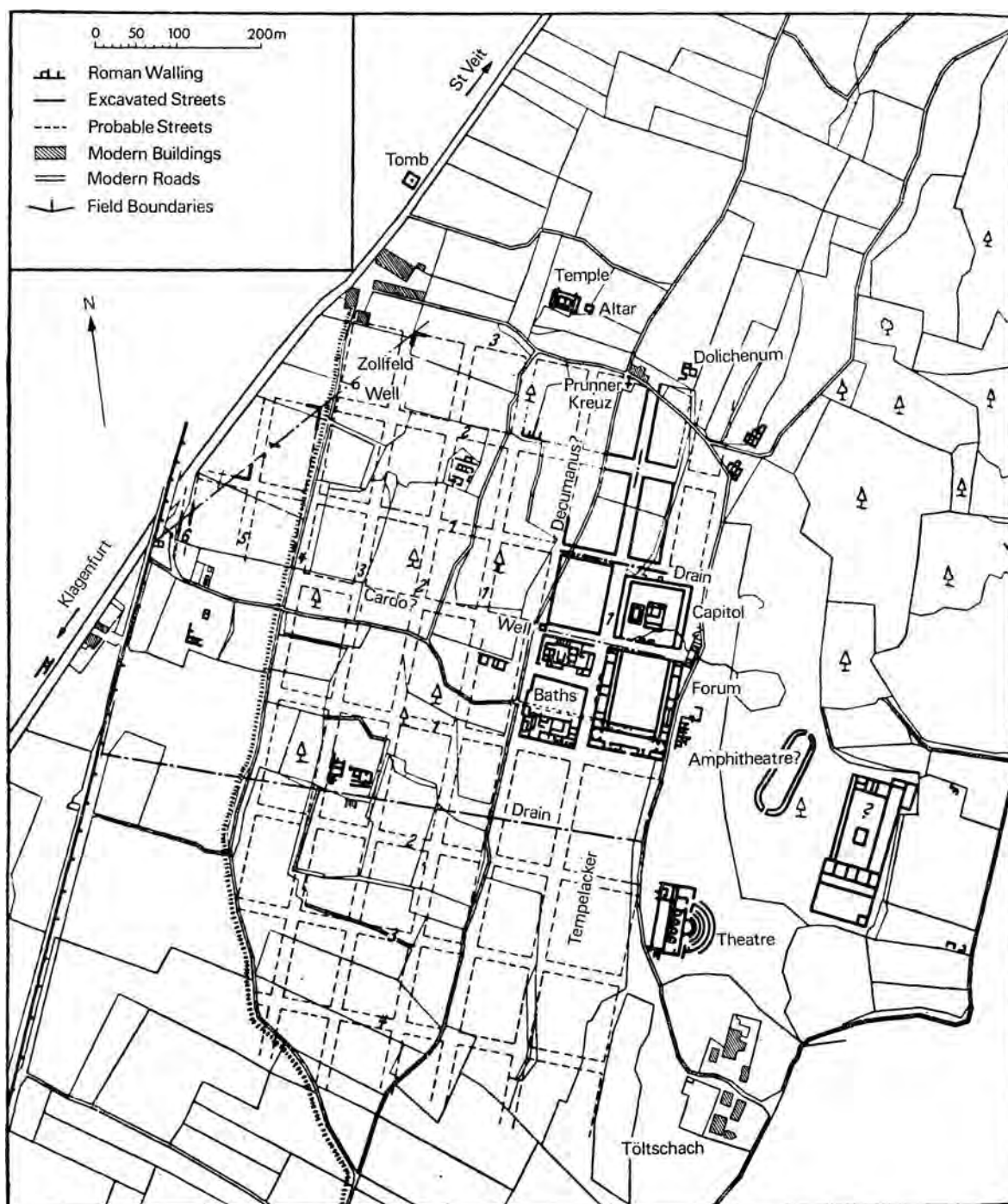


Figure 5 Plan of Virunum

pre-Roman material.⁴⁷ After the abandonment of the trading-town on the Magdalensberg, Virunum was laid out as a completely new settlement, after careful planning.⁴⁸ Only part of it has been archaeologically investigated (Fig. 5). The systematically-constructed area of the town embraced a space of about one kilometre square, with a length of at least 1,000 metres north–south and an almost equal breadth east–west.⁴⁹ However, the limits of the settlement have been established only on the west and north sides. No town-wall was ever built. The town-plan was laid out in accordance with the rectangular *cardo-decumanus* system. Wide streets with a central carriage-way and sewers divided the built-up area into individual *insulae*, the size of which varied between 37 by 70 metres and 126 by 70 metres. In the eastern part of the town a large building-complex was erected (Fig. 6), the Capitol with the forum abutting it on the south: this unified group of buildings was approximately equivalent to three residential *insulae*. The Capitol consisted of a temple with *podium* in the middle, surrounded on three sides by halls. The forum was a paved square with halls on its west and east sides and probably a basilica without side-aisles on the south side. A residential *insula*, and the so-called baths-quarter, have been excavated west of the forum. The latter building-complex included a number of rooms, among them a large bath and an assembly-room, which, at least in the late third century when the famous Dionysus mosaic was laid out in its antechamber, apparently belonged to a *collegium* of Dionysus-worshippers (Pl. 44). A large building which was perhaps the governor's palace stood on the east side of the town, as did a theatre and, probably, an amphitheatre as well.⁵⁰ On the north side in the later period were temples.⁵¹ The baths-quarter was erected about the middle of the first century, in connection with the laying-out of the town under Claudius.⁵² Most of the remaining buildings will also have been completed shortly after the foundation of the *municipium*.⁵³ However, some buildings were added later—the theatre, for example, was built under Hadrian (or at least was renovated at that time). There were extensive burial-grounds and individual villas in the neighbourhood of the town. Virunum's main burial-ground extended along the Roman road to the north for nearly five kilometres, to St Donat (Plates 43, 50), where there was also a villa.⁵⁴

The settlement-history of the remaining four Claudian *municipia* is not so well known as that of Virunum. The ancient Celeia, which grew up in the central part of the Savinja valley on a bend of the river between hills and mountains, lies beneath the modern town of Celje (Cilli).⁵⁵ In contrast to Virunum there already existed an important settlement here before the founding of the Claudian *municipium*: there was a prehistoric settlement on the Rifnik mountain, which was also inhabited during the La Tène period,⁵⁶ and under Augustus or Tiberius veterans

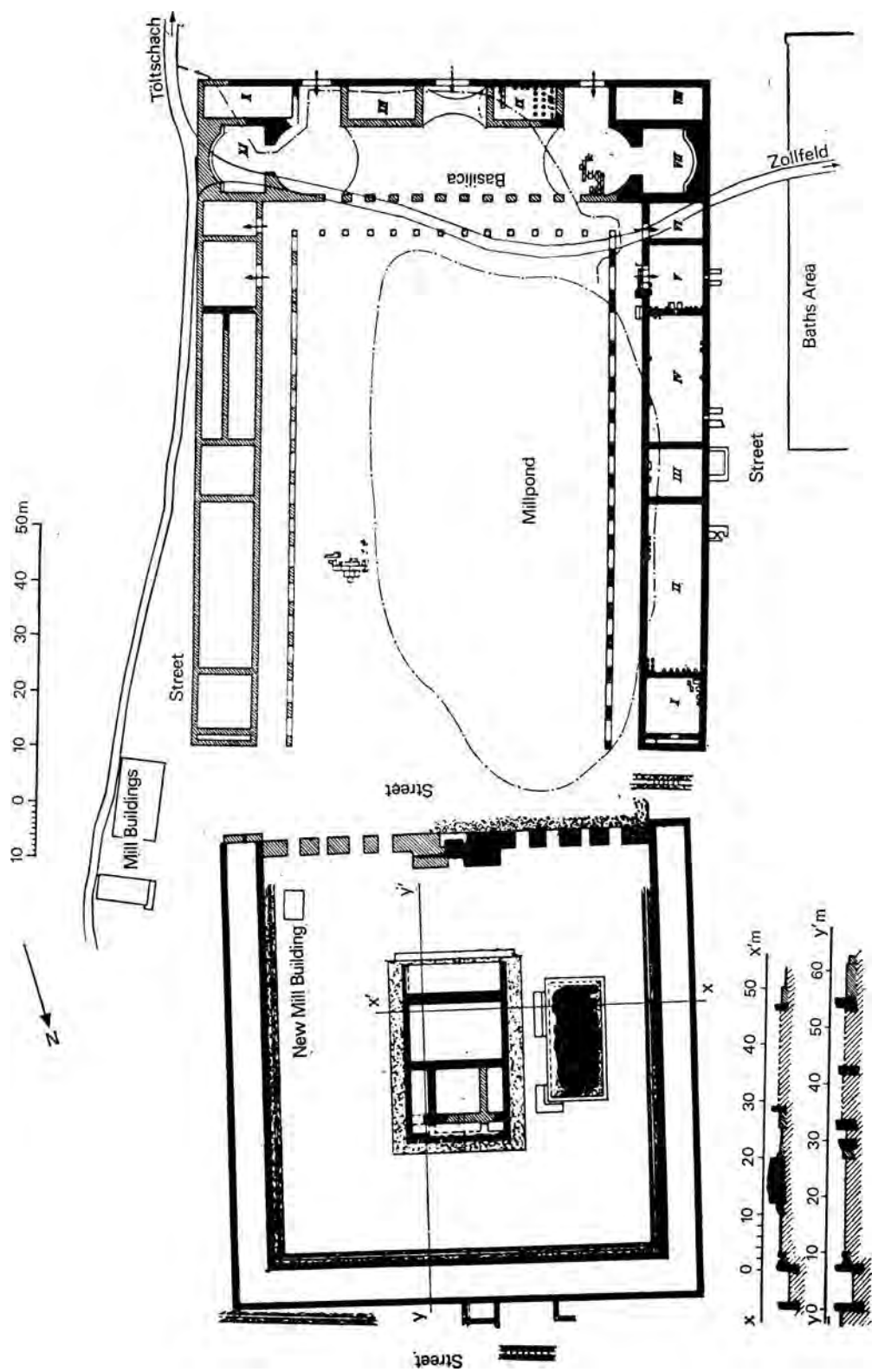


Figure 6 Capitol and forum of Virunum

The reforms of Claudius and their consequences

of the Pannonian Legion VIII Augusta also came to Celeia.⁵⁷ The construction of the new town began under Claudius: like Virunum it was systematically laid out with regular street-plan and sewerage. The dwelling-houses included rich mansions belonging to the upper class of the town.⁵⁸ Building activity went on into the later period: the temple of Hercules (Fig. 23, p. 142) was first built in the second century.⁵⁹

Teurnia in the upper Drau valley had a different history from that of Virunum or Celeia. The town grew up in the middle of the fertile Lurnfeld, on a steep-sided hill, namely the Holzerberg four kilometres west of Spittal an der Drau.⁶⁰ A Celtic hill-fort with an area of about 530 by 240 metres⁶¹ almost certainly already existed before the Roman annexation of Noricum, on the plateau on top of this hill. The Roman *municipium*, or at least its centre, developed on the site of this hill-fort, without a rectangular town-plan and in conformity with the terrace-like shape of the Holzerberg plateau (Fig. 7): the forum, with halls, and a market-place, and public baths as well, were built in the south-east part of the plateau. By contrast the dwelling-houses during the first centuries of the imperial period probably lay on the level ground on the north side of the Holzerberg: the small dwelling-houses which have been investigated on the hill itself

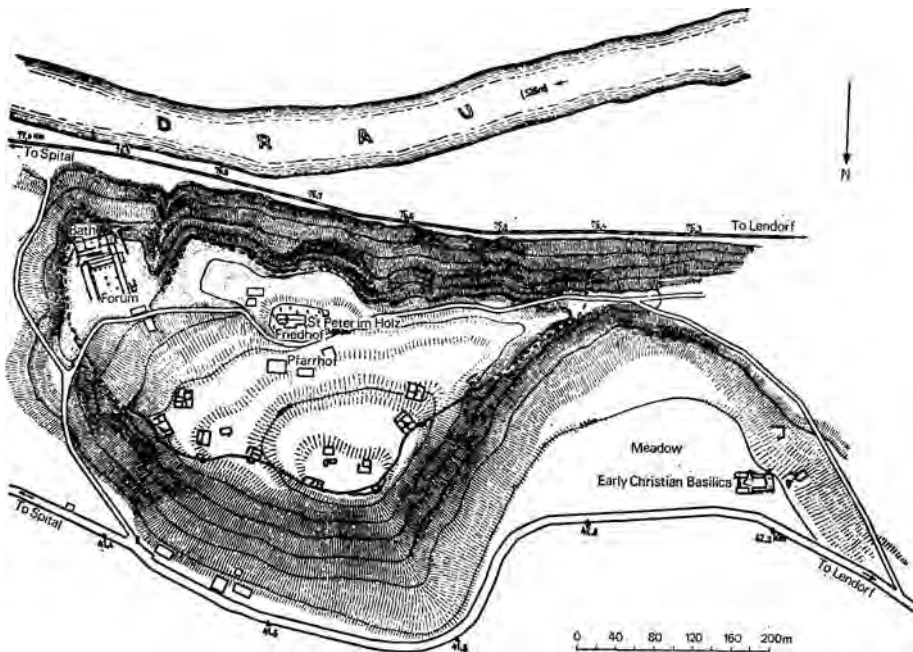


Figure 7 Plan of Teurnia

The reforms of Claudius and their consequences

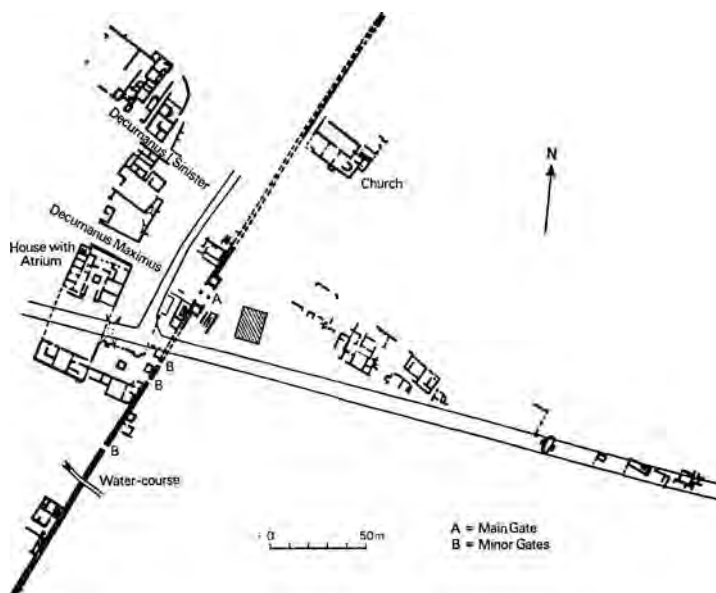


Figure 8 Plan of Aguntum

belong to the late empire and did not grow up on the sites of earlier residential *insulae*.

The fourth Claudian *municipium* in southern Noricum, Aguntum in East Tirol (Fig. 8), in many ways resembled Virunum. It was founded in the Lienz Basin, in a salient of the uppermost part of the Drau valley, west of the modern village of Dölsach, some five kilometres east of modern Lienz.⁶² In contrast to Teurnia there was no pre-Roman settlement on the site of the Roman town. The settlement which gave Aguntum its native name probably lay on one of the foothills of the Alps, north of the town.⁶³ Hence the Claudian *municipium* could be laid out in systematic fashion as a completely new settlement, with regular, if not quite rectangular, town-plan. The exact extent of the town cannot at present be established. It is certain only that the length of the town-wall on the east side was 177.6 metres, i.e. exactly 600 Roman feet. However, buildings stood thickly packed east of this wall, and Aguntum may therefore have had an imposing size if this suburb is included. This town too was not built at one fell swoop: rather one may observe a continuous building activity throughout the whole imperial period. The earliest buildings belong to the time of Claudius, but they were partly replaced c. A.D. 100 and during the half century following by further extensive building works. The luxurious *atrium*-house excavated west of the town-wall received its final form in this period—lying on the south side of the

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decumanus, i.e. the road coming from Teurnia, which passed the town-wall through a magnificent gate; and there was further building in other parts of the settlement after the time of Claudius, for instance on the site of the large bath-building north of the *atrium*-house. The town-wall, too, was first built at about the time of Hadrian. It is noteworthy that it did not enclose the whole town: on the south and north sides of the *municipium*, at least, no town-walls were built; thus the monumental town-wall on the east side, with its great gate, perhaps had a decorative rather than a defensive purpose.⁶⁴

Whereas the sites of Virunum, Teurnia and Aguntum are not occupied in modern times and are, therefore, accessible for extensive archaeological research, the remains of Juvavum lie beneath modern Salzburg and here, as at Celeia, excavation has so far been possible only on a limited scale.⁶⁵ This, the fifth Claudian *municipium* in Noricum, got its Celtic name from an *oppidum* on the Rainberg, on the east side of the river Salzach. Because of its favourable position between the high mountains and a fertile plain, not far from rich salt deposits, and its outstanding natural defences, it was one of the most important Celtic settlements in Noricum.⁶⁶ The growth of Roman settlement, with buildings in stone, was already under way here—as probably happened at Celeia too—before the time of Claudius: Roman houses were already standing below the Rainberg before the middle of the first century.⁶⁷ Then the foundation of the *municipium* led to a lively building-activity and the town began to be built up. At present it is still impossible to establish its extent. But it is at least certain that the Roman town stretched out on both sides of the river Salzach. The public buildings stood west of the river on the site of the present town-centre of Salzburg, between the Hohensalzburg castle and the Salzach, on the site of the cathedral and Residenz. On the east side of the river there were probably residential quarters, in the main, in the area north of the Kapuzinerberg. The richest house-sites, with mosaic floors, have been found in the Mozartplatz.⁶⁸ The fact that numerous burial-grounds surrounded the town on almost all sides demonstrates that it was of considerable size: on the south at the foot of the Castle hill, on the west at Salzburg-Maxglan, on the north-west at Salzburg-Mülln, and on the east at Salzburg-Schallmoos and north of the Kapuzinerberg.⁶⁹ There were numerous villas near the town, some already built in the first century, others later on.⁷⁰

The most extensively investigated of all the Norican towns is the Vespasianic *municipium* of Solva (Fig. 9). This did not, indeed, possess such good communications to south and north as did the other *municipia* of southern Noricum—it lay well away from the great imperial roads and was not even included on the ancient road-maps. None the less it formed the natural centre of the Lower Styrian hill-country. The town grew up on the Leibnitzer Feld, on a terrace on

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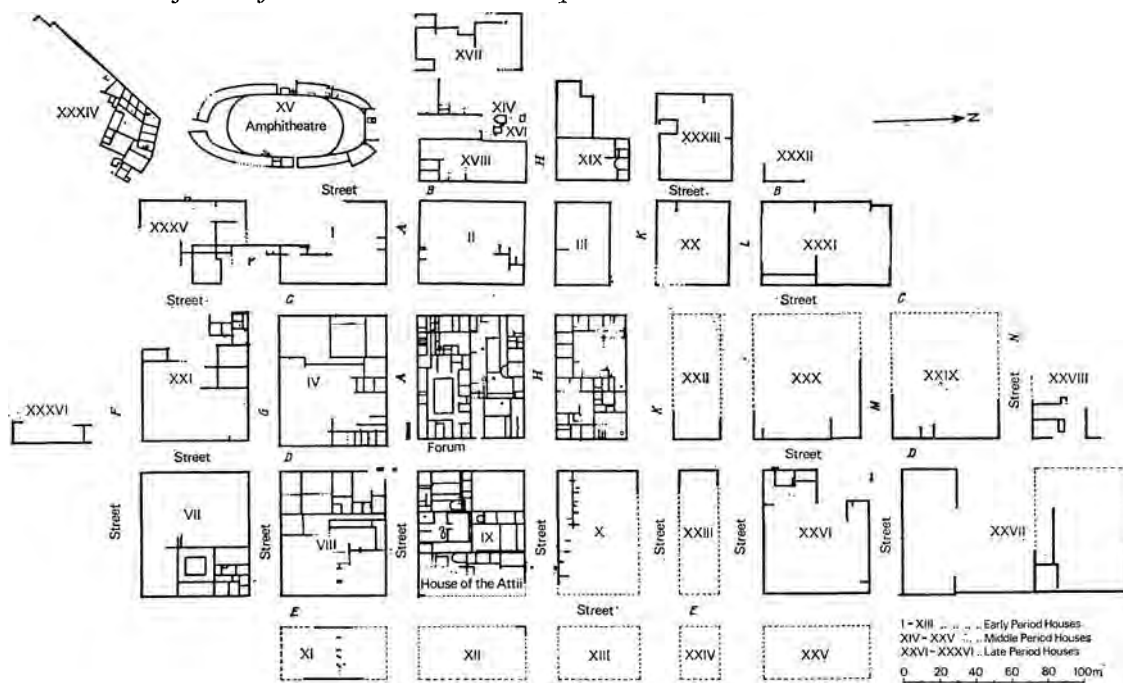


Figure 9 Plan of Solva

the west bank of the river Mur, some forty kilometres south of Graz on the site of the modern village Kleinwagna bei Leibnitz. Its predecessor was a hill-fort of the East Norican culture on the Frauenberg, four kilometres away from the later *municipium*. The inhabitants moved down from this mountain to the plain of the Mur in the early imperial period—but by gradual stages, rather than all at once as was the case with the people of the Magdalensberg. Like the Magdalensberg, the Frauenberg kept its old role as a cult-centre: a temple to Isis Noreia was built there (Fig. 19) as early as the first century and remained until the fourth, when it was destroyed by Christians.⁷¹ It is at present unknown whether a major settlement had already grown up on the site of Solva before the time of Vespasian. At any rate, it was under Vespasian that the town received the shape it retained until its destruction c. A.D. 170.⁷² The thickly built-up area of the town measured at least 600 by 400 metres, but suburban villas and other buildings, including the amphitheatre, abutted straight on to the systematically laid-out nucleus of the town, and its total size must therefore have been appreciably larger—even if never equal to Virunum.⁷³ The town-plan was very regular. The streets, laid out at right-angles on a *cardo-decumanus* system, and between 16 and 22 metres wide, divided the town into about thirty *insulae*. There was no sewerage-system, and the inhabitants only had fountains to supply their water. The

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largest *insulae*, at the junction of the north-south and east-west axes, measured 70 by 60 metres. One of them, an official building with a large courtyard, apsidal assembly room and several other public rooms, filled the role of a forum (Fig. 10). The other larger *insulae*, some of them richly fitted out, served as houses for wealthy citizens, as well as for shops and workshops. The most richly furnished *insula*, directly opposite the official building, belonged to the Attii family—one of the most important families in the town in the second century, to which the *eques* T. Attius Tutor belonged.⁷⁴

Ovilava, founded under Hadrian, is another town where only limited excavation has been possible, for modern Wels overlies it (Fig. 31, p. 182). The place

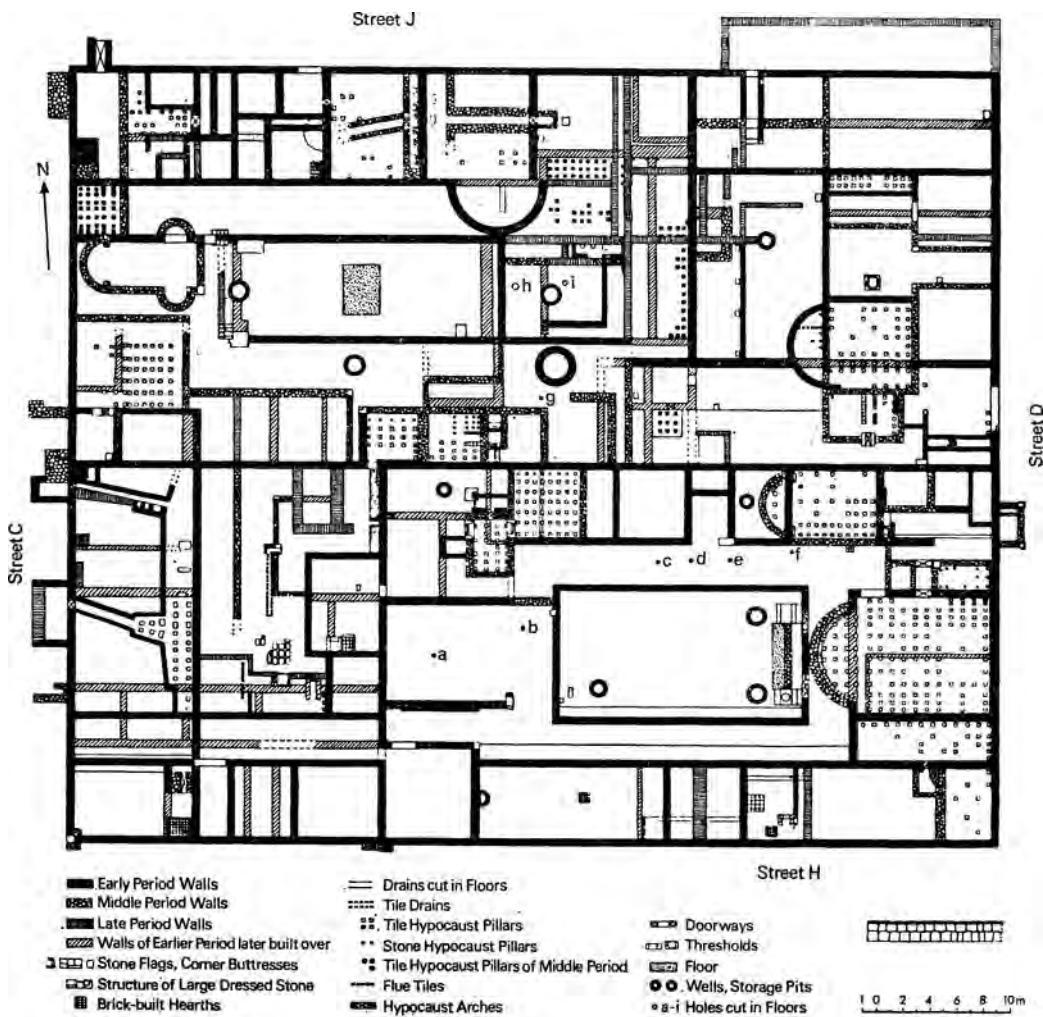


Figure 10 Forum of Solva

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came into existence in the fertile valley of the Traun, on the left bank of the river, where passage over it is easy—and at the point where the routes leading from here to Virunum, Juvavum and to the Danube intersected. Late Iron Age finds from the area of the town, as well as the settlement's name, demonstrate that there was Celtic occupation at Ovilava.⁷⁵ Graves, coins and small finds from the early imperial period indicate that by about the time of Claudius at latest Ovilava was already a *vicus*, where foreign immigrants, including Italian merchants, had settled.⁷⁶ The *municipium* founded under Hadrian grew out of this *vicus*, but nevertheless appears to have been given a new town-plan with streets laid out at right-angles (partly preserved by the street-plan of modern Wels).⁷⁷ The ancient town lay in the southern part of present-day Wels in the area bounded by the Mühlbach, Roseggerstrasse, Schubertstrasse and Feldgasse, comprising—at its greatest extent, in the third century—some ninety hectares in an irregular quadrilateral. On east and west extensive burial-grounds bounded the roads leading to Lauriacum and Juvavum.⁷⁸ During the second century the thickly built-up part of the town was still considerably smaller than this, for it was only after the Marcomannic Wars, and promotion to the rank of *colonia* under Caracalla, that it was extended northwards (p. 183).⁷⁹ The exact positions of the individual public buildings have not yet been established.⁸⁰

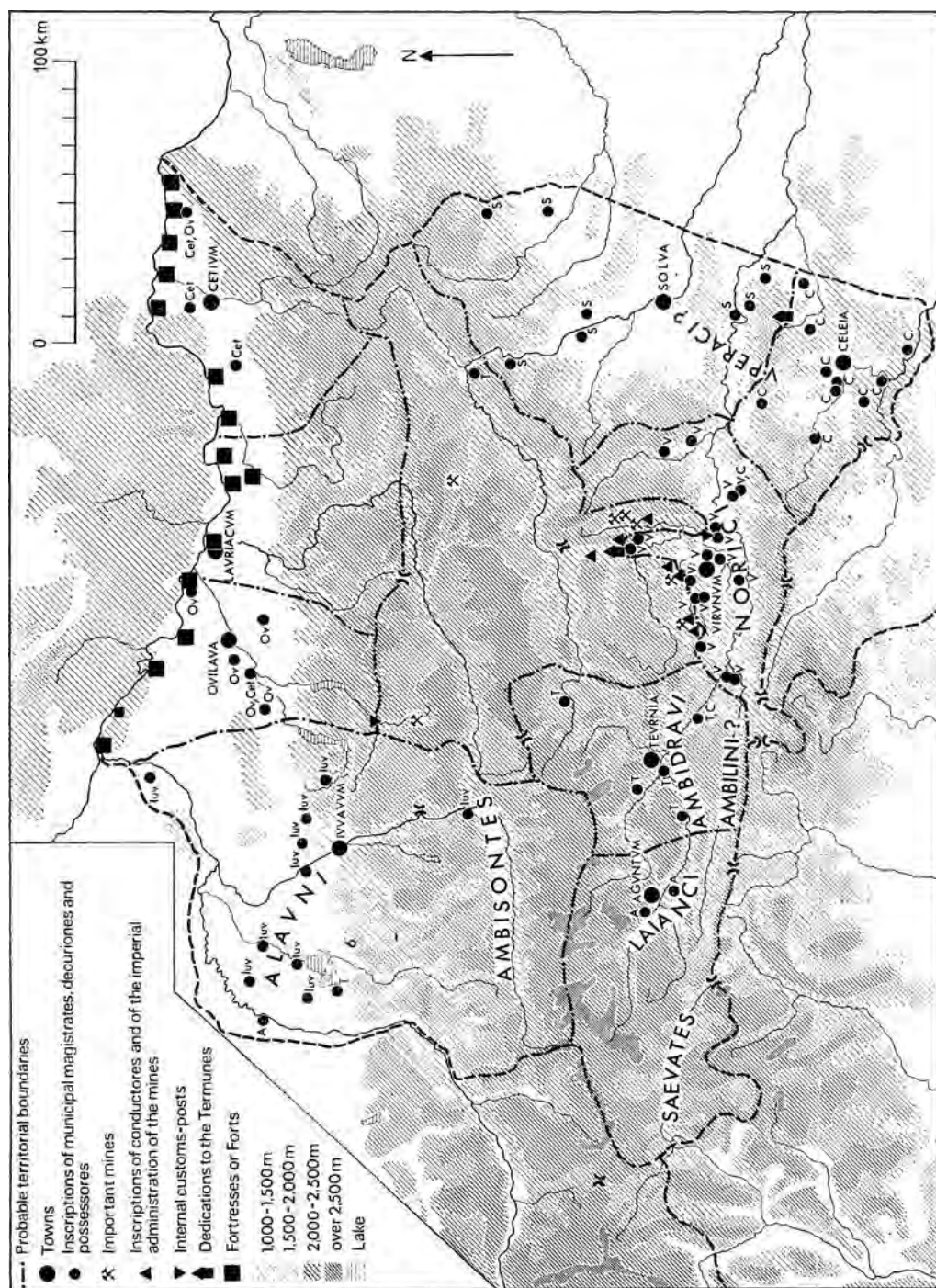
The history of the other Hadrianic *municipium* in Noricum, Cetium in the Traisen valley, is almost totally unknown: it is completely built over by the modern town of St Pölten.⁸¹ It is probable that there was a pre-Roman Celtic settlement here, but it has yet to be proved; by contrast, small finds from the first century, including south Gaulish samian, suggest that a *vicus* had grown up here, as at Ovilava, long before Hadrian.⁸² The Roman town lay in the area of the present Altstadt of St Pölten, but so far only isolated parts of buildings have been located, including one with a hypocaust, together with a burial-ground north-west of the *municipium*.

Territoria and the local government of the towns (Fig. 11)

The founding of these *municipia* had important consequences in the administration. It is not quite clear in what way the earlier *civitas*-organisation was affected. Some *civitates* were perhaps soon absorbed into the *territoria* of the new towns, as for example the Norici at Virunum and the Ambidravi at Teurnia. Other *civitates*, however, may have continued to have some kind of existence even after the founding of chartered towns in their territories. The *civitas Saevatum et Laiancorum* set up an inscription in honour of the procurator Baebius Atticus, after he had relinquished his post, at his home town Julium Carnicum. The dedication was made while the emperor Claudius was still alive, admittedly,⁸³ but it

was probably at a time when the *municipium* of Aguntum had already come into existence in the territory of the Laianci in the Lienz Basin. Besides this, the inscription shows that under Claudius at latest the two separate *civitates* of the Saevates and Laianci had been united. Perhaps the two communities were 'attributed' to Aguntum and therefore transformed into a single body; that would have meant that they were administered by magistrates from Aguntum—since the former centre of the Saevates, Sebatum in the Pustertal, did not receive chartered status. It was possibly as a result of the unification of these two *civitates*, that Ptolemy showed no knowledge of the Laianci at all; but on the other hand he also omits the Uperaci and Elveti, as well as, no doubt, other Norican *civitates* of which we are totally ignorant. The fact that the geographer still records *civitates* in Noricum at all, however, does not necessarily mean that such communities still went on into the second century, for his source may derive from the first century.⁸⁴ But one may postulate that some *civitates* continued in existence even after the foundation of the chartered towns, and that they were placed under the administration of the *municipia* by *attributio*—not only in the case of the *civitas Saevatum et Laiancorum*, but probably also in that of e.g. the Ambisontes and Alauni, which may have been administered from Juvavum. The fact that the term *civitas*, which elsewhere becomes a normal way of describing a town only in late antiquity, is applied to the Norican *municipia* as early as the first century,⁸⁵ may be evidence for such a form of organisation. Probably one or more *civitates* were administered from a single town, with the result that the distinction between 'town-territory' and 'civitas-territory' gradually faded away, and it was not only the word *municipium* that was applied to the *civitas*, but *vice versa*. Besides, one may also observe that we know many people in the country districts of Noricum who took on the post of aedile in a neighbouring *municipium*,⁸⁶ at least some of whom attained the Roman citizenship by so doing.⁸⁷ Elsewhere in the eastern Alps this opportunity was bound up with the *attributio* of *civitates* to a town, as with the Carni and Catali, who were 'attributed' to Tergeste: members of these two *civitates* could obtain Roman citizenship *per aedilitatem gradus* and entry into the *curia* of Tergeste.⁸⁸

The town-foundations of Claudius and his successors had, at all events, important consequences for the apportionment of *territoria* in Noricum: each new town was given a *territorium*, for the administration of which its officials were responsible. Thus, when sooner or later the *civitas*-areas were also absorbed into these town-*territoria*, the major part of the province was divided up among the towns (Fig. 11). But it is not possible to accept the prevailing view that from the time of Hadrian onwards the whole province was split up among the *territoria* of eight *municipia* (or nine from the time of Caracalla with the founding of



the Lauriacum *municipium*).⁸⁹ The attempt has been made to define the limits of these *territoria*, using above all the evidence of milestones, which in Noricum, with a single exception, give distances measured from towns.⁹⁰ However, there is absolutely no guarantee that a milestone which gives the number of miles from a town must necessarily be standing on the *territorium* of that town.⁹¹ It is obvious that distances along roads were reckoned from the roads' destinations—but not that roads were only laid out across the *territoria* of towns. Even in cases where the boundaries of *territoria* and the mileage on the stones agree, this is mostly the result of geographical conditions and is not produced by a system. The Tauern, for example, were the natural boundary between the *territoria* of Teurnia and Juvavum, and on either side of the Obertauern Pass miles were counted from one town or the other up to the pass, as this was a terminus provided by nature for the calculation. But territorial boundaries are uncertain elsewhere in Noricum, as there is a complete lack of inscriptions recording their adjustment. We know next to nothing of centuriation either: at the most it is possible that the early medieval rectangular-field system in Upper Austria may go back to the laying out of the ancient territory of Lauriacum.⁹² Inscriptions may be used, with caution, if they make frequent reference to town-officials in the neighbourhood of a town. But in individual cases inscriptions of that kind do not permit any conclusions to be drawn about the extent of a town's *territorium*: for example, officials of Teurnia are mentioned on inscriptions from the Chiemsee and at Bruck an der Mur, neither of which can well have formed part of the *territorium* of Teurnia.

South-eastern Noricum as far as the Bachergebirge and the Steiner Alps apparently all belonged to Celeia—officials of this town are known from the Save as far as Colatio (Stari Trg) and from the upper Savinja valley as far as Črešnjevec on the boundary of Noricum and Pannonia.⁹³ A dedication to the Termunes at Čadram, on the south-east slopes of the Pohorje Mts, probably marked the boundary between Celeia and Solva.⁹⁴ Solva's extensive *territorium* probably included the valley of the Drave east of Dravograd, the Mur valley as far as Bruck, the eastern slopes of the Koralpe and the hill-country of eastern Styria—but not, surely, Upper Styria with its iron mines.⁹⁵ The Lavant valley and apparently the Jauntal as well were already in the *territorium* of Virunum, as were also the Rosental, the Villach region and perhaps the Kanaltal too, besides the Glan valley with the Zollfeld and the lower Gurk valley; but it is difficult to see how Virunum could have possessed the mining districts of the Ossiachersee as far as Friesach and round Neumarkt, and in the Görttschitz valley, together with the Mur valley north of this;⁹⁶ the numerous inscriptions from these places provide absolutely no indication to support this view. Teurnia's *territorium*

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included the valley of the Drau, approximately from Greifenburg to Villach, and the northern tributaries of that river, as well as the Lungau (in the uppermost Mur valley) it would seem—a citizen of the town probably owned land there⁹⁷—and probably the lower Gail valley too. The areas formerly belonging to the Laianci and Saevates in East and South Tirol belonged to Aguntum. North of this the ridge of the High Tauern formed a natural boundary with the *territorium* of Juvavum, which from all appearances was larger than the *territoria* of all the other Norican *municipia*: it included the lands of the Ambisontes and Alauni and the lower Inn valley as far as Pocking, where families from Juvavum had estates.⁹⁸ In northern Noricum lay the *territoria* of Ovilava and Cetium, perhaps divided by the river Enns, and later that of Lauriacum also: these extended southwards at furthest to the foot of the Alps and hardly as far as Hallstatt or even into the upper Enns valley.⁹⁹ The various military units on the Danube may have had their own lands, but probably not more than small areas for military use round the forts: inscriptions of magistrates from Ovilava and Cetium, at Linz and Tulln, appear to indicate that the *territoria* of these towns actually went as far as the Danube, in the gaps between the forts.¹⁰⁰

It seems probable that the *territoria* of the towns surrounded an extensive tract of land in central Noricum which was not administered by the urban authorities. At the same time, this area was economically one of the most important in Noricum: this is where the largest iron-mines were, from the Ossiachersee as far as Friesach, north-west of the Glan valley, in the area round Neumarkt, in the Görtsschitz valley and on the Styrian Erzberg, as well as, probably, the most important ancient salt-mines, in and round Hallstatt (Fig. 11). As we know, these mines belonged to the *patrimonium* of the Roman emperors.¹⁰¹ It is difficult to accept that they were situated in the *territoria* of the towns, as is generally believed:¹⁰² they were either leased out to rich private individuals, who had to run them themselves, or were directly administered by imperial officials; explicit epigraphic evidence for this comes from Tiffen, Feldkirchen, Hohenstein, Friesach and Wieting (in the Görtsschitz valley).¹⁰³ It is quite possible that these mines did not just have small individual areas of land allotted to them, but that they were all part of a large imperial estate with its own *territorium*, since the imperial *patrimonium* in central Noricum apparently also possessed *saltus*, large tracts of landed property. In central Noricum we know from inscriptions in a number of places of freedmen and other employees of some families who in the second century held the leases for various imperial revenues.¹⁰⁴ They may have been active there in the running of the imperial estate. Inland posts of the Norican customs-service, in the north at Bad Ischl (not far from Hallstatt) and in the south near the Lamprechtskogel (not far from the lower end of the Görtsschitz

valley) probably marked the boundaries of this imperial estate, since elsewhere in Noricum customs-duty was only collected at the provincial frontiers;¹⁰⁵ otherwise it is impossible to understand why these customs-posts existed, a long way from the frontiers and the towns. A dedication to the Termunes at Friesach (Pl. 26) probably marked the boundary between the estate and the *territorium* of Virunum: the dedicators were employees of the administration of the leased-out imperial mines,¹⁰⁶ but immediately to the south of this place, from Micheldorf, and Eberdorf, one finds record of officials from Virunum.¹⁰⁷ West of Virunum the Carinthian 'iron road' on the western terrace of the Glan probably marked the boundary between the two. The numerous Norican soldiers, who in the third century are described as *natione Noricus* and not as citizens of a town, may have come from the great imperial estate in central Noricum.¹⁰⁸

A law given out by the government when a *municipium* was founded laid down how the town and its *territorium* were to be administered. There were certainly already 'town charters' of this kind under Claudius for Virunum, Celeia, Teurnia, Aguntum and Juvavum, but in Noricum only the *lex Lauriacensis* has been preserved (in part): this was issued to Lauriacum by Caracalla.¹⁰⁹ Under its terms the town's administration was regulated at least partly in the same manner as was the southern Spanish town of Salpensa under Domitian. Apart from this, the first five Norican *municipia* under Claudius were given an administrative system that did not differ from that of many other *municipia* in the Roman empire, and was brought in later in Noricum for Solva, Ovilava, and Cetium and probably Lauriacum also. The administration was headed by a college of four men, two *duumviri* and two *aediles*—the title *quattuorviri* was apparently not used in Noricum.¹¹⁰ These mayors and deputy-mayors were assisted by *quaestores* who had charge of the town's treasury. The town priests such as *flamines*, *pontifices* and *sacerdotes* also belonged to the municipal upper class.¹¹¹ The office of *praefectus iure dicundo* was not a post that was held regularly: at Lauriacum, at least, he deputised for a *duumvir* in the latter's absence. Apart from the magistrates, each town had a council of *decuriones*. The rank of decurion was normally attained in the thirtieth year, although we know of a twenty-seven-year-old decurion of Celeia.¹¹² It was possible to become aedile in the twenty-fifth year,¹¹³ while the *lex Lauriacensis* laid down that the minimum age for town-prefects was thirty-five. The ordinary citizens, as opposed to the magistrates and councillors (who formed the *ordo*), were known as the *plebs oppidana*; the citizen-body as a whole could describe itself as *res publica*. The magistrates had *scribae* as well as a number of public slaves and freedmen at their disposal; the *duumviri* also had two lictors.¹¹⁴ Various societies or unions lightened the administrative burden. Colleges of *seviri*, recorded only at Lauriacum, may well not have existed in all

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the towns,¹¹⁵ but *collegia* of industrial workers and other groupings are attested everywhere except at Teurnia and Ovilava.¹¹⁶

The town authorities were also responsible for the administration of the *territorium*, and had to make journeys of inspection in the countryside from time to time. In one of the better-preserved fragments of the *lex Lauriacensis* it is stated, just as in the *lex Salpensana* from the time of Domitian, that, in the event of one of the *duumviri* leaving the town for more than one day, he shall name one of the decurions or other citizens as *praefectus* for the period of his absence; the prefect is to swear an oath that he will conduct official business in an orderly fashion. The numerous dedications made by *duumviri* of Juvavum at Bedaium on the Chiemsee to local deities are doubtless evidence of *duumviri* on regular visits to this *vicus* to deal with administrative matters.¹¹⁷ However, the *vici* themselves must have had their own local officials, such as *magistri*, although none are known in Noricum.

The towns' representatives from time to time met together in a joint assembly, as had no doubt already been the case with representatives of the *civitates*.¹¹⁸ At any rate, under Claudius the seat of this provincial assembly, *concilium provinciae*, was created at Virunum, the new provincial capital.¹¹⁹ High priests of the province and other organs of this institution are, it is true, not recorded in Noricum, but the assembly apparently set in motion legal proceedings at Rome against a governor in the early third century—and the governor lost the case to his accusers.¹²⁰ The province had a permanent agency at Rome, with a *stationarius* heading it.¹²¹ Its task was to win influential supporters for trials and other occasions; a third-century *aedilis curulis*, in whose honour the towns of Noricum jointly dedicated an honorific statue, may have been a patron of this kind.¹²² The envoys who represented the Noricans at Rome, in the name of the *concilium provinciae* or of particular towns, probably belonged in most cases to the ranks of the leading citizens of the country—such as a decurion of Virunum, who died in the course of his *legatio* at Rome.¹²³

Claudius' urbanisation and citizenship policy also led to important changes in the sphere of recruitment of Noricans into the Roman army. Whereas previously Noricans had only been enrolled into the *auxilia* and, in very small numbers, into the praetorian guard, the nine new towns with their *territoria* now became important recruiting-grounds for the legions. The earliest known legionaries of Norican origin were enrolled around the middle of the first century—from Virunum, Juvavum, Teurnia and Celeia.¹²⁴ This had a significance not merely for legionary manpower, but for the social development of Noricum also: the soldiers could return home after their discharge and would be respected citizens there, especially if they had reached the rank of centurion during their military

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service, which was already possible for Norican legionaries in the second half of the first century.¹²⁵ At the same time Noricans were probably recruited into the praetorian guard at Rome in larger numbers than under Augustus and Tiberius.¹²⁶ A fair number of Noricans did of course continue to serve in the *auxilia*, as had been the case before, but now Roman citizens were put into these units as well as *peregrini*.¹²⁷

Roads, limes and army (see general map)

All the Claudian reforms dealing with town-foundations gave the country round Celeia, Virunum, Teurnia, Aguntum and Juvavum a new aspect. But this emperor's policies in Noricum went beyond the boundaries of the *municipia*, as already mentioned in the case of citizenship grants: they resulted in important changes in the mountain-country of central Noricum also, in the lands between the Alps and the Danube, and even on the Danube frontier itself. Hitherto very backward areas were opened up for traffic and economic and social development. The routes that led to the north were now built properly. The *via Claudia Augusta* opened to traffic in A.D. 47, was built from Altinum over the Brenner Pass to the Raetian frontier on the Danube.¹²⁸ A section of this road evidently led through south-western Noricum, over the Sextener Kreuzberg and through the Pustertal.¹²⁹ Branches from Raetia, to the river Inn and north-western Noricum, were of importance for Roman trade in the west Norican *limes*-zone as well. Major road-building was also carried out along the 'Norican main highway' from the Saifnitzer Sattel via Virunum to Lauriacum. This road, or part of it at least, had perhaps already been built under Claudius' predecessors,¹³⁰ but it was then improved under Claudius or rebuilt on a new course in certain stretches: between Friesach and Grafendorf, north of Virunum, a smith's workshop dating to the early imperial period was probably destroyed by the construction of one of these detours.¹³¹ The earliest Roman milestone preserved in Noricum was set up on the 'Norican main highway' under Claudius, one Roman mile south of Virunum, where the early medieval 'duke's throne' (*Herzogenstuhl*) now stands.¹³²

These road-building operations were partly necessary on economic grounds; in fact under Claudius there is a noticeable increase in Roman imports and in the circulation of Roman money all over central and northern Noricum, at Bedaium for example, at Hallstatt, Moosham, Katsch on the upper Mur, or at Lentia.¹³³ On the other hand, military needs were also considered. Claudius did not continue his predecessors' military policy in Noricum. The army units had been stationed in the interior; now part of them at least was moved up to the Danube frontier.¹³⁴ It is not known whether any units remained in the interior as before,

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but the strong point on the Magdalensberg at any rate, where legionary and auxiliary detachments had previously been stationed, was now given up at the same time as the settlement was abandoned, while at least four forts were built on the Danube: Lentia (Linz) and Lauriacum (Enns-Lorch) lay in the western sector of the *limes* and Augustiana (Traismauer) and Zwentendorf in the eastern.¹³⁵ Each housed an auxiliary unit and had earth and timber defences. Whether the number of Claudian forts on the Danube was still larger must for the time being remain uncertain, since several forts have not yet been adequately excavated. Only three forts were definitely built later than Claudius' time, under the Flavians: Boiodurum (Passau-Innstadt), Faviana (Mautern) and Com-magena (Tulln). However, the Norican army certainly comprised more than four units in the mid-first century: in the year 69 it consisted of nine auxiliary units, the Ala Auriana and eight infantry cohorts, the names of which are not known to us.¹³⁶

The demilitarisation of the Norican interior was above all a result of Claudius' generous policy in the fields of urbanisation and citizenship: when the administration of large tracts of land had been handed over to the new local authorities, the army was no longer needed for administrative purposes or to control the civilian population. At the same time, as a result of the Claudian reforms, the hitherto very backward country between the Alps and the Danube now became an area where Rome had strong economic and civilising interests to watch over—which required military protection. There was however as little foreign threat to this frontier as there had been under Tiberius. The only potential danger point to reckon with lay on the eastern tip of the Norican *limes*. But here the philo-Roman *regnum Vannianum* provided a guarantee of peace for three decades after the fall of Maroboduus, and after Vannius' expulsion by his German compatriots in A.D. 50 his successors continued to pursue a policy of friendship towards Rome. But even this change of power beyond the Danube will scarcely have disturbed Noricum, for the kingdom of Vannius evidently lay in southern Slovakia.¹³⁷ When Vannius was toppled, Rome placed only the Carnuntum legion and the Pannonian *auxilia* on an emergency footing, but not the auxiliary units of Noricum.¹³⁸

Nor did the civil wars of A.D. 69 provide the Norican army with more than a subordinate role. Their only hope was to follow the lead of the neighbouring Pannonian legions. Thus in the spring of A.D. 69 the procurator Petronius Urbicus adhered to the cause of Otho against Vitellius. He assembled the Norican auxiliary units, stationed them in battle-readiness along the Inn, and had the bridges cut, for there was a danger that Vitellius' young general, A. Caecina Alienus, would invade Noricum from Raetia with his Upper German expedi-

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tionary force. But Caecina turned towards northern Italy, rightly estimating that the fate of Noricum would be decided there too.¹³⁹ After the Vitellian victory Urbicus was replaced by Sextilius Felix. But he soon deserted the cause of Vitellius and declared for Vespasian; and he too prepared a defensive position on the Inn; placing there not only his nine auxiliary units but a hastily armed levée of the *Noricorum inventus*: but once again the fighting went on elsewhere.¹⁴⁰ In the next year Felix received orders from Vespasian to move his forces against the rebellious northern Gauls and Batavians on the Rhine. Although he lost one of his infantry cohorts, his units fought bravely against the Treveri.¹⁴¹

Chapter 8

Town and country under the Flavians and Antonines

A century of undisturbed internal development followed the Claudian reforms: it was scarcely affected by the events of the year of the four emperors, and was brought to an end only by the great Danubian wars in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. This peaceful development caused the economy to flourish and led to changes in social life in both town and country, and to a general spreading of Roman culture—and, at the same time, it brought about prosperity, the strengthening of the position of the upper classes, and the growth of a significant ‘Norican’ character in both the cultural and material sphere.¹ The ‘civilian development’² which took place during this century in Noricum brought about a golden age in the history of the province: the same high level was never to be attained at any other time in the earlier and later phases of Roman rule, in the spheres of economic prosperity, cultural activity and, above all, art.

Farming

The economic foundation of this development lay in the productivity of the province: the various branches of production all reached their highest level during the Flavian and Antonine periods—including farming, where the picture had changed the least in comparison with what had gone before. The geographical conditions were still as Strabo had described them:³

Now throughout the whole of the mountainous country of the Alps there are not only hilly districts which admit of good farming but also glens which have been well built up by settlers; the greater part, however, . . . is wretched

and unfruitful, both on account of the frosts and of the ruggedness of the soil.

There had hardly been any changes in afforestation since the prehistoric period. Apart from great oak and chestnut forests there were only a moderate number of pines on the high ground and alders on the low ground.⁴ There was as little in the way of revolutionary development in farming technology, too, under the Flavians and Antonines as there was in the period of Roman rule as a whole. The plough and the millstone, for example, had already been in use previously, but still the plough was not universally adopted even in the imperial period: a writer as late as Eugippius could report that Norican women tilled the soil with their own hands, without a plough, and, moreover, that this was 'in accordance with the custom of the province' (*iuxta morem provinciae*).⁵ Scarcely any new flora or fauna were introduced into Noricum either:⁶ our information about the plant and animal life of Noricum in the imperial period suggests that most of it was already there previously.

In the forests care was taken to exploit the economic possibilities of the timber; a *saltuarius* recorded in northern Carinthia around the middle of the second century was perhaps overseer of an imperial forest, which—like the mines and other sources of imperial revenue—may have been leased out to rich *conductores*.⁷ A forest plant of the Norican Alps, in demand for its aromatic qualities, was lavender (*saliumca*), which was renowned far beyond the borders of the province.⁸ Forests and pastures also produced wealth in the few products of the countryside which, according to Strabo, the inhabitants of the Alpine lands could export: 'they would give resin, pitch, torchpine, wax, honey, and cheese—with these things they were well supplied'.⁹ In the forests and fields there were also good opportunities for hunting. Hunting scenes (Pl. 32) were favourite themes on funerary monuments,¹⁰ for hunting was both a form of popular recreation and the sport of the upper classes. We know of *ursarii* from a relief at Teurnia, slaves who trapped bears so that their rich master in the town could lay on wild-animal games;¹¹ and a *vestigiator*, or professional hunter, is known in north-western Noricum.¹² However, hunting also played a role in the supply of food: animal bones found on Norican sites indicate that the population fed on venison and the meat of hare, wild boar and bear as well as of various game-birds.

Geography favoured a pastoral and Alpine-farming economy; and out of this a woollen industry, as well as the cheese-production mentioned by Strabo, was able to develop. Animal bones from various sites, such as the Magdalensberg, Hallstatt, Ovilava, and Boiodurum show that horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, chickens, various other fowl and the domestic dog were universally reared.¹³

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Contacts with the Romans, and Roman rule, had a favourable effect on stock-raising: the native breeds of cattle and probably of horses too were crossed with the Italian ones and reared successfully.¹⁴ The breeding of horses, which was a great native tradition in Noricum, was renowned: Norican race-horses were known even at Rome itself during the imperial period, and as late as A.D. 507 it was stated in a letter of King Theoderic to the *provinciales Norici*, that the Norican horses, in comparison with those of the Alamanni, 'were, to be sure, smaller in the limbs, but suited for work'.¹⁵

Agriculture too was not unimportant, for although Virgil still calls Noricum 'the kingdom of herdsmen',¹⁶ various crops were cultivated in the province. Literary sources attest the growing of cereals and fruit and even vines.¹⁷ Seeds and fruit found in Noricum, for instance on the Magdalensberg, in the Lentia Mithraeum, at Ovilava, on the Tscheltschinkogel near Villach, at Lauriacum and elsewhere,¹⁸ show what a variety of crops was grown. The cereal crops included various types of wheat, rye, barley, millet and oats. The fruits that were cultivated were peaches, apricots, apples, pears, cherries, plums, grapes and nuts (including hazel nuts), while for vegetables they had beans, peas and lentils.

Norican farming had certain difficulties to face on account of geographical and climatic conditions. Even in the fertile areas natural disasters would threaten, such as flooding in and around Celeia in the third century or even a plague of locusts in the lifetime of St Severinus, around Cucullae (Kuchl) near Salzburg.¹⁹ But in spite of this the population of the province was able to feed itself and at least part of the military garrison from its own production; major imports from the south were necessary only of olive-oil and wine. There was probably an increase in production in the countryside, particularly in agriculture, as a result of the reforms of the emperor Claudius: farming was intensified on the parcels of land on the *territoria* of the new towns by the rich land-owning families there, and the numerous new villas—especially north of the Alps—became lively centres of agricultural production (Fig. 18, p. 130). However, even during this golden age there could be food shortages in the towns now and then, especially as a result of natural disasters; in such cases the rich had to come to the rescue by offering supplies they had stored up, as was the case once with an official at Juvavum at the end of the first or in the first half of the second century.²⁰

Industry

Industrial production developed more strongly in Noricum than did farming after the time of Claudius, thanks to the new boom. The construction of the new

towns, the furnishing and fitting out of public and private buildings in the *municipia*—and in the countryside too—such as public offices, temples, town houses and country villas, appreciably increased the demand for building materials and, no doubt, for furniture and other items of interior décor as well. At the same time, the rising prosperity and higher aspirations of the population brought about a growth in the demand for consumer goods and luxury articles. It is true that Noricans had to rely on imports from Italy, or from other provinces, for their supplies of certain manufactured goods, such as fine pottery or glass. But other branches of industry developed strongly in Noricum itself and could to a great extent cater for local needs, above all in the supply of building materials, for example, and of metal tools and utensils, coarse pottery and textile goods. Important manufacturing centres grew up in the new towns under the Flavians and Antonines, with their flourishing economy, as they did in many places even in the countryside, in villages and villas.

Quarries were opened up and vigorously exploited to provide building materials, such as marble and limestone, which the quarries on the Pohorje Mts near Šmartno produced for Celeia and Solva, those at Spitzelofen in the Koralpe for the Lavant valley, those at Kraig and Tentschach for Virunum and its area, and those at Gummern for Teurnia.²¹ As is revealed by dedications made by quarrymen to their patron deity Saxanus and by other inscriptions from the quarries and their neighbourhood, free labourers (mainly native *peregrini* before the third century) as well as slaves worked here.²² The quarries themselves were probably in some cases in private hands, while others were owned by the towns or by the state.²³ The necessary tools, such as chisels, wedges, crow-bars, hammers and mallets, of which there are good examples from Tentschach and Gummern, were produced in Noricum itself.²⁴ There was no lack of lime-kilns and brickworks either.²⁵ In the first century bricks were still imported from Aquileia to some extent,²⁶ but there was already a local brickworks on the Magdalensberg in the pre-Claudian period;²⁷ after Claudius various local brick-factories flourished in towns such as Juvavum, Aguntum, Teurnia, Celeia, Solva and Cetium.²⁸ There were also small brickworks in rural areas: for instance there was already one at Gleisdorf in Lower Styria in the first century²⁹ or at Himmelreich near Salzburg, where a brick-kiln belonging to a villa has been excavated.³⁰

The metal industry, which had a great tradition behind it in Noricum, naturally retained its importance during the province's period of economic prosperity. Articles of iron, which were especially valued, and other metal goods, known particularly well in the pre-Claudian period from inscriptions and excavations on the Magdalensberg,³¹ were undoubtedly manufactured and exported in large quantities under the Flavians and Antonines. The fact that new workshops

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could now come into being in the *municipia* was important for the industry's further development—there were, for instance, bronze foundries at Solva and Ovilava.³² However, numerous workshops still existed as before in rural areas, near the sources of raw materials and in places where the communications or the long distances from urban centres required it. Thus there was a forge on the 'Norican main highway' at the posting-station of Noreia near Einöd;³³ the tombstone of one Nammonius Mussa, from Kalsdorf near Graz, depicting him with hammer and tongs, shows that he was a smith,³⁴ and individual *fabri* are mentioned on inscriptions at St Veit an der Glan and at Wolfsberg in the Lavant valley.³⁵

The production of household pottery also acquired great importance. It was mostly clumsy earthenware that was made, for it was only in a few potteries, such as one at Solva, that finer wares were also produced. Many of the potters were closely following local Iron Age traditions, but the Italian pottery industry had a marked influence on its Norican counterpart.³⁶ Potteries certainly flourished in all the *municipia* under the Flavians and Antonines, as examples that have been excavated or presumed to exist at Virunum, Solva, Aguntum, Juvavum, Ovilava and Cetium show.³⁷ The urban potteries to a large extent catered for their *territoria*, although there were local potteries in the rural areas as well, for example at Lentia and Gleisdorf.³⁸

The stone-mason's trade in particular was strongly concentrated in the towns. There were certainly masons' workshops flourishing in all the towns, and in them the numerous funerary monuments and statues, which in Noricum are preserved mainly from the Flavian and Antonine period, were produced.³⁹ Increasing romanisation and prosperity in the towns and countryside resulted in this era producing the finest quality of stone-cutting, and its accompanying plastic art. The simple grave-slabs with an inscription but no representational carving, which are known especially in southern and eastern Noricum, may have been mass-produced in the workshops of Virunum and Solva; probably only the inscription represents the individual choice of the client.⁴⁰ But we know too of many elaborate and fine funerary monuments, especially from the areas around Virunum, Solva and Celeia, with relief portraits of the deceased or mythological scenes (Plates 19–21, 27–36). These include the splendid examples from Šempeter near Celeia.⁴¹ At Virunum there was a workshop, dating to about the time of Hadrian, which produced sculpture well above the average Roman provincial standard: the so-called 'Virunum master', an Italian artist who probably worked in the Norican capital for several decades, settled there under Hadrian. He created one of Noricum's finest sculptures, the famous 'Dying Amazon' now in Vienna, which stood in the baths-quarter at Virunum; either he or one of his

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pupils then created the other marble statues in the Virunum baths—the Dioscuri, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Bacchus, a hermaphrodite, Isis Noreia and Venus.⁴² The Virunum sculptures (Plates 37–42) had an influence on other towns, as well as forming the zenith of the plastic arts at Virunum itself; the artist who sculpted the fine tombstone of L. Cantius Secundus at St Leonhard near Graz, for instance, was a sculptor from Virunum who was active at least for a while at Solva.⁴³ Virunum's artistic influence reached even further: the figure of the 'Helenenberg youth', the cult-statue of Mars Latobius on the Magdalensberg dating to the late republican period, served as a model for cult-statues and funerary reliefs not only in Virunum and its environs but in the Lavant valley, at Solva, Celeia and even at Poetovio in Pannonia.⁴⁴

By contrast, the textile industry may have been very decentralised. Its principal raw material for the various items of clothing was wool. Some Norican textiles are already mentioned on inscribed lead seals of the early empire on the Magdalensberg: the *gausapa*, 'a cloak made from a thick cloth matted on one side, which served to protect from the cold and bad weather', the *loytei m(antus)*—coloured woollen cloaks, the *pae(nulae)*—'long sleeveless, generally hooded coat' and the *saga ulkisiana*, 'a shawl, which was attached over the right shoulder by a pin or brooch'.⁴⁵ In A.D. 301 Diocletian's price-edict mentioned three different Norican woollen garments (*banata*, *fedox*, *singilium*), as well as a hooded cloak (*hyrrus*),⁴⁶ and the late work, the *Expositio totius mundi* (chapter 57), states that Noricum had an important export-trade in textile goods: *Noricum, unde et vestis Norica exire dicitur*. Representations, mostly from the Flavian and Antonine period, give us a good idea of the characteristic men's and women's clothing in Noricum: shirt-like coats, hooded cloaks and short coats and felt socks, as well as Roman garments such as the *sagum*, *chlamys*, tunic and toga for men, and kimono-like slit dresses without sleeves, long cloaks, high hats made of skin or leather, and headkerchiefs for women.⁴⁷ Even parasols may have been produced in Noricum.⁴⁸

Trade

The flourishing economic situation in the century that followed the Claudian reforms brought new opportunities for trade as well. Trade-routes were extended or improved where necessary: milestones from the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius on the Celeia–Poetovio road, from Hadrian's reign on the Solva–Poetovio road, and from the beginning of Marcus Aurelius' reign on that from Virunum to Celeia may well be connected with road improvements.⁴⁹ Norican exports consisted above all in iron and in the famous Norican

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metal goods, which were as well known during this century—for example to the elder Pliny or to Martial—as during the previous or subsequent periods.⁵⁰ Also exported were the products of the forests, horses, cheeses and textile goods:⁵¹ exports may not have lagged significantly behind imports in total volume. The goods that were imported were principally wine, olive oil and various consumer goods and luxury items such as worked metal wares, glass, lamps and above all the expensive fine tableware, samian. Amphorae from Aguntum and other places provide the main evidence for the import of wine. Stamped and inscribed amphorae from Aguntum are also good evidence for olive oil importing: black and green olives were supplied, as well as oil, and they came from Istria. Around the mid-first century the main supplier was the wealthy C. Laecanius Bassus, whose warehouse in Val S. Pietro is known, and who was already sending olive oil to the Magdalensberg.⁵² Much later, the *Life* of St Severinus shows just how significant the import of olive oil was for the Norican population. The saint distributed free oil to the poor at Lauriacum: ‘it was a commodity that was made available in those parts only by traders who overcame the great difficulties of transporting it.’⁵³ Bronze statuettes were also imported,⁵⁴ as were bronze vessels⁵⁵ and even bronze fillets to decorate richly adorned buildings; there is an example of this at Aguntum under the Flavians.⁵⁶ These items came mainly from Italy, while glassware came from Aquileia and Cologne,⁵⁷ lamps above all from Italy⁵⁸—and samian was imported in great quantities.

Study of the material found in several towns has provided information on the import of samian ware to Noricum from the mid-first to the mid-second century. This comes from several towns: the baths-quarter at Virunum, Aguntum, Juvavum, Ovilava and Lauriacum, as well as various smaller settlements such as Lentia, Hallstatt, Moosham and Katsch.⁵⁹ Decorated vessels from the Po valley, which were already being brought to the Magdalensberg under Tiberius, began to arrive from the time of Claudius onwards at the new towns, such as Virunum or Juvavum, as well and at smaller places too, for example Goggerwenig near St Veit an der Glan, Seeboden on the Millstättersee or Hörasing near Salzburg.⁶⁰ Whereas during the second half of the first century this type of samian had little sale outside Italy, Po valley ware was still being used in Noricum c. A.D. 100: a Po valley dish was found associated with a coin of Trajan in one of the graves in the burial-ground near Bad Reichenhall.⁶¹ The most important source of supply of this ware may have been Aquileia, for the trading-links of this town with Noricum were always particularly close:⁶² that was probably the one reason why the import of Po valley ware into Noricum was able to go on for so long. At the same time, it is significant that the south Gaulish samian works could scarcely export their goods to Noricum because of the geographical obstacles. The

products of the south Gaulish workshop of Montans, for example, are almost completely lacking in Noricum. The later south Gaulish workshops, such as La Graufesenque and Banassac did, it is true, produce for Noricum in the Flavian period,⁶³ but the quantity of samian from these potteries found at Aguntum and Virunum, for instance, remained well below that from northern Italy or the western potteries of the later period.⁶⁴ On the other hand, large-scale consignments from the central Gaulish potteries at Lezoux came to Noricum under the Flavians and in the first half of the second century; and the east Gaulish potters, especially those at Heiligenberg, made large sales in Noricum—particularly in the part of the province north of the Alps, for example at Ovilava and Lauriacum.⁶⁵ Even before the Marcomannic Wars the earliest products from the Rhineland potteries of Rheinzabern were also reaching the Norican markets: their production began about A.D. 140, but their exports to Noricum reached their peak only after the great Danubian wars, when wares from other new samian potteries were also conquering the markets of Noricum.⁶⁶

Mining

Noricum's economic importance derived above all from its rich mineral resources: the major branch of Noricum's production during the period of economic prosperity, as in earlier and later periods, was mining.⁶⁷ The working of salt-deposits, which had been very actively carried on in prehistoric times at the most important sites such as Hallstatt—where a *vicus* existed in the imperial period—and on the Dürrenberg near Hallein, was apparently continued under Roman rule.⁶⁸ But it was the mining of metals that played the main role. It remains unknown whether the gold-mines in the High Tauern round Teurnia were still exploited during the Roman period or not; but there was certainly gold-washing in the upper Lavant valley around Wiesenau, where the funerary monuments of the second century, some of them very elaborate, testify to the high level of prosperity of the population of the area.⁶⁹ Copper, lead and zinc were worked principally in East Tirol and Carinthia, for example around Matrei near Lienz, in the vicinity of the Gurina, on the Faakersee and on the Föderauner Sattel.⁷⁰ But it was the famous Norican iron that was the most important of all: during the imperial period *ferrum Noricum* was not only the name of this country's iron, but was a widely found generic name for a particular type of steel, the preparation of which was invented in Noricum and was taken over in other parts of the Roman empire.⁷¹ Just as the exploitation of salt, copper and lead in Noricum was in no way an innovation brought about by the Romans, but a continuation of prehistoric traditions, so too with iron-mining

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and iron-smelting; but there may well have been a marked increase in activity after the Roman conquest and during the Flavian and Antonine period in particular, as a result of the reorganisation of the industry and probably also of the development of new deposits. Coins of Hadrian with the legend *met(alla) Nor(ica)* testify to the great importance of the Norican mining industry and of the iron-mines in particular.⁷²

The most important iron-workings of the imperial period lay in northern Carinthia and Upper Styria. There were a number of mines along the 'Carinthian iron road' north-east of the Ossiachersee, in the neighbourhood of Tiffen, Feldkirchen, Hohenstein and Friesach, and further north around Neumarkt in Styria; the other centre was in the Görtschitz valley, with Hüttenberg, Lölling and the area round about.⁷³ But it seems to have been only after Marcus Aurelius' Danubian wars that new shafts were sunk in the Styrian Erzberg, in northern Styria.⁷⁴ However, there were certainly numerous small-scale mines in other parts of the Norican mountain-zone. Iron was smelted at many settlements situated close to supplies of the ore, as for example on the Magdalensberg before Claudius, and not only in the great mining centres such as Feldkirchen, near Hüttenberg or, later, on the Feisterwiese near Eisenerz,⁷⁵ but at Baldersdorf near Teurnia too, and at St Margarethen am Silberberg, at Moosham or at Hallstatt.⁷⁶ The process of steel-making—recently recreated experimentally on the Magdalensberg—may have been approximately the one described by the elder Pliny. This author singles out Noricum when discussing steel-production in ancient times: *in nostro orbe aliubi vena bonitatem hanc praestat, ut in Noricis*.⁷⁷ It is in fact possible to produce a temperature of over 1360°C. in the Norican forges—which was sufficient to produce steel—and, after heating for ten and a half hours with charcoal, as high a temperature as 1420° was reached in a reconstructed furnace on the Magdalensberg. This may have been equally possible at an early date. The necessary carbon-content for steel was certainly possible in ancient times. Tools found on the Magdalensberg, and certainly made there or elsewhere in Noricum, such as spikes, gravers, files, wedges and chisels, are of metal no different from steel.⁷⁸ Norican iron undoubtedly owed its reputation to this high quality.

The running of the economy

The province's great economic importance, especially the mining industry that meant so much to Rome, and the regular supply of iron goods, demanded a complicated form of administration for the economy, by government authorities, or under state control—principally in the imperial estates of central

Noricum, where the main iron-mines and other sources of imperial revenue were situated. A census of the province's population had to be conducted repeatedly to ensure regular collection of taxes and for other administrative purposes. As yet only one *censitor* of the province is known, the sexagenary procurator Aelius Aelianus from the second half of the third century;⁷⁹ in the Flavian-Trajanic period, when Noricum was governed by presidial procurators, the governors themselves may have conducted the census from time to time. Under Marcus Aurelius, at least, an imperial freedman was responsible for the collection of the 5 per cent inheritance tax, as *procurator vicesimae hereditatium*. His office was at Virunum,⁸⁰ as was the headquarters of the Norican branch of the imperial posting-service, leading officials of which, with the titles *praefectus vehiculationis* or *advocatus fisci ad vehicula*, are first known in the third century.⁸¹

The property of the imperial *patrimonium* and the mines were perhaps leased out to Italian business companies at the beginning of the imperial period, but they seem to have been under the control of imperial slaves as early as the time of Augustus.⁸² From the time of Claudius onwards at the latest the presidial procurator was responsible for the entire economic administration of the province. From then on the central authority of the mining administration was naturally at Virunum.⁸³ Around the middle of the first century and in the second half of the century, imperial slaves and perhaps imperial freedmen too had charge of the individual mining-centres such as Hohenstein and Tiffen.⁸⁴ Around the beginning of the second century a new system was introduced here—as elsewhere—by which the imperial mines, and probably imperial estates also, were leased out to individual *conductores*, who bore the title *conductor ferrariarum Noricarum*.⁸⁵ These rich large-scale lease-holders were responsible for the administration of the economy, with their own personnel, up to the mid-second century.

One of the earliest of this kind of large lease-holder was probably Ti. Claudius Macro, who had an office at Aquileia as well—which shows that the *conductores* were also responsible for transporting the products of the Norican mines on into Italy.⁸⁶ The dedicatory inscription of M. Trebius Alfius, another large-scale lessee from the mining-centre at Tiffen, is further evidence for this: he was town-prefect at Aquileia, although not a native of the place.⁸⁷ A dedication from the temple of Noreia at Hohenstein provides further information about the leasing system (Pl. 17): it comes from near iron-mines that were exploited especially intensively, and mentions the *conductor* Q. Septueius Clemens. This man seems to have taken on the contract for one part of the Norican iron-mines only, and had his own *procuratores ferrariarum* to help in the administration.⁸⁸ He probably had employees in other parts of the imperial *patrimonium*'s

property, not only at Hohenstein: persons with the rare name Q. Septueius, recorded in the upper Mur valley and near Bad Reichenhall (where salt may have been mined) were probably freedmen or relatives of Q. Septueius Clemens.⁸⁹ An inscription from Friesach (Pl. 26), dedicated by the *conductor* Q. Calpurnius Phoebianus and his sons, by the agency of their own procurator, to the Termunes (probably regarded as the deities who presided over the boundaries between the imperial estates and the *territorium* of Virunum) is further proof that these large-scale lessees had procurators in their employ.⁹⁰ A further lease-holder, Campilius Verus, is known in another important mining-district, Wieting in the Görtscitz valley: one of his slaves or freedmen took charge of the building of an aqueduct there, which possibly provided water for the iron-smelting.⁹¹ Whereas Verus may perhaps have been a Norican, the other lease-holders that have been mentioned were foreigners. However, there was also a leading family at Virunum which made a considerable profit out of the Norican leasing-system, namely the Sabinii. Not only did Q. Sabinius Veranus, a customs-duties lease-holder around the mid-second century, belong to this family, but there was another Sabinius who had the temple of Noreia at Hohenstein rebuilt c. A.D. 120—perhaps as *conductor ferrariarum Noricarum*.⁹² Around the middle of the second century Sabinius Dexter possessed slaves not only at Virunum but also in the Friesach area, where he probably held leases for sources of imperial revenue, and at the same time a *servus saltuarius* belonging to a certain Sabinius Maximus was active in the area: the *saltus* involved was probably an imperial forest of which Maximus held the lease.⁹³ A number of freedmen called Sabinius in central Noricum and elsewhere likewise derived from this family and may have been active in leased-out imperial estates and mines.⁹⁴

The lease-holders had their own personnel to help them run the mines. There were also *assessores* for the mines, whose main role was in the administration of justice in the mining-districts: they may have been able, in this way, to exercise some government control over the lease-holders. A funerary inscription from Tiffen names a slave whose masters were, apparently, the *conductor ferrariarum Noricarum* and the *assessor ferrariarum Noricarum*.⁹⁵ The *assessores* were probably men of high rank,⁹⁶ as were the lease-holders themselves, some of whom at least were members of the equestrian order.

The collection of customs-duties was probably leased out to rich lease-holders as well during the first half and middle of the second century, as were the other sources of imperial revenue.⁹⁷ They administered the Norican customs-duties together with those of Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Moesia, the *ripa Thraciae* and, apparently, of Raetia.⁹⁸ A number of these lease-holders are known by name: for instance, from Noricum itself, C. Antonius Rufus, C. Calcinus Tertianus, T.

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Julius Saturninus and Q. Sabinius Veranus.⁹⁹ Their full title was *conductor portorii publici Illyrici et ripae Thraciae*; some of them, however, such as Q. Sabinius Veranus, known only in Noricum, and C. Calcinus Tertianus, probably did not hold the lease for customs-collection in all the 'Illyrian' provinces. They were rich men, generally *equites Romani*, some of them from the east; one of them at least, however, namely Q. Sabinius Veranus, was a Norican. The head office of the Norican customs-service was at the provincial capital, Virunum.¹⁰⁰ The individual customs-posts mostly lay in the immediate vicinity of the provincial frontiers on the trading-routes, for example at Boiodurum and Pons Aeni on the Raetian frontier, at Loncium and Larix on the Italian and at Atrans on the Pannonian frontiers; there were, without doubt, further posts elsewhere, for example on the borders of Noricum and Pannonia between Celeia and Poetovio (probably at Črešnjevec) and in the Wienerwald.¹⁰¹ There were corresponding posts on the opposite side of the frontiers: for example the *statio Plurucensis* at Resiutta in northern Italy lay opposite the Norican *statio Bilachiniensis*, and *Ad Publicanos* in Pannonia was opposite Atrans. Two Norican customs-posts may be located in the interior, namely the *statio Escensis*, probably at Bad Ischl, and another near the Lamprechtsskogel north-west of Völkermarkt: they probably marked the northern and southern boundaries of the imperial estates, and may have been the points at which the export of the products of the mines was controlled. The customs-officers were slaves, and slaves belonging to the leaseholders up till the time of Marcus Aurelius; later, when the customs-collection was placed under direct state administration, they were imperial slaves or, in many cases, slaves of the imperial customs-procurators.¹⁰² Various subordinates were under the authority of the chief officer (*vilicus* or *praepositus*): a *contrascriptor*, who probably dealt with the accounts, an *actor*, who probably collected the actual tolls, the *vicarius* of the *vilicus*, for general duties, and others as well.¹⁰³

The upper classes

Noricum's economic advancement in the reigns of the Flavian and Antonine emperors led to increased social diversification. Up till the time of Claudius the upper classes were composed on the one hand of the native aristocracy of the *civitates*—this was mainly a nobility based on land-owning—and on the other, of the foreign merchants; the lower classes comprised the native peasantry, craftsmen, traders, miners and slaves. From the mid-first century onwards the situation changed, first in the south, later on in the north as well. The towns provided the conditions for the new social development. Although the most important sector of the province's economy, namely the mines, lay outside the *territoria*

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of the towns, the rise in economic prosperity affected the towns more than anywhere: they were the centres of industry and indeed of farming too, which was practised particularly intensively in the fertile areas round about them by rich land-owners, while the merchants found here their principal customers. The general tendency of the economy towards a boom was, in short, felt strongest in the urban centres. Hence a new form of society developed in the towns and their *territoria*. The barriers between the descendants of Italian and native families gradually disappeared altogether; the immigrants blended with the indigenous population. A new upper class emerged—the urban bourgeoisie, the members of which owned the best agricultural land in the *territoria*, profited from industry and trade also, acquired significant wealth, held public office and were able to rise into the equestrian order. At the same time new classes of industrial workers and traders were formed. The general spread of slavery in town and country strengthened the class-structure and, as a result of the boom in farming, prosperous elements appeared even within the ranks of the rural peasantry.

There is a good deal of evidence for the wealth and prosperity of the leading social groups. The town houses and country villas of the municipal upper classes were richly decorated, often with wall-paintings and mosaics—as for example houses at Aguntum or Solva, or the luxury villa at Siezenheim near Salzburg, where one of the finest mosaics in Noricum has been found, a floor of the second century depicting the story of Theseus.¹⁰⁴ Monumental tombs at Virunum, ornate funerary monuments at Šempeter near Celeia, and fine tombstones, especially round Virunum, Celeia and Solva, mostly from the first half and middle of the second century (Plates 19–21, 27–35), provide clear enough evidence of the prosperity of the urban and rural upper classes.¹⁰⁵ Buildings, foundations and benefactions by private persons emphasise this wealth. Large-scale public subsidies were not lacking when the towns were being built, to be sure, and rich officials in the provincial administration were generous givers as well. However, it seems that public officials and rich lease-holders in the Flavian and Antonine periods normally had to pay for building-work or religious dedications only in the central Norican imperial estates where there was no municipal upper class: temples and other buildings at Tiffen, Hohenstein, Friesach and in the Görtschitz valley were built or restored by imperial slaves or lease-holders and their personnel.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, in the towns and their *territoria* it was, in the main, private individuals who financed building and religious dedications up to the second half of the second century. Only the temple of Noreia on the Ulrichsberg was, perhaps, built at the expense of the presidial procurator A. Trebonius.¹⁰⁷ Private individuals paid for the building or restoration of temples at Celeia, on the Grazer Kogel, at Grossbuch near Virunum, at Maglern in the

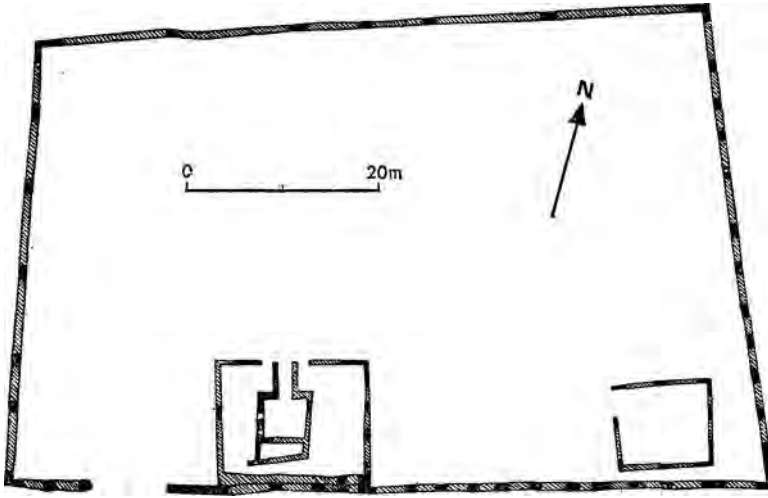


Figure 12 Farm at Hohenstein

Kanaltal, at Obervellach near Teurnia and at Juvavum,¹⁰⁸ and it was in fact a native *peregrinus* who had the temple of Juno restored at St Georgen am Sternberg near Villach.¹⁰⁹ Even statues of gods or emperors were often donated by rich town-dwellers,¹¹⁰ and rich decurions were able to make free gifts of corn to the townspeople as well.¹¹¹

The rich lease-holders of sources of state revenue, and at least some of the imperial slaves, although they belonged to the province's upper class, did not have a significant influence on social developments in the *municipia*: their activity was mostly confined to the areas exempt from the towns' administration—with the exception of Virunum, which was also the centre of the provincial administration. Besides, the imperial slaves from Noricum could often be transferred elsewhere, and the lease-holders, mostly of foreign extraction and frequently holding other leases outside Noricum as well, could scarcely establish themselves in the social life of the Norican towns. It was only the Sabinii, apparently, in the first half of the second century, who were a notable exception to this rule, for they came from Virunum and were already members of that town's upper class.¹¹² The upper classes in the towns and their *territoria* were composed of families from the *municipia* themselves. From their ranks came the *duumviri*, *praefecti iure dicundo*, aediles, quaestors, decurions and priests, and the major estate-owners in the vicinity of the towns.

Land-owning in the *territoria* was the basis of wealth and influence for these families. Medium-sized estates grew up in the fertile valleys and plains.¹¹³ The central point of these properties was a country villa, generally luxuriously

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appointed as the land-owner's residence, with heating-system, baths, and frequently wall-paintings and mosaics. Normally farm buildings adjoined it.¹¹⁴ The main evidence for such villa-estates comes from the vicinity of the towns and many of them are specifically known to have belonged to leading families of the town in question. There are only a very few such establishments on the central Norican imperial estates, for example two near the temple of Noreia at Hohenstein¹¹⁵ (Fig. 12), and a villa at Katsch (Fig. 13) in the upper Mur valley:¹¹⁶ they probably belonged to lease-holders or their employees.¹¹⁷ By contrast, we know a whole series of estates near the Norican towns, especially Juvavum. There

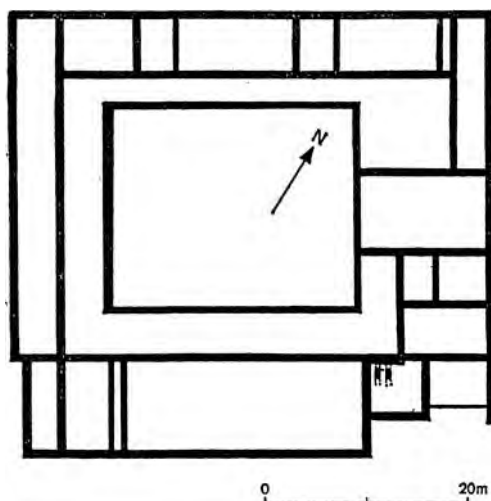


Figure 13 Villa at Katsch

were villas of this kind around Virunum at St Donat in the Zollfeld, Leinsdorf on the Wörthersee and Allersdorf in the lower Lavant valley.¹¹⁸ The last-mentioned, built at the beginning of the second century, was owned by a native family whose members rose to membership of the Virunum *ordo* and attained officer's rank in the Roman army.¹¹⁹ The Penk and Mühldorf villas in the Möll valley were built in the second century, probably before the Marcomannic Wars, and a third villa, that at Moosham in the upper Mur valley,¹²⁰ is known in the *territorium* of Teurnia and began its existence around the middle of this century. Early villas in the Solva region, probably built at the beginning of the second century, or at any rate in the first half of that century, are those at Löffelbach (Fig. 14) and Tillmitsch;¹²¹ the Turbonii buried in the Löffelbach burial-ground were probably freedmen of a Solva family.¹²² The greatest number of villas in Noricum grew up round Juvavum, in the valley of the Salzach north of the

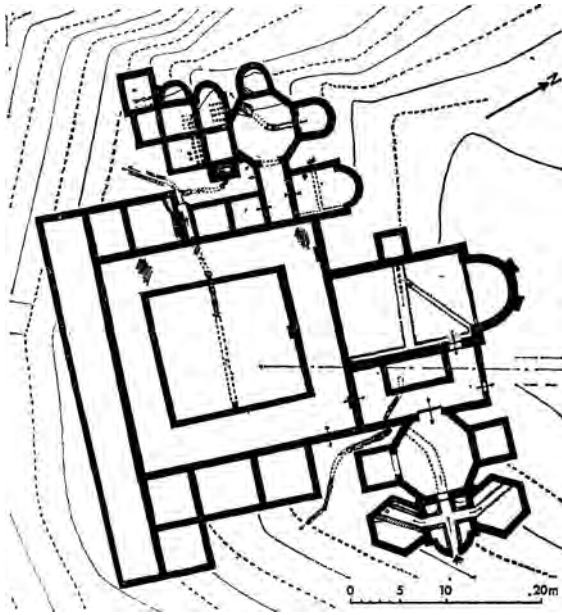


Figure 14 Villa at Löffelbach

Lueg Pass, in the zone beyond the Alps north of Salzburg, and round the Chiemsee. In contrast to the southern Norican villas, some of them go back as early as the first century, for example the great villa at Liefering and one at Obereching near St Georgen;¹²³ others came into being *c.* A.D. 100, such as those at Thalgau and Bernau,¹²⁴ and there were certainly many others in existence in the second century before the Marcomannic Wars, including the luxury villa with the Theseus-mosaic at Siezenheim.¹²⁵ Villas were already being built *c.* A.D. 100 in the fertile region around Ovilava as well, for example at Bad Wimsbach-Neydharting (Fig. 15) and Vorchdorf,¹²⁶ and probably there were many round Cetium too;¹²⁷ while there was even a villa not far from the fort of Faviana (Mautern) before the Marcomannic Wars.¹²⁸

Industry, trade and financial dealings also favoured the emergence of rich urban families. As remains of potteries and metal-workshops in the rich dwelling houses of Solva demonstrate, one cannot separate industrial production in the towns from the urban bourgeoisie: the leading municipal families doubtless owned the major workshops. Some of the *honestiores* certainly owned shops too and played an important role in trade. They had trading links with northern Italy and even held offices and titles in the towns of that region—Cammius Maximus, an *eques* from Solva, was a decurion of Aquileia, and a Norican from Bernau or its neighbourhood was given *ornamenta decurionalia* at Altinum.¹²⁹

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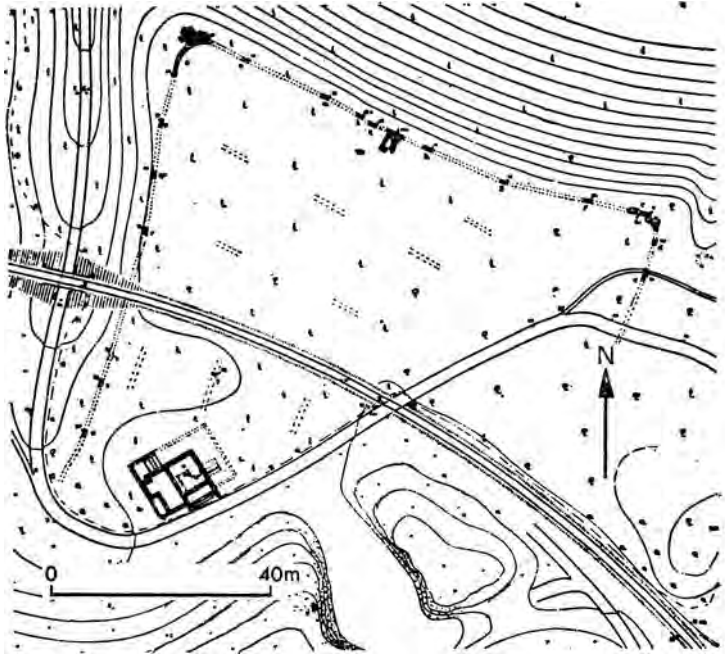


Figure 15 Farm at Wimsbach

Other traders from Noricum held office in Dacia, for example a Norican from Villach at Sarmizegetusa.¹³⁰ Enterprising Norican traders may have operated not only in northern Italy and in the adjacent Danubian provinces, including Dalmatia,¹³¹ but in the Rhineland too and even in Africa.¹³² The urban families naturally profited from internal trade in Noricum itself. The connections between the individual Norican towns sometimes resulted in rich men becoming members of the *ordo* of more than one town: a citizen of Teurnia, for example, was on the council at Celeia also.¹³³ It may have been as merchants that officials of Teurnia settled around the Chiemsee and at Bruck an der Mur, and similarly officials of Aguntum are found around the Chiemsee, and of Celeia at Juenna.¹³⁴ Finally, there were various Italians who settled in the Norican *municipia* in the middle and second half of the second century and became members of the rich bourgeoisie there, some of them at least being likewise merchants or representatives of Italian trading companies.¹³⁵

Service in the Roman army also opened up a path to social betterment in the leading classes of the provincial population for many Noricans. From the mid-first to the late second centuries numerous Noricans enlisted in the legions, praetorian guard and *auxilia*—but not many in the other units at Rome and none at all in the Mediterranean fleets.¹³⁶ Legionaries, many from the southern Nori-

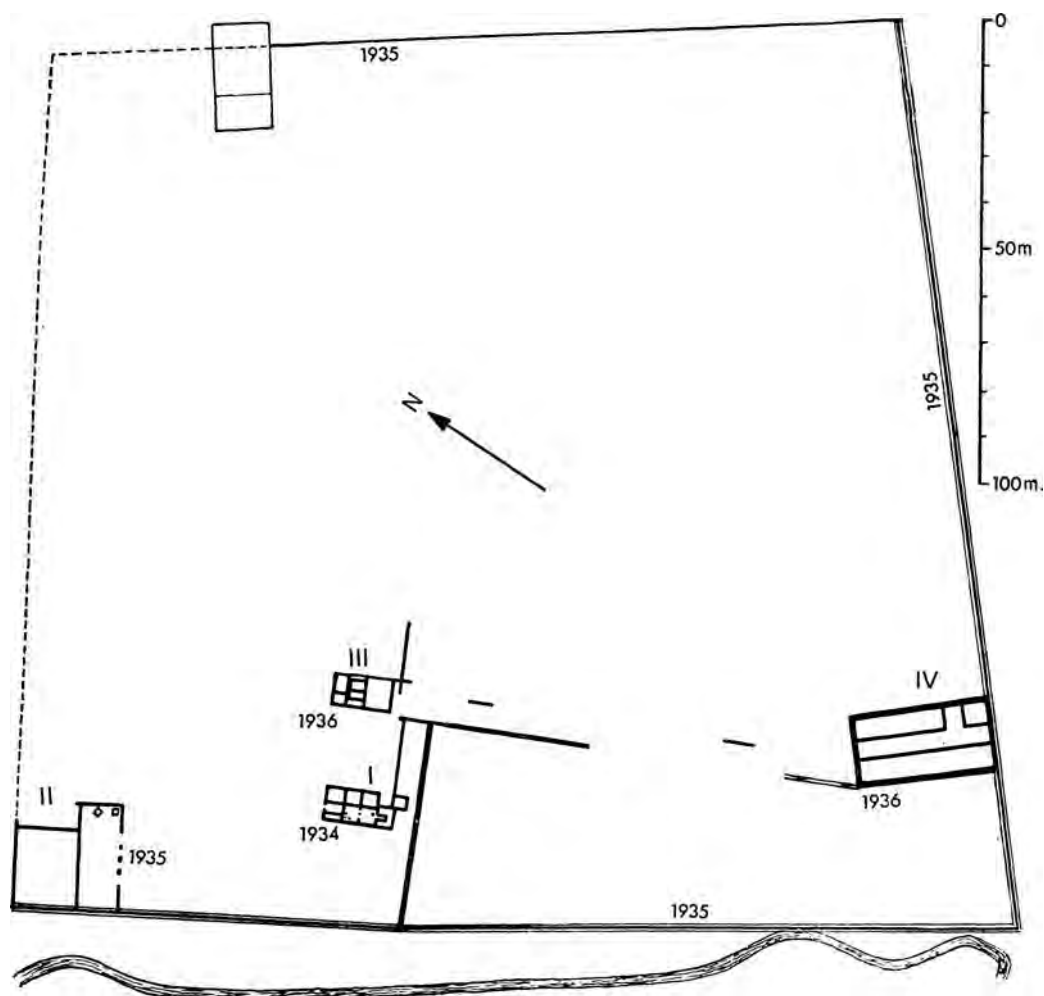


Figure 16 Farm at Šmarje pri Jelšah

can *municipia* and from Juvavum, were mainly enrolled in the armies of Pannonia, the German provinces and Britain. Limited numbers of them only were recruited into the Lower Danubian armies, and virtually none into the legions of the east, Spain and Africa.¹³⁷ Many Noricans served in the praetorian guard, especially men from the *territoria* of Virunum, Celeia and Solva,¹³⁸ and in the *auxilia*—in Noricum itself above all, and then in other Danubian provinces and on the Rhine.¹³⁹ Their pay during their years of service, their financial reward at discharge, and the reputation they would gain in their home communities, all gave them opportunities for economic and social advance; even the sons of municipal officials often entered the élite units of the army, which testifies to the

prestige attached to military service.¹⁴⁰ Those soldiers who rose to become legionary centurions would have gained a special reputation among their fellow-countrymen and there were a fair number, from Virunum, Celeia and Solva, who achieved this in the Flavian and Antonine periods.¹⁴¹ One of these centurions, Ti. Claudius Junianus at the beginning of the second century, who distinguished himself on campaign, must have been numbered among the leading personalities in the Virunum area after his discharge, as the owner of the large Allersdorf villa in the Lavant valley;¹⁴² and a centurion from Colatio (Stari Trg), in the second century, became *duumvir* at Celeia when his military service was over.¹⁴³ Officers in the *auxilia* could also hold office in the towns after returning home.¹⁴⁴ Ordinary veterans successfully invested their money in land or trade¹⁴⁵ and, if they themselves did not immediately enter the ruling class, their sons did.¹⁴⁶

Exceptionally rich and ambitious members of municipal society could achieve the highest social rank possible for Noricans from the end of the first century onwards: membership of the equestrian order.¹⁴⁷ Apart from wealth, service as an equestrian officer was a qualification for this. Seven Norican *equites* are known so far from the period before the Marcomannic Wars; it is the fragmentary state of the evidence that is responsible for the fact that they are all from Celeia and Solva, and that none is known from Virunum, for instance. The earliest known *eques* was C. Rufius Moderatus Junianus Juncinus, who entered the equestrian order approximately at the beginning of Trajan's reign. He came from one of Celeia's leading families, which had freedmen there and in the surrounding area, and also had close connections with the *bonestiores* of Virunum. The two brothers L. Cammius Maximus and L. Cammius Secundinus, taken into the *ordo equester* by Trajan or Hadrian, came from Solva, and belonged to a family that apparently owned land at Gleisdorf; Secundinus, who had extremely good contacts at Rome, was appointed to a sexagenary procuratorship after his long military career. An approximate contemporary of his was C. Censorius Niger who was, it would seem, the son of a legionary centurion from Solva; under Hadrian he actually rose to become ducenary procurator of Noricum itself. The equestrian career of T. Varius Clemens from Celeia began approximately at the end of Hadrian's reign. He came from a well-known family in this town, and after a very successful military career, with the *quattuor militiae*, and quite a long procuratorial career, he rose to the high rank of *ab epistulis* of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. P. Aelius Crispinus and T. Attius Tutor were approximately a generation younger. Both were from Solva, Crispinus from a family that attained the citizenship under Hadrian, Tutor from the principal family in the town, which owned the largest residential *insula* there and estates in the *territorium*. Whereas Tutor got at least as far as the *quarta militia*, Crispinus, after becoming

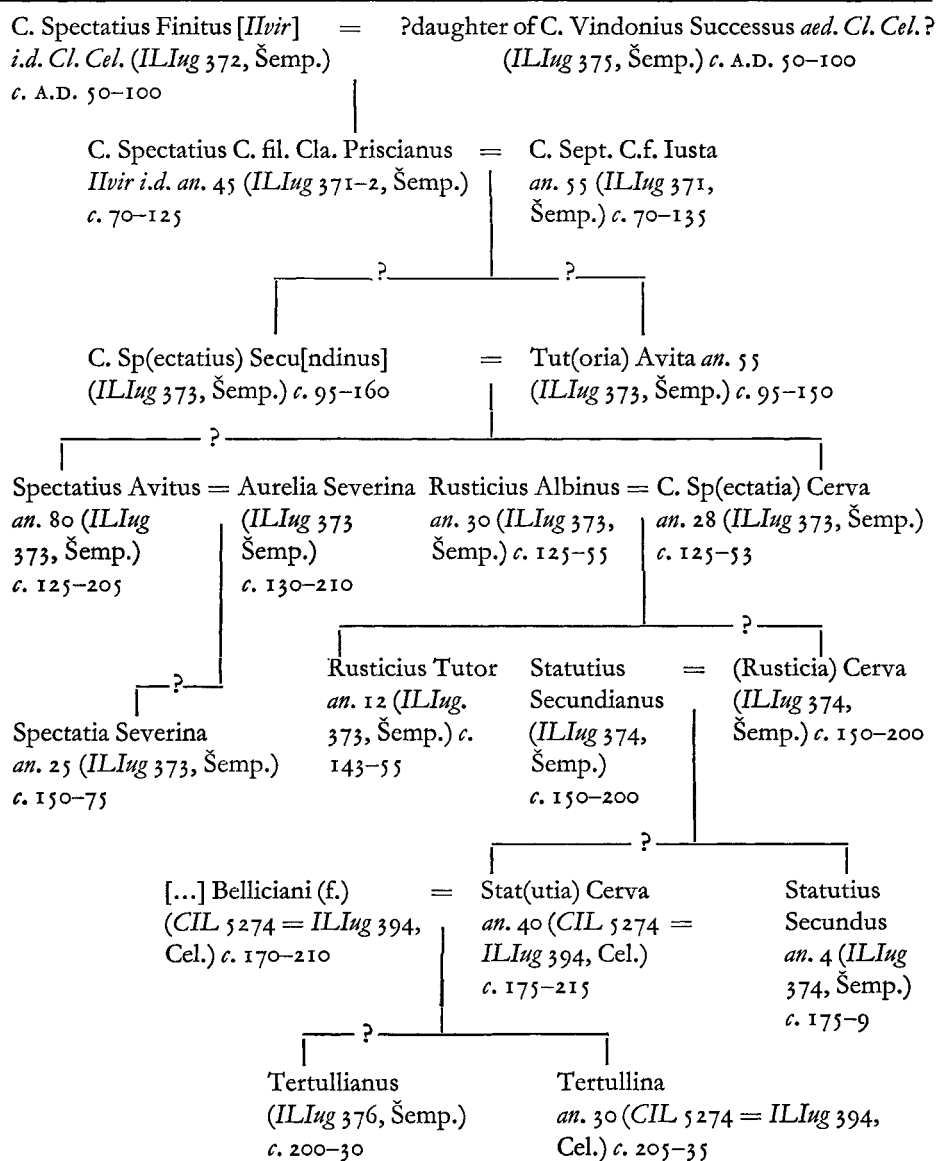
primus pilus of a legion, rose to be ducenary procurator in several provinces in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

The sons of *equites* like these certainly had the basic qualifications to enter the uppermost sector of Roman society, the senatorial order. But so far we do not know of a single senator, either before or after the Marcomannic Wars, who was definitely of Norican origin.¹⁴⁸ T. Varius Clemens from Celeia, however, may have been promoted by Marcus Aurelius from the *ordo equester* into the Senate. From the period before Marcus Aurelius there is only M. Vindius Verus, consul suffect in A.D. 138, and a leading jurist under Antoninus Pius, for consideration as a possible Norican; he was perhaps the son of an unknown *eques* from Solva or its neighbourhood. In that case, his father must certainly have already done outstanding service in Trajan's reign, but the only known Norican *eques* from that time is also the earliest recorded from Noricum and he did not achieve high office. Besides, Verus cannot possibly have received his juristic training in Noricum: if he was indeed a Norican he must have gone to Rome at an early age. But his rise into the senate, if achieved from origins in the Norican municipal class, was an isolated case at best. Neither the economic nor the social structure in the Norican *municipia* were sufficiently advanced or developed to have favoured the rise of senatorial families. There were no great land-owners or more than averagely rich bankers and owners of large business-firms here, and Virunum, Celeia, Solva and the other towns—even if they were important and flourishing communities by Norican standards—could not compete with places like Carthage, Italica, Tarraco, Nemausus or Ephesus.

Even if entry into the senatorial nobility was out of the question for most of them, these leading families were able to build up an unrivalled position in the society of their own country in the Flavian and Antonine periods. The economic prosperity and possibilities for social advance brought about the emergence of a group of leading families—a relatively small number of families, which concentrated the ownership of land and property in their hands, held office in the towns and enjoyed a great reputation. The influence of some of these families remained confined to one town and its vicinity. The Ennii, Spectatii and Varii, for example, played a role only at and round Celeia, where they obviously owned land;¹⁴⁹ the Castricii, a merchant family from Italy, were probably active only in the trading life of Celeia and the navigable portion of the Save valley;¹⁵⁰ the Herennii appear to have been influential only at Teurnia;¹⁵¹ the Tapponii only at Virunum and north of the Loibl Pass, where they either carried on trade or owned an estate.¹⁵² By contrast there were families whose influence was felt in several of the towns and over wide stretches of the countryside. The Sabinii of Virunum, who held the leases of various sources of imperial revenue and had a

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TABLE 3 *Stemma of a family from Celeia and Šempeter*



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well-established network of freedmen even in central Noricum, have already been mentioned; similarly the Rufii of Celeia and the Attii of Solva, who had economic and other connections elsewhere in the Norican towns.¹⁵³ The Cassii belonged to the *honestiores* at Celeia and Solva as well as at Juvavum and were also settled in other parts of the province;¹⁵⁴ the Annii played a large role at Solva and Virunum as well as elsewhere,¹⁵⁵ as did the Pompeii at Celeia and Solva in particular.¹⁵⁶ The Lollii were certainly one of the richest families at Juvavum, owned land in this area and also had close links with Teurnia and Virunum;¹⁵⁷ the Saplii belonged to the *honestiores* of Ovilava and of the Juvavum area too.¹⁵⁸ The hypothetical stemma of the Spectatii from Celeia and Šempeter (p. 126) shows how such a family could continue for several generations: it clearly had an estate at Šempeter, provided a number of officials at Celeia and was capable of paying for the expensive tombs and funerary monuments at Šempeter.

The lower classes and slavery

In the towns and countryside there were small-scale craftsmen and traders. In the *municipia* it was mainly these people who composed the *plebs oppidana*, the lower class among the free element of the population. Unfortunately, these are just the social groups about which we lack information. Apparently the urban workers had not joined together in unions or guilds (*collegia*) to nearly such an extent in the period before the Marcomannic Wars as they were to do afterwards. Only a small number of inscriptions mentioning *collegia*, at Virunum, Celeia and Aguntum, appear to be datable to the early period.¹⁵⁹ There is little information about the miners and quarrymen either. Freeborn native workers, as well as slaves, are recorded in the quarries.¹⁶⁰ Since we know a large number of inscriptions, from the major iron-mines, of native *peregrini*, it is to be presumed that some of the workers at least were drawn from the free population of the surrounding area.¹⁶¹

The rural peasantry lived either in large *vici* or on individual farmsteads. The important *vici* included Colatio (Stari Trg) north-west of Celeia, where a number of houses on the same alignment have been identified,¹⁶² Juenna (Globasnitz) in the Jauntal,¹⁶³ Santicum (Villach),¹⁶⁴ Baldersdorf, east of Teurnia,¹⁶⁵ Sebatum (St Lorenzen) in the Pustertal,¹⁶⁶ In Murio (Moosham) in the uppermost part of the Mur valley, Bedaium (Seebruck) on the Chiemsee, and Hallstatt, the latter probably a mining settlement in the main.¹⁶⁷ Members of the municipal aristocracy also settled in these *vici*, presumably owning land in the area.¹⁶⁸ However, we know from Juenna and Santicum, for example, of numerous native *peregrini* as well, who should probably be regarded mainly as free peasants.¹⁶⁹ A farm of

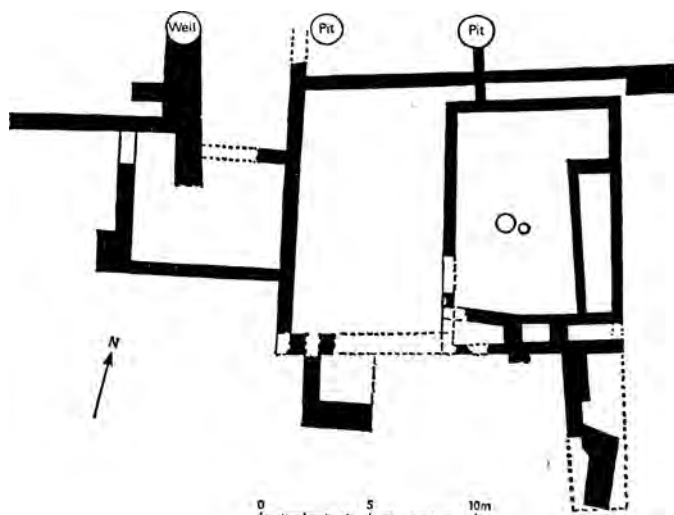


Figure 17 Rural dwelling at Gleisdorf

the early imperial period has been excavated at Gleisdorf in Lower Styria. It consisted of a large dwelling-house with out-buildings (Fig. 17); there was also a pottery-kiln near it.¹⁷⁰ The tombstones from the burial-ground belonging to it give the names of native *peregrini*, who were free peasants, as well as that of the slave of a land-owner.¹⁷¹ There were certainly many such hamlets close to land-owners' villas everywhere. For example the natives on the inscriptions at Katsch may have been free peasants who worked on the land of the villa-owner there.¹⁷² At least one class among the peasantry enjoyed a certain prosperity; the small settlement at Gleisdorf may even have had a primitive amphitheatre and there were some large tombs in its burial-ground.¹⁷³

The epigraphic evidence for many natives without Roman citizenship at *vici* and villas, in mining areas, and even in the *municipia*,¹⁷⁴ permits the conclusion that there were many freeborn persons in Noricum in the Flavian and Antonine periods who formed part of the labour force in mining and industry. None the less, there is also evidence for extensive slavery in Noricum in this period—and in the towns as well as in the rural areas.¹⁷⁵ In the Flavian and Antonine periods some three hundred inscriptions attest slaves and freedmen—excluding slaves belonging to the provincial and economic administrations and to the *municipia*—and evidence for slavery is recorded everywhere where epigraphic material is preserved (Fig. 18). Certainly the institution of slavery in Noricum did not begin in this period nor indeed in the imperial period: the native aristocracy of the *regnum Noricum* already owned slaves before the Roman conquest, and the repre-

sentatives of the Italian business-firms in the early period were mainly freedmen.¹⁷⁶ However, the growth in the economy, and the development of an urban bourgeoisie after the Claudian reforms, led to an increase in the use of slaves in economic production during the Flavian and Antonine periods.

To judge from the evidence of nomenclature, a significant proportion of the slaves and freedmen were of native origin—they often bore Celtic names and Latin or latinised names that were characteristic of Noricum. This applied particularly to the slaves owned by natives, for these, too, in very many cases, *peregrini* included, were slave-owners.¹⁷⁷ Even slaves and freedmen with purely Latin or even Greek names came, in many cases, from Noricum as well.¹⁷⁸ But it is noticeable that *servi* and *liberti* with Greek names are found mainly in the towns, there often belonging to families of foreign origin (Pl. 23); those with Norican names are found mainly in the countryside and mainly owned by natives.¹⁷⁹ A partial explanation for this is that there were slave-markets—at which slaves of foreign origin could also be bought—only in the towns, and also that foreigners, some of them merchants, obtained their slaves from Italy or from other provinces as well.

Many slaves undoubtedly worked in the household as domestic servants or house-slaves—slave-women are for instance recorded as *ancilla*¹⁸⁰ or *nutrix*.¹⁸¹ But they also acquired an important role in economic production. As a very large part of the evidence for slavery comes from country districts, and from the vicinity of villas (Fig. 18), a mainly agricultural form of slavery is to be presumed, in the case of municipal land-owners as well as with peregrine native farmers. Thus we know for instance of slaves belonging to the Attii of Solva in the region of this town, apparently from their estates, and freedmen of the Turbonii of Solva at Löffelbach, who may have belonged to the personnel of the villa there;¹⁸² and equally many slaves and freedmen of peregrine peasants, for example in the Solva region.¹⁸³ There are single examples in each case of a *saltuarius*, a *vestigiator* and a *tinctor*, and *ursarii* are known; the last were forest-wardens and professional hunters of slave status on the estates of their masters.¹⁸⁴ But there were also slaves among the quarrymen and probably among the iron-miners and industrial workers too,¹⁸⁵ and freedmen of Italian families in particular were also active in trade;¹⁸⁶ and there were also slave and freedmen boatmen, for instance in the upper Save valley,¹⁸⁷ and others were doctors, as at Solva.¹⁸⁸ Thus the labour force in the Flavian and Antonine periods was not composed entirely of freeborn workers: production was based, particularly in agriculture, on a system which used both free and slave labour simultaneously and without sharp distinction.

Even the social barriers between free and unfree were loose. Ideas of brutally

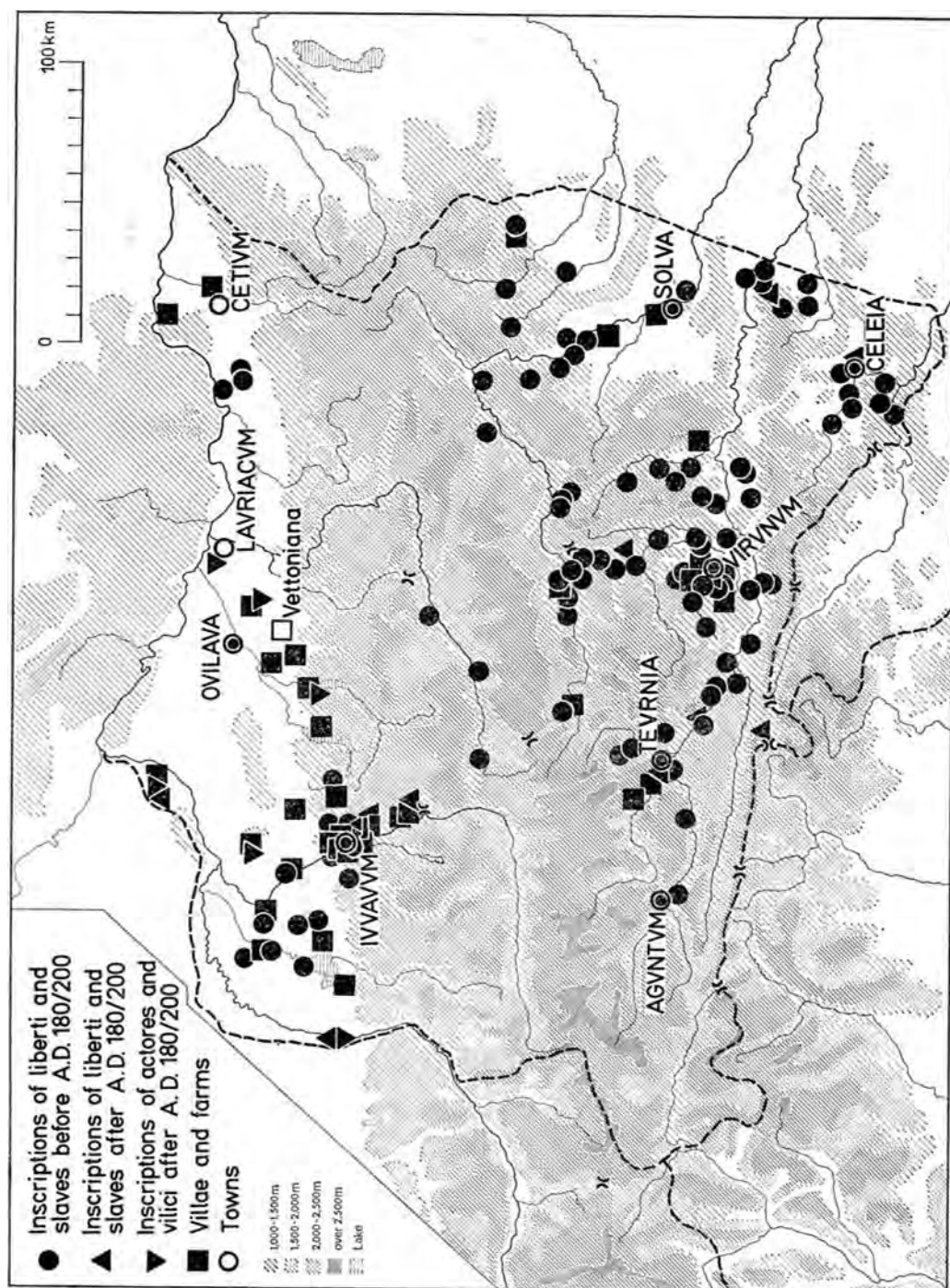


Figure 18 Farmhouses and slavery in Noricum

exploited slaves, groaning in chains, are exaggerated; and there is absolutely no trace of any slave-barracks, which are attested, for instance, on farming establishments in the Roman west. Slavery had a family character, especially among native *peregrini*: one may 'say without any idealisation, that in this patriarchal stage of slavery the slaves did not live much worse—that is, in not much more modest circumstances—than did their native masters'.¹⁸⁹ Between members of the urban bourgeoisie and their slaves the social differences were certainly more pronounced. But there may have been to some extent a 'patriarchal' relationship between slaves and slave-owners even in the towns, since in no case did the richest families possess large masses of slaves: the highest number recorded is a case at Virunum, where six slaves belonging to one *domina* are recorded.¹⁹⁰ Besides, even slaves were able to build up a modest *peculium* for themselves, and pay for their own tombstones out of it, and now and then there are some quite costly examples of these.¹⁹¹

The fact that slaves could be given their freedom after a certain age played a very significant role. In this connection the difference in age between *servi* and *liberti* is noticeable: nearly all slaves whose age is given on their funerary inscriptions were under thirty, whereas the *liberti* were nearly all over thirty.¹⁹² That does not mean that slaves always died at an earlier age than freedmen did, but that slaves were generally manumitted at about the age of thirty—the age limit laid down by Augustan legislation as the normal age for manumission. This is also clear from some inscriptions in which parents who were freedmen and freedwomen are mentioned together with their children who were under thirty and still slaves when they died.¹⁹³ The universal practice of manumission must have had mainly economic causes: the slave with a prospect of gaining his freedom was keener at his work than one with no chance of bettering his status.¹⁹⁴ Naturally this state of affairs meant that there was a constant demand to renew the supply of slaves, and this demand could hardly have been met purely by children born to slave and freedmen families. It was, on the contrary, possible for children of free parents to be enslaved—apparently poor peasants often sold their children on condition that they were given back their freedom when they reached their thirtieth year. Thus an inscription from Solva appears to mention three slaves who were brothers, whose father was a freeborn peregrine.¹⁹⁵

When the slave had once received his freedom, he could make good economic and social use of his position as a *libertus*. Above all, it was an important consideration that *liberti*, if they had previously been the slaves of Roman citizens, gained the citizenship themselves (Roman or Latin rights) at manumission; this prospect may have played a major role in the enslavement of peregrines. The barriers between the *liberti* and their former *domini* almost completely

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disappeared, at least in the case of native *peregrini*. The *liberti* lived with their *patroni*, often in the same household, and were buried with them;¹⁹⁶ they could marry freeborn spouses,¹⁹⁷ procure slaves of their own,¹⁹⁸ and seek a living as peasants, craftsmen or merchants. Their sons could enter the Roman army¹⁹⁹ and even freedmen themselves were called up for army service in critical military situations.²⁰⁰ There were undoubtedly some among them who had considerable wealth, even if they will hardly have been able to amass riches on the scale that many freedmen did in the towns of Italy or in the great *coloniae* of the Roman west.²⁰¹

Romanisation

The economic and social development of Noricum during the Flavian and Antonine periods led to a change in the character of the population. The differences between natives and foreign immigrants gradually faded out, and from the meeting of local traditions with Italian influences grew an individual, specifically Norican culture.

The foreign settlers certainly formed only a small percentage of the population. They were mainly Italians; there were scarcely any colonists from the neighbouring provinces of the empire, or from those further afield, before the Marcomannic Wars.²⁰² Nor did Italians exactly pour into Noricum in large groups, and only after Claudius do a few new settlers seem to have arrived at all from Italy—it was mainly some families from Aquileia, for example, and from other northern Italian towns, and also from Rome.²⁰³ Most of the Italian families in the new towns and the areas around them were probably descendants of early merchants who had already settled in Noricum in the pre-Claudian period. At least fourteen Italian families, whose names appear in the epigraphic material from the Magdalensberg under Augustus and Tiberius, can be traced in Noricum in the Flavian and Antonine periods also—mainly in Virunum and its neighbourhood, where these families went after the Magdalensberg was given up, but also to a considerable extent at Celeia and Solva, where they were probably engaged mainly in trade.²⁰⁴ As was the case with the merchant families recorded earlier on the Magdalensberg, and their descendants, the Italians who are first recorded later on were also mostly of north Italian origin—for example the Caesernii, Curii and Trosii, who came from Aquileia and the surrounding area.²⁰⁵ There were however also some families from central Italy, such as the Caecinae, Tuccii and Vedernae from Etruria, and the Caetennii from Volsinii.²⁰⁶ The overwhelming majority of the Italian families are known to us from the towns, mainly Virunum, Celeia, Solva, Juvavum and Teurnia; they seldom

settled in rural areas, and then it was generally as land-owners. Thus in the *territorium* of Virunum, for example, the Italians that we know are recorded exclusively in the larger *vici* such as Santicum, Juenna and Matucaium (Althofen-Treibach), and there are isolated examples along the major roads, at Tarvis on the 'Norican main highway', in the neighbourhood of the Lamprechtskogel not far from the Virunum–Celeia road, and below the Loibl Pass on the Virunum–Emona road.²⁰⁷

By far the largest part of the provincial population was made up of native families.²⁰⁸ The many hundreds of recorded persons who had imperial *gentilicia*, or *nomina* formed from *cognomina*, or who showed themselves to be non-citizens by having only a personal name with their father's name in the genitive case after it, or who in many cases even in the Flavian and Antonine periods had Celtic personal names or surnames, all belonged to this group. But they were no longer isolated from the Italians. Life in the same towns, personal contacts and inter-marriage caused the barriers which were already beginning to weaken in the pre-Claudian period gradually to fall completely.²⁰⁹ From Virunum alone in the Flavian and Antonine periods we know of at least a dozen cases of intermarriage between Italians and natives,²¹⁰ and the development in the other towns was no different. The children of such marriages were neither Italians nor Celts but Noricans—thus even the Baebii or Barbii, for example, in the second century had *cognomina* that were characteristic of Noricum and one is no longer entitled to regard them as Italians.²¹¹ It was only in the rural areas that the native population was able to preserve its original character more tenaciously, especially in the remote Alpine valleys and in the central Norican mountains, where there were very few foreign settlers.

Roman culture spread in the urban centres and their vicinity, and romanisation pushed its way into all parts of Noricum during the Flavian and Antonine periods, though with varying intensity. Various factors were responsible. There was the influence of the Italians and their ever closer relations with the native elements; the change-over to urban life; the grants of citizenship to the natives; their share in the administration of the *municipia*; and their service in the Roman army. From the cultural point of view it was the universal spread of Latin, spoken and written, that played the chief role in the process of romanisation under the Flavians and Antonines. Even in backward areas far away from the towns, such as the valleys of the Lavant, the upper Mur, and the upper Enns, natives including many non-citizens set up funerary inscriptions which bear witness to their knowledge of Latin and to their ability to write it—at any rate the stone-masons possessed this knowledge, and some at least of those who paid for the inscriptions must have also known Latin. It was not of course Ciceronian Latin that

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was used in Noricum, but a vulgar Latin,²¹² with, undoubtedly, a number of native loan-words;²¹³ and the stone-masons' spelling was frequently defective. But this knowledge of Latin was no mean cultural achievement, if one considers that around the time of the birth of Christ the Norican population had still been speaking native languages and that very few Noricans then knew any Latin at all.

Only in the towns and their immediate vicinity was Latin spoken which was relatively good by provincial standards; the standard of writing also was higher than elsewhere, for well-educated *scribae* and *librarii* (Plates 20, 21) were active here.²¹⁴ The inscriptions of the local aristocracy in particular display few errors or local peculiarities. But vulgar Latin word-forms and mistakes do appear even in official inscriptions of the towns, as in the copy of Septimius Severus' rescript (Pl. 25) on the *centonarii* of Solva.²¹⁵ By contrast, in the country standards were much lower, as is shown particularly in the south-east quarter of the province round Celeia, and in central Noricum.²¹⁶ The inscriptions from these regions—and not infrequently elsewhere also—teem with mistakes. The many deviations from normal Latin spelling may, to be sure, be explained by the fact that the words were pronounced in the vulgar form, as happened in other provinces too.²¹⁷ But words were often wrongly written, even personal names;²¹⁸ quite often words were misunderstood and misused;²¹⁹ in many cases words were simply missed out by the stone-masons;²²⁰ and mistakes were made not only in declension,²²¹ but in syntax.²²² This of course applied particularly to cursive inscriptions, and contrasts with the quite reasonable Latin and good spelling in the cursive inscriptions of the Italians on the Magdalensberg before Claudius.²²³ The small number of verse-inscriptions on tombstones preserved in Noricum were also primitive: not only do they display no original ideas, but they are faulty in metre and their grammar is not particularly polished.²²⁴ It is a sign of the cultural limitations of the province, also, that Greek was almost completely unknown here.²²⁵

However this may be, Norican Latin was after all Latin, and its universal spread gradually led to a decline in the use of the country's old native languages. In the Flavian and Antonine periods, however, Celtic at least, with its various dialects, had by no means disappeared; it was probably still in general use in the remote and backward areas, alongside Latin, and it must still have been understood even in the towns. The extremely large number of Celtic personal names epigraphically recorded in this period gives a clear indication of this (Fig. 1). For some towns and country districts, where there is a rich volume of epigraphic material, it is possible to compile some instructive statistics on the percentages of native (i.e. almost always Celtic), Latin and Greek *cognomina*; and here it is

valuable to treat the material of the mid-first century to the end of the second separately from the later material till the end of the third century.²²⁶ In the three towns Celeia, Solva and Virunum, the native *cognomina* in the early empire range from 21.5 to 30 per cent of the total, against 35–45 per cent in the country districts. By the same token, the Latin *cognomina* in the towns take up 64–72.5 per cent against 55–64 per cent in the country districts; besides this, 6–10 per cent of the *cognomina* in the towns are Greek, principally attested in the case of freedmen of foreign families. Romanisation thus had the general effect of making the majority of *cognomina* Latin. All the same, a great number of these ‘Latin’ *cognomina* seem in fact to have been merely a latinised form, or translation, of Celtic names, especially those which are very widely distributed in Noricum—Acceptus, Adiutor, Avitus, Calendinus, Cupitus, Finitus, Ingenuus, Masculus, Optatus, Respectus, Restutus, Spectatus, Speratus, Successus, and forms derived from these; other *cognomina* were simple Latin names such as Maximus, Primus, Secundus and Tertius. None the less the old native names also continued to exist: they make up a third of all *cognomina* in the province as a whole in the early empire.²²⁷ The linguistic substratum of these names may have still been present, particularly in the country-districts. This percentage, and with it the role of the native language, first declined markedly in the later empire (Table 4, p. 136).

Thus Italian influences and local traditions reigned side by side in the linguistic sphere, exerting a mutual influence on one another. The same applied also in the religious field, with the difference that the fusion of native and foreign deities naturally proceeded more readily, through the *interpretatio Romana*, than did the intermingling of languages.²²⁸ In the Flavian and Antonine periods it was mainly old native deities and Roman ones that were worshipped in Noricum. In some cases there were hardly any contacts between these cults. Thus the worship of Belenus, for example, and Casuontanus, Jovenat or Vocretanus, whose names are not mentioned in connection with those of southern deities in dedicatory inscriptions, was conducted more or less in the traditional form.²²⁹ On the other hand the *beneficarii*, for example, dedicated their altars in a temple of Jupiter at Celeia to the chief god of the Roman state; scarcely a single one is set up to the native weather-god who was felt to be equivalent to Jupiter.²³⁰ But mostly the native and imported southern deities were identified with one another, as far as the concepts of the particular deities permitted. Native high gods or weather-gods were assimilated to Jupiter for example; Latobius, Toutates and other gods were identified with Mars, the national goddess Noreia with Isis and with Fortuna or Victoria.²³¹ Often the deity was given both Roman and native names at the same time, as with Dis Smertrius, Jupiter Optimus Maximus Uxellimus, or Mars Latobius; or the Roman god was given an appropriate epithet whether

TABLE 4 *Distribution of native, Latin and Greek cognomina*

Area	Mid-first-end of second century				End of second-end of third century			
	Total no. of examples	native %	Latin %	Greek %	Total no. of examples	native %	Latin %	Greek %
Celeia	240	21.5	72.5	6	125	7	88	5
Solva	155	26	64	10	200	7.5	90	2.5
Virunum	455	30	64	6	200	10	85	5
<i>Territorium</i> of Celeia	310	35	64	1	60	5	90	5
<i>Territorium</i> of Solva	450	35	64	1	70	15	85	
<i>Territorium</i> of Virunum	490	45	55		75	10	80	10
Central Noricum	195	44	55	1	200	7.5	90	2.5
Average for the province		33.8	62.6	3.6		8.85	86.85	4.3

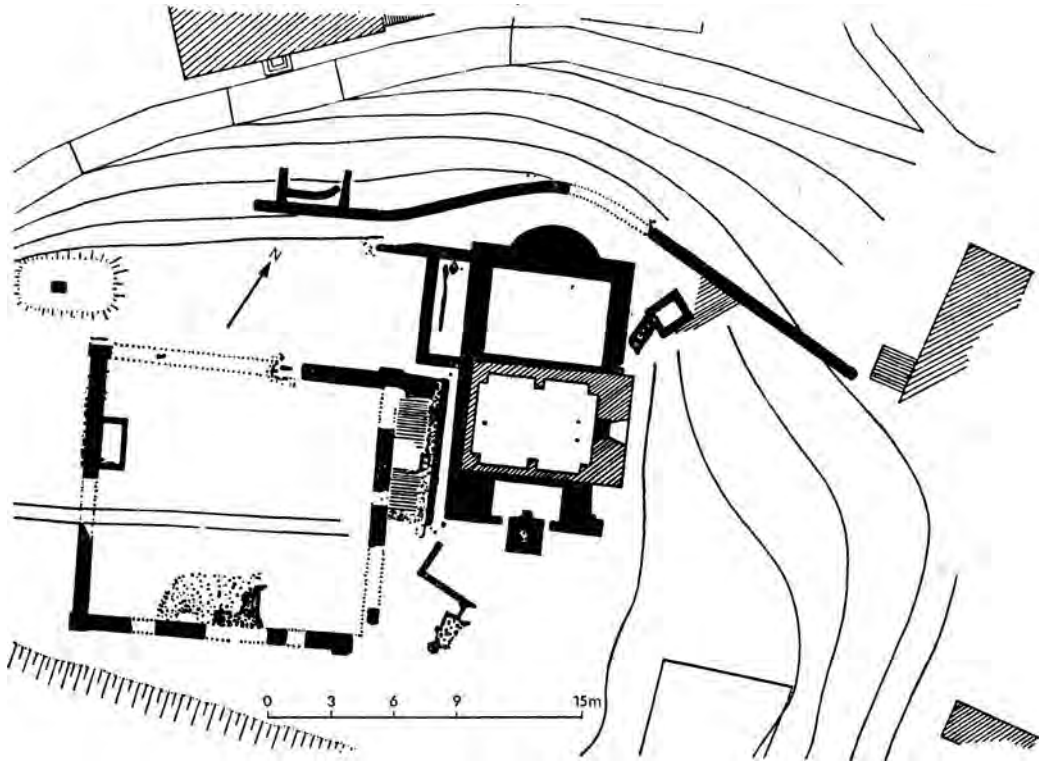


Figure 19 Sanctuary on the Frauenberg near Solva

Celtic, as with Jupiter Arubianus (Pl. 52), or Latin as with Jupiter Culminalis or Depulsor.²³² Frequently the native name completely disappeared, as was the case with the *Genius cucullatus*.²³³ Native attributes were also added to the original iconography in representations of the gods as happened with the Wheel-god identified with Jupiter;²³⁴ or the imported iconography was simply taken over unaltered, as with Mars²³⁵ (Pl. 36).

Southern influences and native traditions also met in the field of cult and ritual. In the towns there were municipal priests such as *pontifices*, *flamines*, *sacerdotes* and—at Virunum and Celeia—*haruspices* as well,²³⁶ but there were undoubtedly native priests too.²³⁷ Roman rituals such as the offering of libations with *patera* and *urceus* became familiar,²³⁸ and even magical practices from the south spread widely.²³⁹ The old Celtic rituals, however, or others that were still older, continued to be practised and many of them outlasted even the Roman period: the famous Vierbergerlauf ('four peaks race') in Carinthia, following the route Magdalensberg—Ulrichsberg—Veitsberg near Sörg—Lorenziberg near St Veit, still carried out to this day, is perhaps of ancient origin, and if so almost certainly

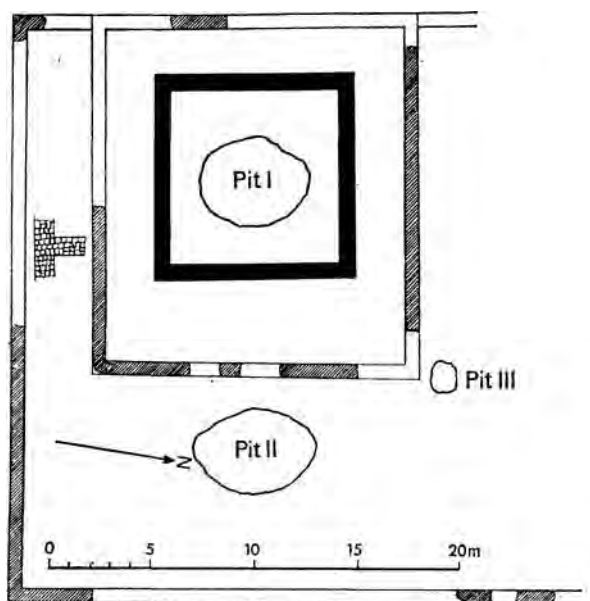


Figure 20 Sanctuary at St Margarethen in the Lavant valley

pre-Roman, its purpose probably being to ensure magical protection for the fields of the Zollfeld and upper Glan valley.²⁴⁰ Some rites were created by the fusion of Roman and native cult-practices, for example the custom of holding processions with people dressed up as animals, attested by second-century finds from Mautern.²⁴¹ Descriptions of the after-life also showed a mixture of southern influences and local traditions.²⁴²

The fact that shrines and temples were built all over the province, in both the towns and the countryside, including some for native deities, had a considerable effect on the romanisation of religious cults.²⁴³ Though some of these temples were extremely primitive and built only of wood, such as one at Brunn near Fehring in Lower Styria,²⁴⁴ others were of stone and were often lavishly adorned. These larger temples in the countryside were evidently built on the sites of earlier native cult-centres and mainly in the period from the mid-first to the mid-second century. The best known among them are the temples of Isis Noreia on the Frauenberg (Fig. 19) near Solva,²⁴⁵ of Mars Latobius near St Margarethen (Fig. 20) in the lower Lavant valley,²⁴⁶ of Noreia on the Ulrichsberg²⁴⁷ (Fig. 36, p. 215) and the sacred precinct of the same goddess at Hohenstein²⁴⁸ (Fig. 21). There were however many others: for instance the sacred precincts of the Genius cucullatus at Wabelsdorf,²⁴⁹ and of Mars at Lendorf (Fig. 35, p. 211) near Teurnia,²⁵⁰ and shrines at Colatio (Stari Trg), at Kugelstein north of Graz, on

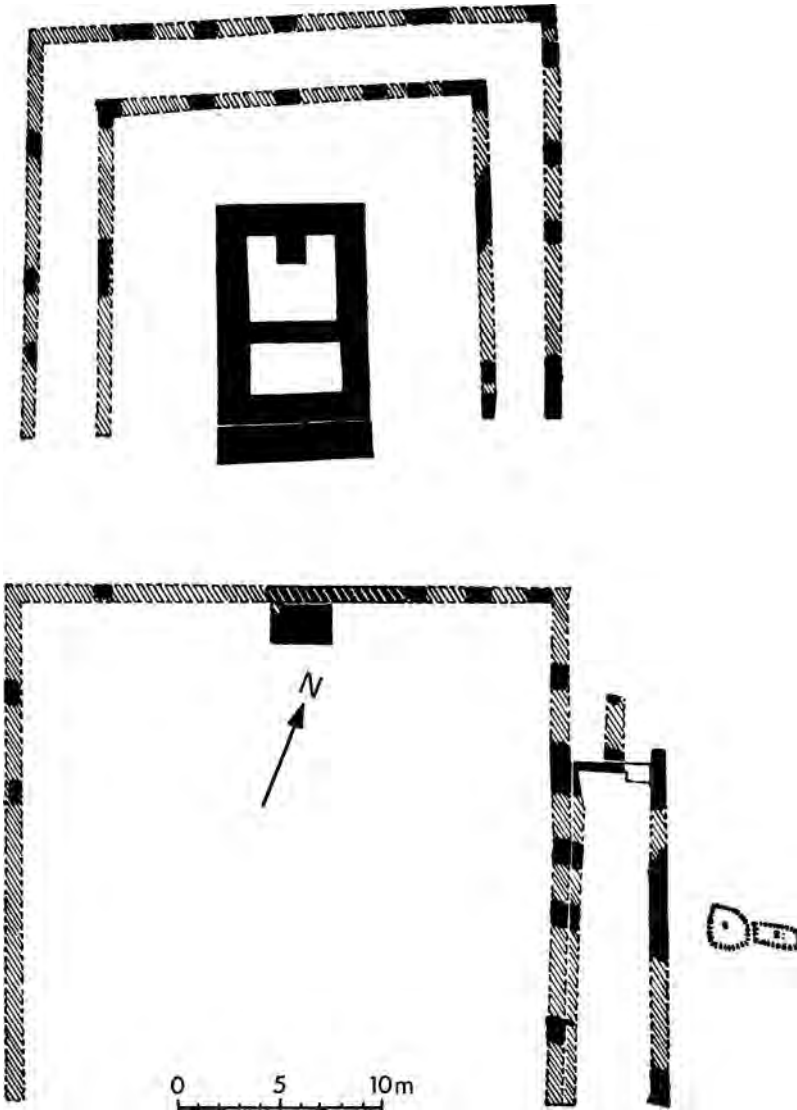


Figure 21 Sanctuary at Hohenstein

the Grazer Kogel near Virunum, and so on.²⁵¹ The cult-fittings in these temples were to some extent unroman: for example the shrine of Mars in the lower Lavant valley was itself called *navale*, evidently in connection with the sacred spring near the temple.²⁵² But the cults were gradually romanised and practised ever-increasingly by romanised people. Even in the language of the cults Latin in time became universal—all dedicatory inscriptions on stone were in Latin.

Town and country under the Flavians and Antonines

Strong Italian influences and the local traditions of timber-construction met in the architecture of the temples. The shrine of Noreia at Hohenstein, for instance, with its *cella* surrounded by a portico (Fig. 21), or the podium-temple of the Virunum Capitol (Fig. 6, p. 90), were completely in accordance with southern styles of religious building, whereas temples like that of the Genius cucullatus at Wabelsdorf were of Gallo-Roman type, with *cella* and *temenos*. There was the same confrontation of the two traditions in other branches of art.²⁵³ Dependence on Italy was especially pronounced in painting and mosaics, for these arts first became familiar with the arrival of the Romans. Italian influence was also very marked in the plastic arts, both sculpture in the round and reliefs (Pl. 33), which achieved their high point in the second century²⁵⁴—but Celtic traditions, combined with a lack of high artistic qualities, brought about the development of a plastic art of Roman provincial type with many specifically Norican characteristics. The strong influence of the south is seen not only in the high-class products of immigrant artists and their local pupils—for instance the statues of the gods from the baths-quarter at Virunum (Plates 37–42)—but in most of the iconographic types, which were borrowed from the south, including not least the mythological scenes, so characteristic of Noricum. These appear on funerary monuments, particularly in the regions of Celeia (Pl. 29), Solva and Virunum (Pl. 31), with very remarkable frequency, displaying familiarity with the ancient legends—scenes like Hercules and Hesione, Selene and Endymion, Perseus and Andromeda, the flight of Medea, Achilles on Scyros, Hector's body being dragged round Troy (Pl. 31), the reunion of Helen and Menelaus, and so on.²⁵⁵ On the other hand, the depiction of people wearing native dress, and the attempt to create an individual type to portray the patron goddess Noreia, were 'Norican' themes.²⁵⁶ The combination of southern influence with local talents produced the more or less generally recognisable characteristics of Roman provincial sculpture in portraiture: a tendency to depict the human form in a flat and linear fashion (Plates 46, 50), without 'an inborn feeling for space and body' and 'an inability to organise the individual sections into a harmoniously ordered and well-proportioned whole'.²⁵⁷

Language, nomenclature, religion and art, all clearly display the progress of romanisation in Noricum in the Flavian and Antonine periods, bringing about a fusion of southern influences and local traditions and the emergence of a more or less individual 'Norican' type of culture. The Roman way of life had become widespread, at least in the towns and the areas around them; there were opportunities there, and possibly even in the country community of Gleisdorf, to attend games in the amphitheatre, or, at Virunum, even to go to the theatre; Roman musical instruments were played;²⁵⁸ and there was even an intelligentsia,

of a meagre kind, to which not only the town-clerks or *scribae*, but people like doctors, belonged.²⁵⁹

There were certainly notable successes: under the Flavians and Antonines culture and the standard of living reached a level never before attained in the history of the country. It would however be mistaken to exaggerate the extent of the romanisation of Noricum and to regard the province as in a sense 'una

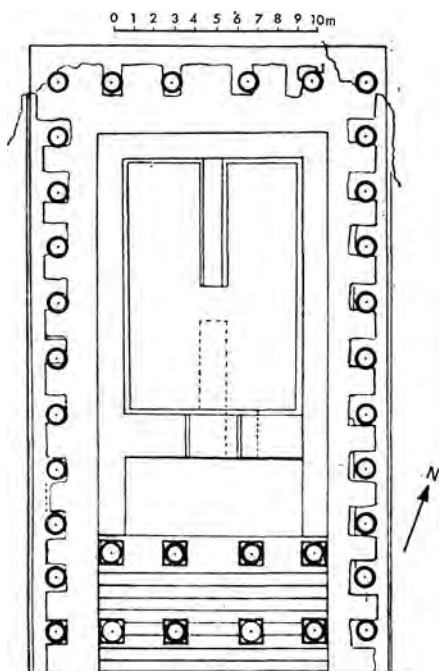


Figure 22 Sanctuary on the Magdalensberg

continuazione dell'Italia':²⁶⁰ the old pre-Roman traditions lived on in all departments of life, especially in the countryside, and even the most advanced parts of the country, such as the regions around Virunum, Solva and Celeia, were still provincial in the cultural sense. There were significant differences in cultural level both between town and country and between different parts of the province. In central Noricum, and north of the Alps—where Ovilava and Cetium were first established as towns under Hadrian, and Lauriacum much later still—the development remained well below that in southern Noricum. Even there, variations existed; and standards varied between individual towns too. Virunum, Celeia and Solva were apparently of greater importance as urban centres than Teurnia, Aguntum and perhaps even Juvavum. The number of inhabitants in

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the three first-named towns seems to have been greater than in the other towns;²⁶¹ at any rate, the number of inscriptions from these three is incomparably larger than from the other Norican *municipia*, which suggests some variation in the degree of romanisation. Besides this, it is only from the south-eastern towns that we know of *equites* and legionary centurions in the period before the Marcomannic Wars, and most of the known Norican legionaries and praetorian guardsmen also came from the *territoria* of these towns, in the early imperial period.

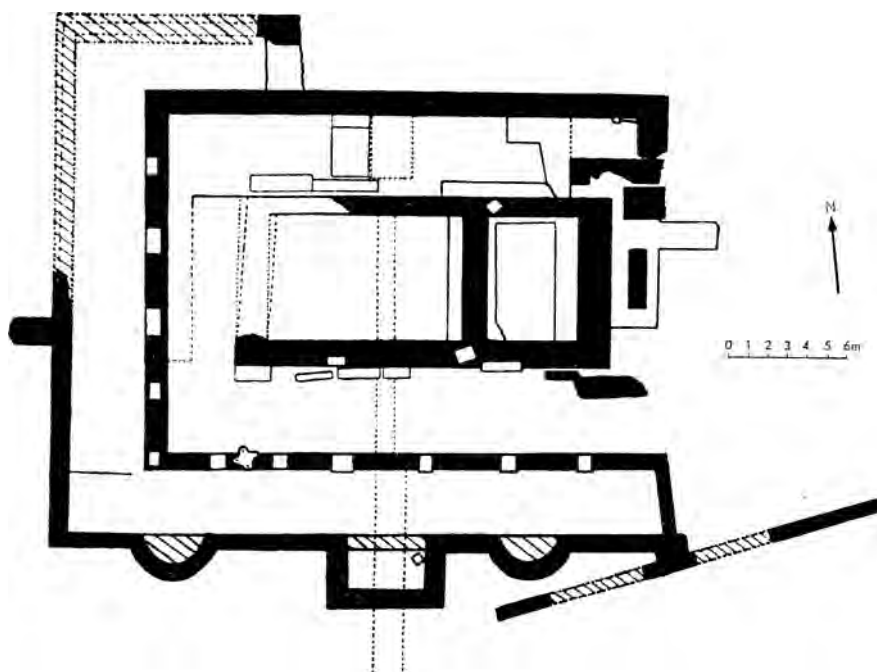


Figure 23 Sanctuary at Celeia

The period of not quite two hundred years of Roman rule, from the annexation of the *regnum Noricum* until the wars of Marcus Aurelius, could not completely alter the appearance of the country, and Roman policy never intended that it should. It was only later that romanisation spread more strongly over the whole province, but, even so, without ever turning Noricum into a 'continuation of Italy' in urban civilisation.

Chapter 9

The Norican frontier and the Marcomannic Wars

Army and frontier under the Flavians and Antonines

Under the Flavians and Antonines the province flourished. Its towns and other settlements, its villas and the imperial mines in the province (an asset of the greatest importance) all required the protection of an army. Under the Flavian emperors, and in the first half of the second century, Noricum can hardly be said to have been in danger from enemy incursions, but even so the government thought it necessary to station troops on its northern frontiers. The *exercitus Noricus*, as the army of the province is called on coins of Hadrian, was still composed, as before, of auxiliary troops only, the presidial procurator being the Commander-in-Chief. His task was to keep a watch on the Norican sector of the Danube frontier and on the territory immediately beyond it, and to be in readiness for any outbreak of war. Besides this, in co-operation with the army of Raetia, he had to keep open the communications between the two great northern armies of the Rhine and in Pannonia. He also had to select military personnel for secondment to the provincial administration.¹

After the turbulent events in the year of the four emperors the Norican army had to be reorganised. In 70 the province's forces, under the command of Sextilius Felix, moved against the rebels in northern Gaul and the Rhineland. Not all these units returned to Noricum after the Batavian war, although a number may have done. But the Ala Auriana, which in 69 had been the only cavalry regiment in the province, was transferred to Raetia under the Flavians (or at latest under Trajan), while the Cohors Montanorum prima moved to Pannonia before the year 85.² In the last third of the first century and at the

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beginning of the second a number of new units came to Noricum. The Ala I Commagenorum, a regiment probably recruited in 72, certainly occupied its fort Commagena before 96. Shortly after that date or under Hadrian the Ala I Augusta Thracum, still in Raetia in 107, arrived at its Norican base Augustiana, while the Ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana was transferred to Noricum from Britain during Hadrian's reign and was stationed, probably from the first, at Lentia. As for infantry units, the Cohors I Asturum was moved to Noricum at latest in 106, and probably took up its station straightaway in the fort it is known to have occupied later, Astura. The Cohors V Breucorum equitata was transferred to Noricum from Pannonia some time after 80 and the Cohors II Batavorum milliaria followed it from the same province under Trajan or Hadrian, as did the Cohors I Flavia Brittonum milliaria. The Cohors I Aelia Brittonum milliaria which was formed under Hadrian (or at latest under Antoninus Pius), took up garrison duties at once at Faviana.

During the last years of Hadrian's reign the *exercitus Noricus* may have been further strengthened, in connection with L. Aelius Caesar's expedition across the Pannonian frontier,³ and it was presumably at this time that it reached the size which it maintained up till the middle of the century. From the evidence of the Mautern diploma, dating to the period 128–38, the army then consisted of three alae and at least five infantry cohorts, as well as a small detachment from a British cohort, I or II Tungrorum.⁴ The cavalry regiments were the Ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana, the only one attested on the surviving fragment of the diploma, and, there can be no doubt, the Alae I Commagenorum and I Augusta Thracum. The only cohort of which the name is preserved on the diploma fragment is II Batavorum. To this one may certainly add the Cohorts I Asturum, V Breucorum, I Flavia Brittonum and—if already in existence under Hadrian—I Aelia Brittonum. There may perhaps have been other as yet unattested cohorts, since one may postulate some fifteen forts along the Norican *limes*. Of these, at least one, Ardagger, is doubtful, and several others cannot be proved to have been built by Hadrian's reign (Eferding, Wallsee, Mauer an der Url, Ybbs), while Joviacum (Schlößen) cannot have had room for more than a vexillation at the most (Fig. 24). This leaves nine likely forts; so there is no objection to estimating the army's strength in about 138 and the succeeding decades at three alae, five cohorts (or perhaps rather more) and one cohort-vexillation. Some of these units, in particular the three *cohortes milliariae*, were perhaps split up to some extent, to garrison more than one fort each. Hence the total size of the army will have been from 5,500 to 7,000 men, the equivalent of a single legion or a little more. The units still contained, to some extent, men recruited in the area where they had originally been raised, it would seem—for example Commagenians and

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Britons.⁵ But from the end of the first century to the middle of the second the soldiers of the Norican army whose names are recorded were almost without exception Norican born.⁶

The Norican troops had already been moved up to the Danube frontier by the mid-first century, and the creation of the *limes* was in progress under the Flavians and their successors, with the erection of forts and signal stations.⁷ The forts were built of earth and timber initially and were first reconstructed in stone during the opening decades of the second century: the completion of this programme at Augustiana (Fig. 25) is dated to the years 140–44.⁸ The exact number of forts in the Flavian and Antonine periods is uncertain. Some have so far been investigated in a limited manner only, or not at all, while the literary sources give some difficulty over the ancient names of these sites. The Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Table list the road-stations along the *limes*, but these were not

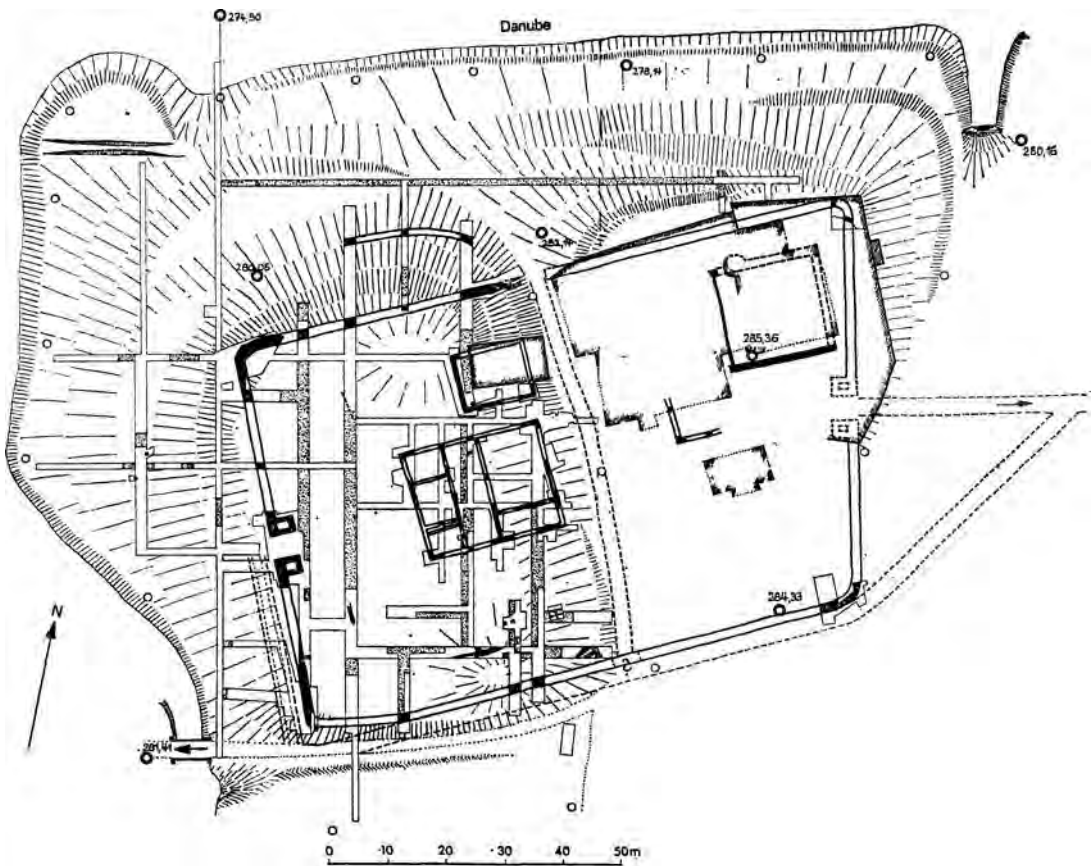


Figure 24 Plan of the fort at Schlögen

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necessarily identical with the forts, for the *limes* road often runs south of them.⁹ The *Notitia* only mentions the late-Roman forts¹⁰ and the *Life* of St Severinus only names those that the saint happened to have visited.¹¹ There are some problems also over identifying what units occupied particular forts, mainly because few inscriptions or stamped tiles of auxiliary units have survived on the Norican

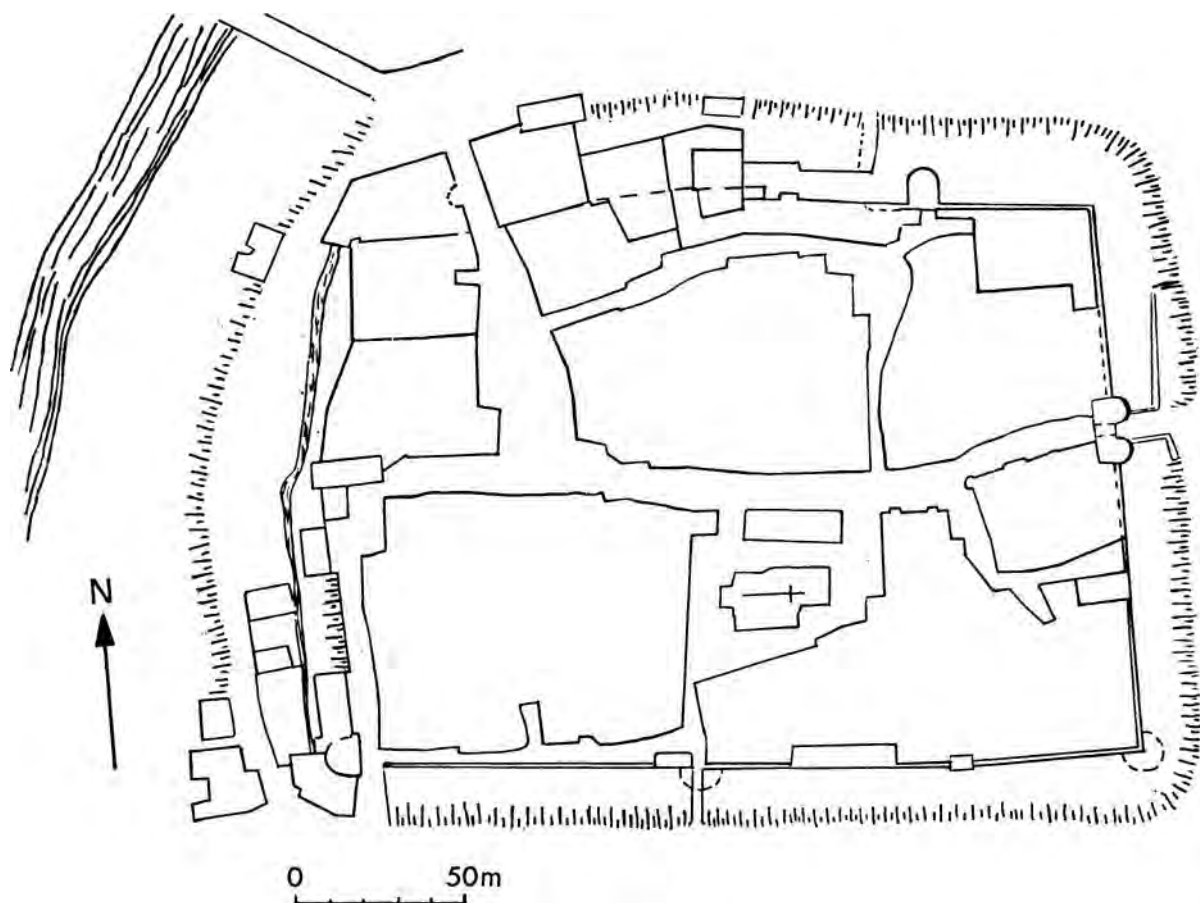


Figure 25 Plan of the fort at Augustiana (Traismauer)

limes. This much is clear, however: the cavalry lay in the areas where the country offered no obstacles to its rapid movement on either side of the Danube, around Linz with its cavalry fort *Lentia*, and in the flat *Tullnerfeld* with regiments stationed at *Augustiana* and *Commagena*. All the other forts held infantry units.

Beginning from the west, *Boiodurum* (Passau-Innstadt) was the first fort in Noricum. It was built at the confluence of the Inn with the Danube, probably

under Domitian. Doubtless it was of earth and timber at first, only being rebuilt in stone somewhat later. The presumed total area of the fort (the north side of which has been eroded away by the Danube) would have provided room for at most a *cohors quingenaria* (some 142/3 by 90/4 metres: between 1.278 and 1.356 hectares).¹² After Marcus Aurelius Boiodurum may have been occupied by the Cohors V Breucorum: the dedication by a tribune of this unit in the reign of Philip found at Weihmörting was probably carried there from the fort. Detachments of this unit were presumably stationed elsewhere on a regular basis, for instance in the two forts to the east of Boiodurum. In this sector of the frontier the Danube flows for some sixty kilometres through a kind of gorge, which provides a natural barrier to passage. This made it unnecessary to station full-strength units here. Between Boiodurum and the Danube loop at Schlögen there is only one small fortified post, the fortlet at Oberranna, much smaller (12.5 by 17 m.) than a normal fort.¹³ The site may be the Stanacum mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary between Boiodurum and Joviacum.¹⁴ The identification of Joviacum with Schlögen (Fig. 24) is virtually certain. There was probably a fort here in the second century,¹⁵ and tile-stamps of Cohors V Breucorum presumably indicate the presence of a vexillation of this unit, while a smaller detachment of the same cohort may be assumed to have been at Oberranna. At the end of the Upper Austrian Danube gorge, where the river widens out again, a stronger garrison was required. A fort was sited here, at Eferding, which later had the name Ad Mauros—after the Marcomannic Wars it probably housed a Cohors Maurorum. Lack of excavation makes it impossible to say anything about the site's earlier history.¹⁶ The next fort to the east was Lentia (Linz), first established in the reign of Claudius and later reconstructed in stone;¹⁷ from the time of Hadrian onwards the Ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana victrix had its station here. Lauriacum (Enns-Lorch), where the Enns joins the Danube, was the next in the sequence, built in Claudius' reign of earth and timber, some 80 by 120 metres in size.¹⁸ A high terrace above the Danube at Wallsee must be the site of the fort immediately to the east. Tile-stamps which perhaps bore the name of the Cohors I Aelia Brittonum (others attest the Legions X Gemina and II Italica) give a clue to the identity of the garrison.¹⁹ The existence of a further fort, Ardagger Markt at the eastern end of the Danube salient which stretches from Linz to the Strudengau, has not been verified, but the traces of occupation there, the geographical setting, and the distance from here to Wallsee, lend support to the hypothesis.²⁰ A fort has been definitely located in the hinterland of Wallsee and Ardagger, at Mauer an der Url, ten kilometres from the Danube as the crow flies; but it belongs to a later period.²¹ One of the three sites last mentioned must be the Loco Felicis of the Antonine Itinerary and Peutinger Table,

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called Lacufelicis by the *Notitia* which records it as a late Roman fort.²² After Ardagger Markt the Danube valley narrows again and forms a natural barrier in the Strudengau, rendering large garrisons superfluous before the mouth of the river Ybbs. At Ybbs itself (which must be the late Roman Ad Juvense) there was certainly a fort by the fourth century, perhaps earlier also.²³ The next certain fort is Arelape (Pöchlarn), at the confluence of the Erlauf and the Danube. It was originally laid out in the first century for a *cohors quingenaria*. Possibly a detachment of the milliary cohort I Flavia Brittonum was stationed here.²⁴ Uncertainty arises again over the supposed fort on the hill occupied by Melk Abbey, which some have identified with the ancient Namare. More likely only a *burgus* lay under the abbey, and Namare will have been, rather, a road-station south of Melk.²⁵

The north-eastern flank of the Norican *limes*, namely the Tullnerfeld between the Wachau and the Wienerwald, remained the most threatened sector of the province's Danubian frontier, until the picture changed during the Severan period with the appearance of the Alamanni in the zone beyond the north-western sector. The belt of forest on the north bank of the Danube, which provided a screen for the province from the mouth of the Inn up to the Wachau, here ended and the broad plain east of Krems afforded hostile elements—in particular the Marcomanni—a dangerously accessible point of access. For this reason no fewer than five forts were placed in this sector of the *limes*, which was some fifty kilometres long; they included two for cavalry regiments and one for a milliary cohort. Probably at the end of the first century a fort was placed at the western end of the Tullnerfeld, Faviana (Mautern).²⁶ From the time of Hadrian or at latest from Pius onwards the milliary cohort I Aelia Brittonum was stationed there. The walls of the large stone fort are still standing (with projecting towers added in the late period) and the area enclosed by them, 270 by 180 metres, or 4.86 hectares, suggests that it was built to house this unit (Fig. 26). Its neighbour to the east, Augustiana (Traismauer, Fig. 25), at the mouth of the Traisen, dates back to the mid-first century. The Ala I Augusta Thracum later rebuilt it in stone. The walls and towers of this stone fort served as the foundations of the medieval town's fortifications, which still survive, and the area they enclose, 4.06 hectares, accords with the size required for an *ala quingenaria*.²⁷ The next fort, near Zwentendorf, was also constructed in the mid-first century, originally of earth and timber, covering an area of 154 by 100 metres, or just over 1.5 hectares. It was succeeded, probably in the first half of the second century, by a stone fort of 100 by 174 metres.²⁸ The garrison at this time was presumably the Cohors V Breucorum equitata, for a tile of this unit has been found at Zwentendorf. The ancient name for the site is uncertain. There was at



Figure 26 Plan of the fort at Faviana (Mautern)

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least one road-station to the south of it, called Piro Torto.²⁹ Further to the east lay the fort of Commagena (Tulln), where the Ala I Commagenorum was stationed, presumably from the Flavian period onwards.³⁰ Astura (Zeiselmauer, Fig. 27) on the western edge of the Wienerwald, where the Cohors I Asturum was stationed, probably also under the Flavian dynasty, formed the last link in the chain of Noricum's defences.³¹

Between the forts watchtowers were built to keep the river frontier under surveillance.³² Outside the forts civil settlements grew up. Examples have been located so far at Joviacum, Lentia, Arelape, Faviana and Augustiana. As has been shown by the intensive investigations at Lentia and Faviana, the frontier *vici* displayed no significant differences from the larger settlements in the civilian zone of the province. Apart from dwelling-houses, there were workshops in or close to the settlement, for example potteries at Linz and Mautern.³³ Temples or temple areas are also attested. At Mautern a small shrine, probably dedicated to Dispatēr and Eracura, was already in existence in the second century.³⁴ Before the reign of Hadrian Linz already had a large temple area, containing a number of shrines, including one to the goddess Epona.³⁵ As is shown by the richly furnished *villa rustica* at Mautern, destroyed during the Marcomannic Wars, these civil settlements included prosperous elements in their society.³⁶ The largest group in the population was native, and a fair number were still peregrine in status before the Marcomannic Wars.³⁷ However, Roman citizens are recorded, veterans of the auxiliary units among them.³⁸

The Danube line with its fortifications marked the northern frontier of the Roman empire as well as the strategic frontier for the defence of Noricum. Roman finds north of the Danube give no indication that Rome had annexed a strip of land on a permanent basis and regarded it as part of *Norica provincia*.³⁹ In the zone across the river between Passau and Krems traces of Roman settlement and military occupation are completely lacking, and the modest quantity of Roman coins that has been found does not suggest close trading relations. The explanation is that the north bank of the Danube was here the border of a no man's land. The plateau of which the Mühlviertel and the Weinbergerwald are part ends at the north bank of the river, with steep gradients in most places; and in the imperial period it was thickly forested and almost uninhabited.⁴⁰ The situation was different beyond the Wachau–Wienerwald sector, for the northern part of the Tullnerfeld and the hill-country that borders it on the north were thickly populated.⁴¹ In time of peace the Romans had close trading relations with the Germanic population of the zone beyond the *limes*, as the large quantity of imported Roman material shows.⁴² But none the less this part of the Norican frontier area, projecting towards the north, with its five forts from Faviana

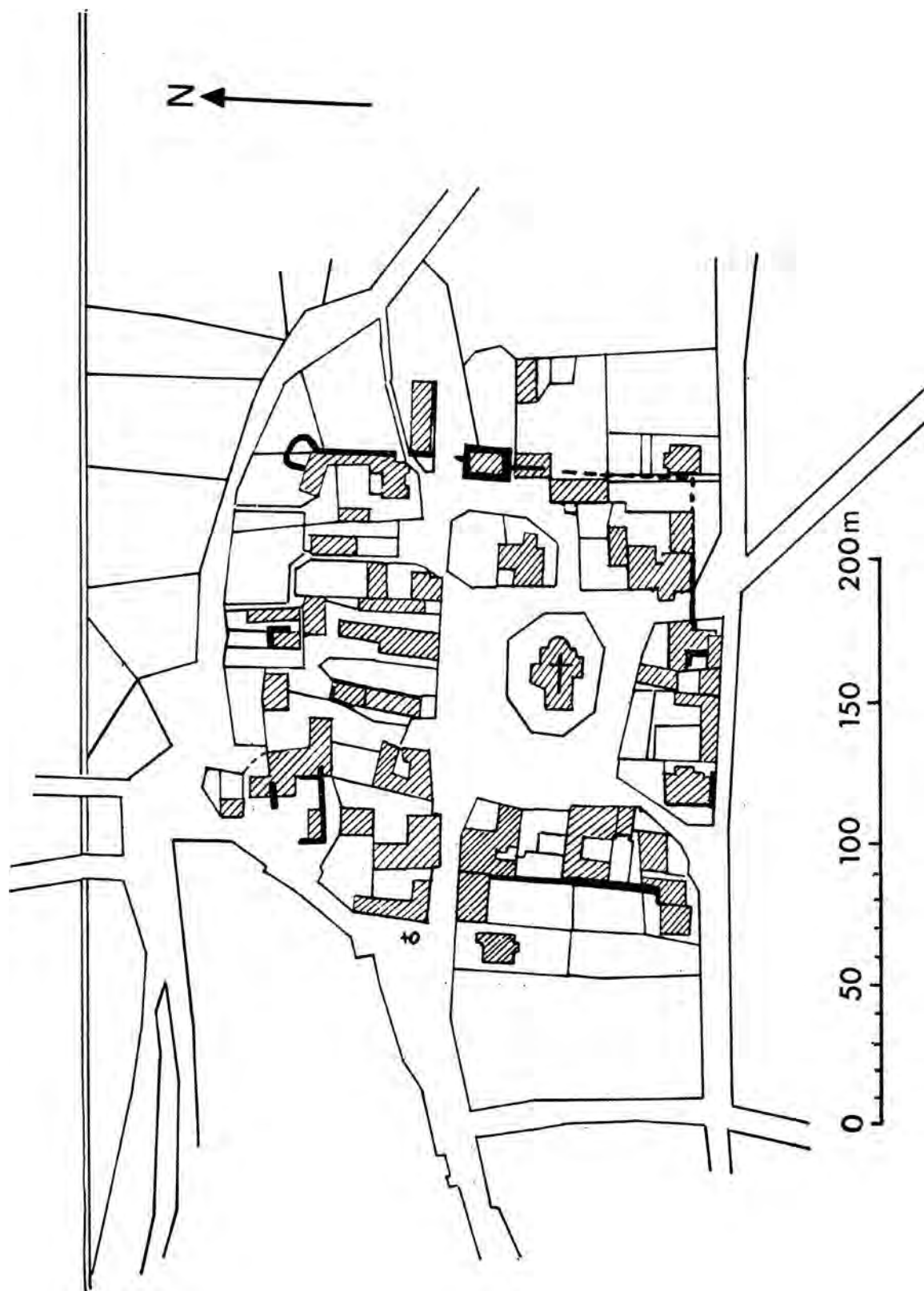


Figure 27 Plan of the fort at Astura (Zeiselmauer)

The Norican frontier and the Marcomannic Wars

(Mautern) to Astura (Zeiselmauer), was often threatened. The result was that, at least when there was an active expansionist policy, Roman military installations were set up north of the Danube as well. During the Marcomannic Wars buildings of military character were constructed not only near Niederleis (west of Mistelbach, some thirty kilometres north of the Danube), which by this time had been assigned to the trans-frontier zone of the Pannonian army, but on the north side of the Tullnerfeld as well. The same policy was followed later by Valentinian I.⁴³ It is true that these posts were in all cases occupied for a very short time only and did not result in a permanent annexation of the trans-frontier zone, and the various treaties concluded during the Marcomannic Wars, which aimed at creating a buffer zone north of the river, were equally short-lived.⁴⁴ But it may none the less be taken that at least the northern part of the Tullnerfeld was earmarked for the use of the Norican army, just as, for example, the *prata* between Siegburg and Bonn on the right bank of the Rhine were assigned to the Bonn legion.⁴⁵ Possibly a portion of this land was set aside for the Upper Pannonian Legion X Gemina based at Vindobona (Vienna). Tiles found in the northern Tullnerfeld derive from that legion's kilns and there is even a tombstone recording a soldier from X Gemina, and his family, at Brunn am Feld east of Krems.⁴⁶

Noricum and the Marcomannic Wars

No warfare affected the Norican frontier zone during the reign of Antoninus Pius.⁴⁷ But shortly after this 'emperor of peace' was dead (A.D. 161), the long period of peace and undisturbed prosperity came to an end and the wars on the Danube in the reign of Marcus Aurelius were more than the first serious test of the Norican frontier's powers of resistance: they brought important consequences for the history of the province in their train. Noricum did not escape the shock-waves of Germanic invasion that began in A.D. 166-7, with the Marcomanni, Quadi and Naristae playing the leading role.⁴⁸ Although not one of the principal theatres of war, and suffering less damage than did Pannonia or Dacia, Noricum was certainly affected. Unfortunately the chronology of these stormy happenings is far from clear in many respects.⁴⁹ For Noricum itself there is virtually no other evidence than that provided by coins, inscriptions and archaeology.

The barbarian assaults on Noricum seem not to have begun at once when war broke out, although one cannot exclude the possibility that the destruction traced in the north of the province may belong to the period 166-70. It was

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probably in the year 168 that the *praetentura Italiae et Alpium* was set up in the eastern Alps, a line of defence designed above all for the protection of Italy. But the main onslaught by the Germanic peoples seems not to have come until 170 or perhaps 171, when they poured into Pannonia and northern Italy—and into Noricum. The enemy was not cleared out of the province completely until several years later.

During the first phase of the Marcomannic Wars the barbarian assault seems to have struck Noricum from three separate directions—and perhaps at separate times. One wave of attackers succeeded in breaking through the Norican *limes* near the mouth of the Enns and pushed on towards the Alps. The civil settlement at Lentia was certainly destroyed, as were the Roman villa at Wimsbach in the area of Ovilava, and even the auxiliary fort of Lauriacum.⁵⁰ A coin-hoard from Spital on the Pyhrn Pass, with terminal coin of the year 167, shows that people were reckoning with a further barbarian advance to the south along the 'Norican main highway',⁵¹ and a hoard near Veitlbruch points to panic in north-west Noricum too.⁵² As far as dating the onslaught is concerned, the Spital hoard only provides a *terminus post quem*. The population may well have been in a state of terrified anxiety and it was perhaps not least the lessons of these events that subsequently brought about the stationing of the Legion II Italica at the mouth of the Enns. However, it is unlikely that the barbarians actually penetrated deep into the interior of Noricum. The destruction noted at Juvavum, Hallstatt and Katsch in the upper Mur valley, was not necessarily caused by barbarian invaders and does not necessarily belong to the period round 170.⁵³ Besides, there is no evidence for any destruction at all at Ovilava or at the villas round Juvavum—easy prey to any barbarian onslaught.

Devastation on quite a large scale has been revealed on the eastern flank of the Norican *limes* and its hinterland. Of the five forts of the exposed Tullnerfeld, Faviana (Mautern) and Zwentendorf were certainly sacked, and Augustiana (Traismauer) seems to have met the same fate. The rich villa at Mautern was also destroyed.⁵⁴ It is unlikely that the other two forts, Commagena and Astura, were spared, although they have not yet been tested by the spade. None the less the garrisons here survived the Marcomannic Wars, for their presence in Noricum afterwards is attested. It is possible that at least part of these units had been withdrawn from this sector of the front when the attack took place, perhaps to the *praetentura* in southern Noricum, which would indicate that the invasion of the province took place between 168 and 171. However this may be, these units failed to prevent the Germans from bursting into north-eastern Noricum and on to the northern crest of the Alps. Cetium was at least partially destroyed,⁵⁵ and the fact that interments cease at about this time in several of the larger burial

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grounds in Norican Lower Austria may well be explained by the annihilation, capture or flight of large sections of the population.⁵⁶

The main German thrust hit Noricum at the time of the great invasion of Pannonia and northern Italy, in 170 or 171, and it came from the east. The German warbands, moving through western Pannonia in the direction of Opitergium and Aquileia, bypassed the Norican Alps and broke into eastern Noricum from the region of Savaria and Poetovio. They reduced Solva to ashes and ruin.⁵⁷ The surroundings of the town were also hard hit—the large graveyards of the early imperial period in Lower Styria (for example the one at Kapfenstein) mostly went out of use at the time of the Marcomannic Wars, which can no doubt be explained in the same way as in north-east Noricum.⁵⁸ One group of invaders probably attempted to move even further west, along the valley of the Drau; the Allersdorf villa in the lower Lavant valley was destroyed.⁵⁹ Coinhoards concealed in the reign of Marcus Aurelius at Matucaium (Althofen-Treibach) north of Virunum, at Ostriach on the Ossiachersee, and at Gummern west of Villach, indicate that there were fears of the advance extending towards Virunum and Teurnia.⁶⁰ But the barbarians did not in fact reach central Carinthia, for the unwallled town of Virunum remained unmolested throughout the Marcomannic Wars.

Noricum's defence measures against the Germans probably began in 168 with the establishment of the *praetentura*. In this and the following years Q. Antistius Adventus, a senator whose home was in Numidia, was in command at the gates of north-eastern Italy, holding the specially created post of *leg(atus) Aug(usti) at prae[?]enturam Italiae et Alpium expeditione Germanica*.⁶¹ Traces datable to 168–70 of this defensive system, composed of a chain of forts and other military installations, are very difficult to identify in Noricum.⁶² It is certain only that Marcus Aurelius had something built at Atrans on the Trojana Pass before the death of his co-emperor Lucius Verus in January 169. This was one of the major roads into Italy, and it was probably a *praetentura* fort of the year 168 or early 169.⁶³ A barrier one and a half kilometres long placed across the river valley near Rattendorf in the Gailtal, to block any threat of attack,⁶⁴ is more likely to have been built a year or two later, when the barbarians were creating havoc in eastern Noricum, and Carinthia was in danger too. The most important link in the chain of the *praetentura* system in Noricum—and in the whole of the Alps—was the legionary fortress at Ločica, which was built later than 168. The legion that garrisoned Ločica, II Italica, was first formed in 165 or 166, and probably fought in Pannonia in the first years of the Marcomannic Wars, while in 170 at least part of it was in Dalmatia.⁶⁵ It was only later, therefore, that Ločica was included in the *praetentura*. The fortress (Fig. 28) was constructed c. 171, after

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the enemy had been cleared out of northern Italy. Its function was doubtless to strengthen the defences that, it may well be, had been pierced by the barbarians in 170–1 and had been proved inadequate.⁶⁶

The transfer of II Italica to Noricum *c.* 171 meant a significant increase in the strength of the Norican army. New auxiliary units undoubtedly accompanied it, probably the eastern *Ala Celerum*, for instance, and perhaps a newly recruited

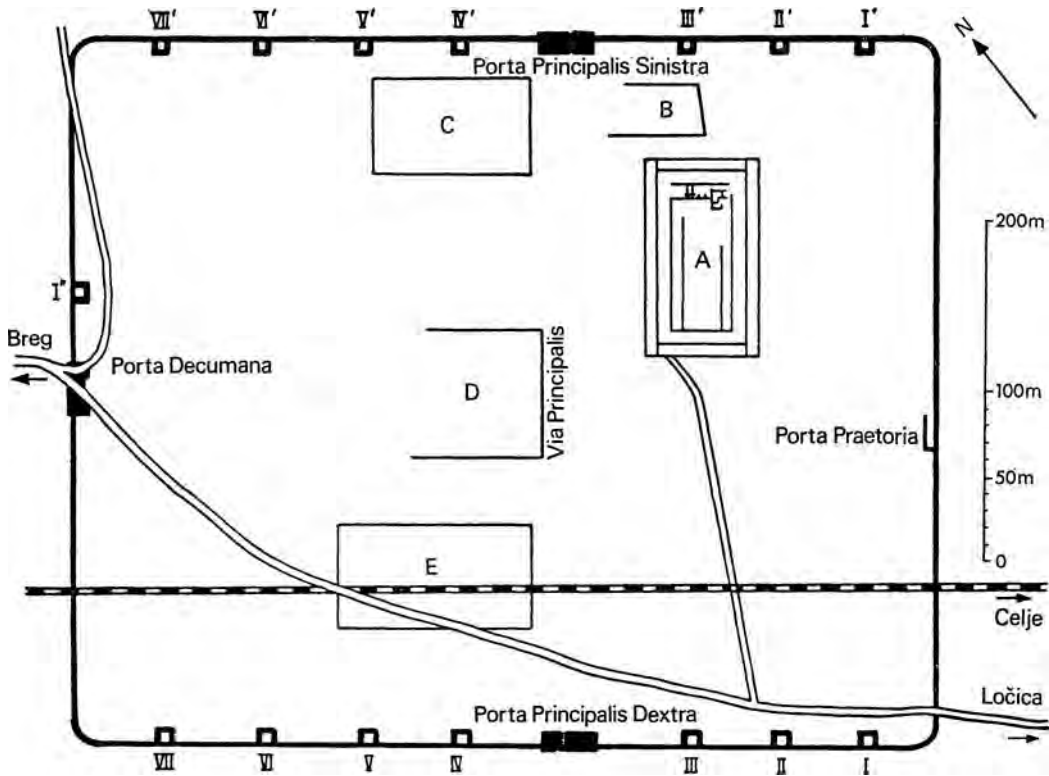


Figure 28 Plan of the legionary fortress at Ločica

Cohors Maurorum from Africa also.⁶⁷ Legion II Italica was stationed at Ločica for some years. The site lies west of Celeia, on the road leading to Atrans, Emona and Aquileia. The stone-built fortress covered an area of 23.65 hectares (59 acres), approximately the size of the legion's later base Albing.⁶⁸ When the danger to southern Noricum and Italy had passed and the theatre of war had moved to the other side of the *limes*, the legion was transferred to Albing, near the mouth of the Enns—perhaps as early as *c.* 174, or perhaps *c.* 177, when Marcus Aurelius began his last great offensive.⁶⁹ The Albing fortress, two kilometres east of the mouth of the Enns and some seven from Lauriacum, was

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23·30 hectares in area, and was thus larger than the Carnuntum fortress and exceeded II Italica's own third fortress, Lauriacum.⁷⁰ From Ločica and Albing the legion undoubtedly played a large part in the fighting both inside Noricum and beyond.

When it was first formed, its ranks were filled overwhelmingly by recruits from northern Italy, but they must have been supplemented considerably in the course of the Marcomannic Wars by drafts from the population of Noricum. The legion doubtless suffered heavy losses, for not only were new citizens from peregrine families enrolled, who gained the citizenship on enlistment⁷¹—there were even recruits of servile origin.⁷²

No details are known of the Roman counter-offensive in the Norican region. Q. Antistius Adventus was in command *c.* 168–71 as *legatus Augusti at praetenturam Italiae et Alpium*. Marcus Aurelius' son-in-law Ti. Claudius Pompeianus may perhaps have taken over the same *legatio* *c.* 171.⁷³ But it was P. Helvius Pertinax, the future emperor, who took the lion's share in the work of clearing the province. He was serving under Pompeianus' command in the years 171–5 as a general of praetorian rank.⁷⁴ In the biography of Pertinax it is stated that as commander of 'the first legion'—clearly meaning I Adiutrix, based at Brigetio in Upper Pannonia—'he freed Raetia and Noricum from the enemy'.⁷⁵ The fact that he used his legion in the Norican campaign shows that II Italica and the Norican auxiliary units were unable to master the situation on their own. Auxiliary troops may also have come from Pannonia, for example the Ala I Contariorum from Arrabona, which was operating under the command of a Pannonian officer, M. Valerius Maximianus, doubtless in conjunction with I Adiutrix.⁷⁶ The concentration of these forces created the necessary conditions for regaining control of the province. The worst may have been over by 171: in this year Noricans from Celeia, Solva, Teurnia and Juvavum were recruited into the praetorian guard. There were indeed new citizens among these recruits, which shows that the guard had an urgent need to make up its losses also—but the fact that recruiting could take place at all, even in the neighbourhood of the ruined town of Solva, suggests that conditions had to some extent been restored to normal.⁷⁷

Calm had completely returned to the province by about 174 at the latest and a start could be made in building up the devastated areas again. Solva was rapidly rebuilt and Celeia was given walls.⁷⁸ But the Norican army certainly participated in the further fighting up till the conclusion of peace in 180, and the war left its mark on the civilian population as well. One particularly disastrous effect was that the plague, which had reached Europe from the east at the beginning of the Marcomannic Wars, remained rampant in Noricum for a considerable time

thereafter. As a tombstone from Eggstätt in north-west Noricum shows, a whole family died of the plague here as late as 182.⁷⁹ The fact that interments ceased in several large burial-grounds in north-west Noricum towards the end of the second century may perhaps be connected with this.⁸⁰

The Marcomannic Wars brought important consequences for the history of Noricum in their train. The population was decimated by both war and plague. In the parts of the province that had been laid waste and on the *limes*, which had to be fortified more strongly than before, extensive building operations were necessary involving considerable expenditure. More money than before was now swallowed up in feeding the troops, whose numbers must have been more or less doubled. Even in the areas which had not been directly affected by hostile action, the economy was set new production targets. On top of this there were the effects of a deep crisis in the structure of the Roman economy and society as a whole, a crisis which was not indeed caused directly by the Marcomannic Wars, but which became apparent as a result of the military emergency and was intensified by it to a considerable extent. Even if Noricum was at first not so deeply affected as the Mediterranean lands by the beginnings of the crisis in the society and economy of the empire, here too a new era began with the Marcomannic Wars. It was an era of economic difficulties, an era of changes in the social structure and in men's spiritual life. The age of undisturbed peace and prosperity was now over.

The most obvious result of the Marcomannic Wars was in the administration of the province. When II Italica had been permanently added to the *exercitus Noricus*, Noricum ceased to be governed by an equestrian procurator as it always had been before. Instead it was placed under an imperial legate of senatorial rank, as was its neighbour Raetia.

The senator who commanded II Italica simultaneously took over the direction of the civil administration, as was normal in provinces with a single legion. The exact date of this important reform is unknown. In 168 Noricum was still governed by a presidial procurator, Ti. Claudius Priscianus. He is the last recorded equestrian governor of the second century.⁸¹ The first known governor of senatorial rank dates to c. 190. If II Italica did in fact first move to Noricum c. 171, the change will not have been made at the earliest before that year. However, the legate of the legion did not necessarily become governor of the province before the conclusion of the first phase of the war in 175. Legion II Italica came under the control of the *legatus Augusti ad praetenturam Italiae et Alpium* and its commander may have remained an ordinary legionary legate—like, for example, Pertinax, the legate of I Adiutrix—without civil jurisdiction. The career of the senator Q. Herennius Silvius Maximus may perhaps be

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evidence for this situation, for he is described only as commander of II Italica and of a cavalry regiment attached to it, and not as governor of Noricum; but it is uncertain whether he held the post at this time or during Caracalla's Alamannic expedition.⁸² Probably Noricum was given its first independent governor of senatorial rank only when peace had finally been restored to the province in 175. Until then a procurator may have dealt with the civil administration as before.

Chapter 10

From the Marcomannic Wars to Diocletian

The peace treaty that the emperor Commodus concluded with the Germans in the year 180 certainly banished external threats from Noricum's Danubian frontier for several decades. The consequences of the Marcomannic Wars could not, however, be ignored. The revolutionary changes in the economic, social and political structure of the Roman empire, which in the third century were to produce a situation of general and continuing crisis, made a difference to life in Noricum no less than elsewhere. The period in the history of the province from the Marcomannic Wars to the reign of Diocletian saw conditions change in many respects. Noricum did not remain unaffected by the crisis in the empire. The political, military and financial administration was to take new forms. The appearance of the Alamanni not far from the north-western sector of the frontier was soon to bring dangers to the province, increasing thereby its strategic significance; in the third century Noricum was frequently the scene of military action. Town and country, the society and the economy, all presented a changed picture with the onset of the crisis. There were, too, changes in the spiritual life of the people.

The administration

Since the alterations made by Marcus Aurelius, a governor of senatorial rank was responsible alike for the civilian administration and for the command of the army. His title was *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Noricae*, or simply *legatus Augusti pro praetore Norici*—and as was the case with other governors from the end of the second century he could also be described as *praeses*. Only seven or

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eight senatorial governors of the province of Noricum are known at present. There must in fact have been close on thirty legates between 175 and 260, assuming an average tenure of office of three years. As governors of a one-legion imperial province they were senior ex-praetors, most of them aged about forty or a little less. They would be able to count upon promotion to the consulship directly after—or indeed during—their governorship. Two legates, C. Memmius Fidus in 191 and M. Juventius Surus in about 202, were described as *consul designatus* while still governor; and in the case of P. Catius Sabinus it is certain that he became consul directly after his governorship (c. 206–8). Whereas normally governors of this province would attain the rank of suffect consul, in 215 M. Munatius Sulla Cerialis obtained the distinction of becoming consul *ordinarius*, no doubt because of his particularly good relations with the emperor Caracalla.¹

In selecting senators to govern Noricum, the imperial regime had to take account of talent and previous experience just as had been necessary earlier with the presidial procurators. Greeks and easterners were in most cases, no doubt, still deemed to be ill-suited to administer this province. The first known legate, Memmius Fidus, was an African. Others were Italians, including Juventius Surus from Brixia and Catius Sabinus who was probably also from northern Italy. With men of this background the government could presumably count on special qualifications for governing Noricum, just as earlier with the northern Italian procurators;² and if the legate C. Macrinus Decianus came from a Celtic province, as is possible, he too would have been particularly suited to Noricum. Even the African Memmius Fidus had had previous experience as legate of Italia Transpadana before coming to Noricum. In Italy north of the Po a senator could meet Norican traders and would learn more of conditions in the province than he could in Africa, for example, or the east. The affair of the legate Pollienius Sebennus demonstrates how risky it could be to send Noricum a governor who did not find the right touch for dealing with the native population. This Italian senator got himself hated by those under his authority. He is probably the governor instructed to exercise moderation by Septimius Severus in his rescript on the *centonarii* of Solva in 205. In the following year Sebennus was indicted by representatives of the provincial council and was found guilty in the resultant trial—at which Catius Sabinus, who had already been nominated as his successor, gave evidence against him. Only the influence of his distinguished uncle Pollienius Auspex saved him from the death penalty.³

It was particularly important that governors of Noricum should possess not only the qualities of a civil administrator but also talent as a general. Command over the Legion II Italica and over the auxiliary troops of Noricum required a

capacity for strategic planning and the conduct of war, especially from the beginning of the third century when the military situation on the upper Danube began to be strained. The early stages in his career had to provide the future legate with his initial military training. Unfortunately information on these details is lacking for most of them. The earlier posts are attested only in the cases of Memmius Fidus and Macrinus Decianus. Both had previously commanded troops; Decianus had commanded the whole army of Numidia. His posting to Noricum after he had already governed a province of similar status shows that *c.* 255 the government attached great importance to placing the Norican army under a general with considerable experience. The fact that another senator, P. Cosinius Felix, was given one of the major consular commands, that of Lower Pannonia, after his Norican governorship, also bears witness to the military qualities possessed by the Norican legates at this time.

As head of the civil administration the governor continued, after the time of Marcus Aurelius, to have his seat at Virunum. But as commander of II Italica he also disposed of an official residence (*praetorium*) in the legion's fortress at Lauriacum. As the governors frequently had to stay at Lauriacum or elsewhere on the frontier, some officials of the civil administration were transferred to Ovilava, which was not far from Lauriacum.⁴ The governor may well have resided here frequently on a temporary basis. This was probably the reason why Ovilava, a Hadrianic *municipium*, received the rank of *colonia* under Caracalla. However, it does not follow from this that Ovilava was now declared the official provincial capital, replacing Virunum.⁵ Most departments of the provincial administration remained at Virunum as before.⁶

The imperial legates used to undertake tours, to acquire a detailed knowledge of their province. Thus, for example, the legate M. Munatius Sulla Cerialis came to Kugelstein north of Solva in about 212, and a native married couple, still peregrine in status, marked their high-ranking visitor's arrival with the dedication of a votive offering.⁷ Such journeys were certainly necessary: the increasingly powerful imperial bureaucracy required that the governor should personally inform himself about conditions in the towns and supply details to the government in Rome. The rescript of Septimius Severus on the *centonarii* of Solva, the reply of the emperor to a governor's report, shows to what lengths this duty went (Pl. 25). The legate was obliged to concern himself with a situation where certain people—a dozen or two at most—had been abusing the privileged status (*immunitas*) of the craftsmen's guild of the town; and then he had to make his report to the emperor.⁸ Apart from their duties in the legal sphere the governors had to take responsibility for many other problems. They had to supervise the construction and administration of roads, for example witness Juventius Surus,

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whose name is mentioned on a series of milestones.⁹ They had to organise the construction of public buildings in military bases and even in the towns.¹⁰

The last recorded imperial legate of Noricum is Macrinus Decianus, about the year 255. It was probably soon after this date that the administration of the province began to be entrusted, instead, to equestrian officials, who served as *agentes vices praesidis*.¹¹ Three such governors of equestrian rank are known from the second half of the third century. Aelius Restutus, possibly himself a Norican, and a certain M. Aurelius Marinus, likewise of provincial extraction, are attested at Lauriacum, and hence were probably prefects of the Legion II Italica who had assumed control of the civil administration of Noricum as well. A third governor of this rank is mentioned at Cetium, where he was taking measures to improve the river bed.

The governors had various subordinate officials and offices at their disposal to serve the provincial administration, as did the presidial procurators before them. In the later empire this civil service was under an administrative head, the *princeps officii*.¹² Whereas in the earlier, procuratorial, period only *beneficiarii* are recorded, we know of other officials as well from the time when senatorial legates governed the province—although not all the officials that a governor's *officium* could include are attested.¹³ The *cornicularii*, who held the leading position on the staff—there were probably three of them at any one time—were, in Noricum, men from II Italica.¹⁴ *Speculatores*, who also performed subordinate functions in the judicial sphere, are still attested in this province after the Diocletianic army reforms.¹⁵ The *beneficiarii* had the important duty of providing police surveillance along the principal roads. Their title was at first *beneficiarius procuratoris*, later changed to *beneficiarius consularis*.¹⁶ However, the prefect and tribunes of II Italica also had the services of *beneficiarii*, with the appropriate titlature.¹⁷ The *beneficiarii* were selected from the soldiers of the province's auxiliary units until the arrival of II Italica, after which time the legionaries were drawn on. Some kind of security service was provided by another category of official, the *regionarii*, as well;¹⁸ and the *frumentarii* carried out both police functions and other duties. Their *numerus* in Rome was formed from legionaries of the different provincial armies, and individual *frumentarii* were then seconded from this *numerus* to the provinces. Presumably it was, in the main, soldiers from II Italica that were sent to Noricum, although there is evidence for men from other legions also: but in many cases these would be men of Norican birth who, like those from II Italica, were familiar with the country.¹⁹ The find-spots of their inscriptions indicate that they were also detailed to assist the administration of the imperial mines. There is evidence, too, for *stratores consularis*—the governor's troopers, drawn from the legions,²⁰ for *singulares consularis*—cavalry and

infantry from the auxiliary units, who formed the governor's bodyguard,²¹ and for *librarii consularis*—clerks in his *officium*.²²

Only in the case of the *beneficarii* is there more detailed information. Nearly twenty *beneficarii*-posts have been located in Noricum, including the important one at Celeia, whence a long series of dedicatory inscriptions (Pl. 52) by these men derives.²³ These posts were to be found along the principal roads in the province—by no means merely at cross-roads, but anywhere where it seemed necessary to provide some surveillance for traffic and for the *cursus publicus*. These posts can be identified on the 'Norican main highway', on the road from Atrans to Poetovio via Celeia, and on the one leading from Teurnia to Juvavum and Pons Aeni, and so on. There may in fact have been a fairly thick network of them, at least along certain stretches of road where the traffic was particularly heavy. On a stretch of the 'Norican main highway' some twelve kilometres in length, north of the Saifnitzer Sattel, there were at least three *beneficarii*-posts: at the Hoischhügel near Unterthörl, in the vicinity of Arnoldstein, and at St Leonhard.²⁴

Many of the altars set up by *beneficarii* are precisely dated. The earliest Norican example comes probably from about A.D. 100, the latest dates to the year 238.²⁵ These inscriptions make it possible to estimate how long *beneficarii* served at a post. The votive altars—mostly in honour of Jupiter, later to other deities as well—were generally dedicated at the moment when a *beneficiarius* took up his duties, or when he was on the point of transfer elsewhere.²⁶ Dated inscriptions fall in the years 168, 192, 200, 202, then in 209, 211, 213, 215 (Pl. 52), 217 and 219, finally in 226, 230, 238. The dates suggest that the *beneficarii* in Noricum normally held their posts for two years, but that between 202 and 209 and again between 219 and 226 there must have been one single-year (or three-year?) tenure.²⁷ It was frequently, if not quite always, on 15 May that the new man would take up his appointment.²⁸ After his two years' service as a *beneficiarius* he could then be transferred to another road-post, or indeed to several in succession: one P. Aelius Verinus was serving in the year 200 at the post near Unterthörl and in 213 he was at Celeia.²⁹

When in the second half of the second century the governorship was given to men of senatorial rank with, to some extent, a new set of subordinate officials, there were changes in the financial administration as well. The sources of imperial revenue were no longer put up for auction as before, but—as in other parts of the Roman empire—placed directly under state control. The government had perhaps already removed the mines and imperial estates in Noricum from the hands of the large-scale lease-holders during the reign of Antoninus Pius.³⁰ With the change in rank of the governor the arrangements were again

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revised, on a long-term basis. The office of the earlier presidial procurator of ducenary status, who up to the time of the Marcomannic Wars had simultaneously been responsible for the financial administration of Noricum, now ceased to exist. To fill the gap a financial procurator from the equestrian order was provided, to complement the senatorial legate. He had sexagenary status, receiving the annual salary of 60,000 sesterces.³¹ These procurators, of whom only three are known, were either men who had previously had a military career, such as M. Porcius Verus (probably in the Severan period),³² or who had had a purely civilian career, like an Egyptian from Alexandria in the first half of the third century.³³ As these officials had only a very limited function in the civil sphere, and had no dealing with the military, the wide range of talents expected of the earlier presidial procurators was not required of them. As the nomination of the man from Egypt shows, experience in civil administration was sufficient qualification in itself. The principal task of the procurator was now the running of the imperial mines; the third procurator known to us is recorded on an inscription from the mining-centre at Tiffen, where he had a temple restored.³⁴

The procurator had civil servants and subordinates at his disposal for the task of administering the mines and indeed the whole crown property (*patrimonium*) in Noricum. Military personnel were seconded to work in the administration of the mines, as was the case in other provinces;³⁵ there is evidence for their presence at Hohenstein, Feldkirchen and Tiffen—*decuriones* of cavalry regiments and *frumentarii*.³⁶ At the provincial capital, Virunum, which contained the headquarters of the financial procurator and the *patrimonium*-bureau, there were also a record-office (*tabularium*) and a treasury (*arca*). Imperial slaves and freedmen served in this as *tabularii*, *dispensatores*, *arcarii* and *vicarii*. All the relevant inscriptions belong to the period of Marcus Aurelius at the earliest, and in the cases where they specify these officials' function more precisely, they refer to officials of the *regnum Noricum* or of the *P.R.N.* This latter title can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as *p(atrimonium) r(egni) N(orici)*³⁷—hence the imperial *patrimonium* must have had its own record-office, with a treasury, in Virunum. If this hypothesis is correct, a further record-office, with its treasury, must also have existed for the other sections of the provincial administration.³⁸

In the reign of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus the Norican customs and excise department was also placed under direct state control. It was not the financial procurator who was responsible for this department, but a special official who took over the control of the customs in several provinces simultaneously. Some of these officials had centenary rank, with the title of *procurator publici portorii Illyrici per Noricum et Dalmatiam et utramque Pannoniam et Moesiam superiorem*;³⁹ others, with ducenary rank, were called *procurator publici portorii*

Illyrici and were certainly responsible for a territory larger than that of these five Danubian provinces alone.⁴⁰ The subordinates who served at individual customs-posts were still slaves, as before; but they were now imperial slaves, not the property of the large-scale lease-holders.⁴¹

Limes, army and warfare (see general map)

The reorganisation of Noricum's frontier defences in the reign of Marcus, and the new dangers that threatened the empire from the zone beyond the Norican *limes*, brought an increasing military importance to the province. During the long years of peace from Augustus to the Marcomannic Wars Noricum had remained undisturbed by enemy attacks, and its small army had no more than a subordinate role to play. But in the third century Noricum became a strategically important zone of defence, which was frequently fought over. It is true that even in the third century the Norican army, with only one legion and a number of auxiliary units, could never rival the great armies on the Rhine, for example, or on the middle and lower Danube. But it played an important part in the major wars that took place during this century.

From the time of the Marcomannic Wars the principal strength of the *exercitus Noricus* lay in the Legion II Italica. Not only did it guard the mouth of the river Enns and the 'Norican main highway' that led southwards from this point. It also provided detachments for small forts and watchtowers along the Norican *limes*. Soldiers of the legion on active service are recorded at Lentia and Otten-dorf (east of Lauriacum) in the frontier zone as well;⁴² and tile-stamps of II Italica are found at many forts. Besides this, legionaries were seconded for duties with the civil administration. The legion had the lion's share in the third-century struggles to defend Noricum, and in addition sent at least vexillations to other theatres of war, for instance to Britain in the year 197⁴³ or to fight in the Gothic Wars on the lower Danube (Pl. 49) in the third century.⁴⁴

During the last years of the Marcomannic Wars and at the beginning of the reign of Commodus Legion II Italica was stationed at Albing.⁴⁵ From the strategic point of view this strong-point at the mouth of the Enns was correctly chosen. This was where the 'Norican main highway' terminated, along which supplies could be despatched, and which, at the same time, demanded special protection. From the north, this was the point that one of the invasion routes, along which enemy bands could approach Noricum, reached the Danube valley. In spite of all this, the fortress at Albing must have soon been abandoned; it was built on an ill-favoured site, dangerously threatened by flooding from the Danube. Legion II Italica was moved seven kilometres westwards, to Lauriacum

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on the left bank of the Enns. This was a site whose favourable strategic position had long been recognised: a small Roman garrison had been stationed here from Claudius' time or perhaps earlier, and from the middle of the first century there had been an auxiliary unit at the site. Its fort had been destroyed in the Marcomannic Wars.⁴⁶ II Italica arrived here before the end of Commodus' reign: it is already attested in the year 191.⁴⁷ However, the building work on the new fortress was subject to delays, and it was only completed in the first years of the third century, under the governor M. Juventius Surus Proculus.⁴⁸

The legionary fortress of Lauriacum was sited on a terrace above the Enns, and was orientated towards this river rather than towards the Danube. West of the fortress grew up an extensive civil settlement which may have been awarded the rank of *municipium* under Caracalla, though this can no longer be considered certain (see p. 273). The greater part of the fortress (Fig. 29) has been exca-

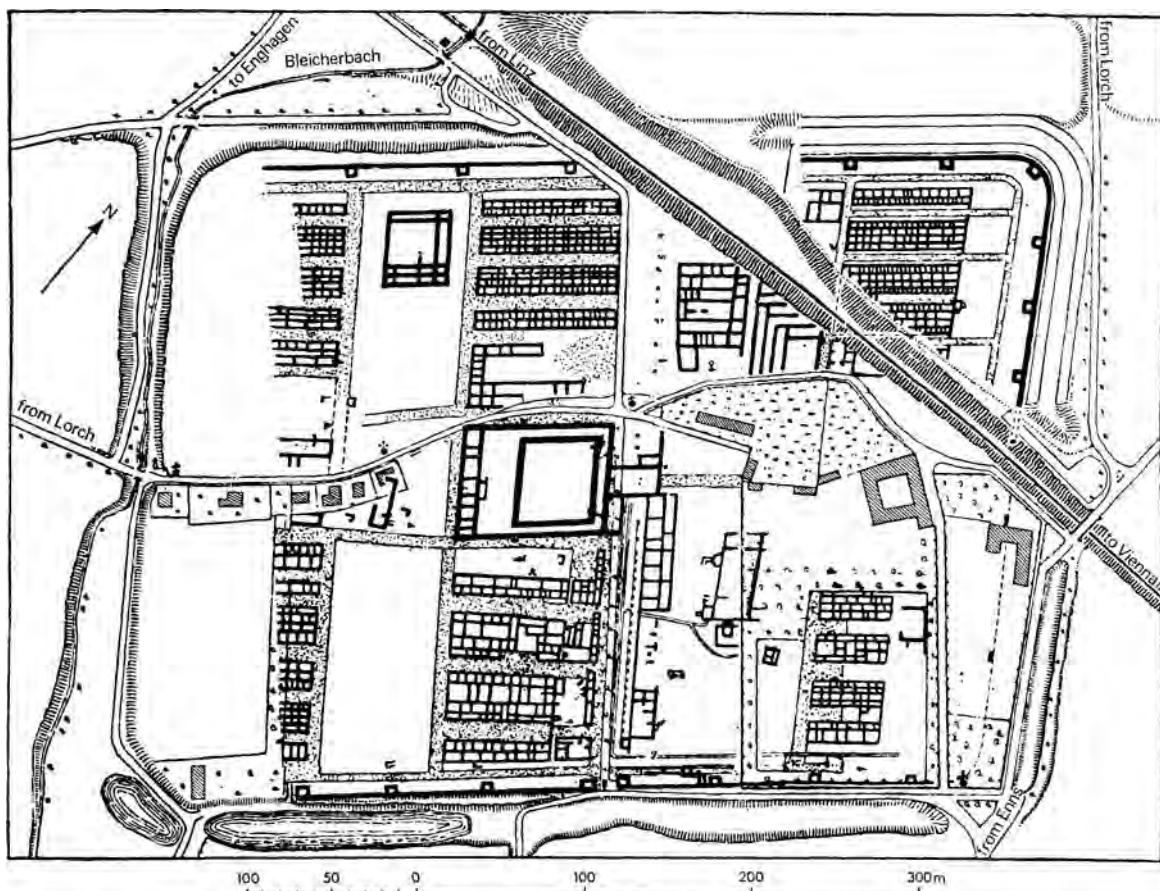


Figure 29 Plan of the legionary fortress at Lauriacum

vated.⁴⁹ Its oblong ground-plan, oblique-angled, measured 539 by 398 metres (21.45 hectares). The area enclosed was thus smaller than at Ločica and Albing and was about the same size as the legionary fortress at Carnuntum. The fortress-wall, two metres thick, had a gateway flanked by two towers on each of its four sides. Besides this, there were a total of twenty-four interval towers on the wall-circuit. North of the fortress, right at the confluence of the Enns with the Danube, was a harbour for the Norican part of the Danubian fleet, described by the *Notitia Dignitatum* in the late Roman period as the *classis Lauriacensis*.⁵⁰

Besides the legion, the Norican army had auxiliary units, based in a chain of forts along the Danube which approximately reproduced the series from the period before the Marcomannic Wars. There were forts at Passau-Innstadt, Oberranna (only a fortlet), Schlögen (Fig. 24, p. 145), and, almost certainly, at Eferding; then at Linz, east of Lauriacum at Wallsee, probably at Ardagger Markt and Ybbs, further at Pöchlarn and, on the east flank of the *limes*, at Mautern (Fig. 26, p. 149), Traismauer (Fig. 25, p. 146), Zwentendorf, Tulln and Zeiselmauer⁵¹ (Fig. 27, p. 151). The fort at Mauer an der Url, ten kilometres south of the Danube in the Lower Austrian hill-country, near Amstetten, seems to be a new foundation.⁵² It was a stone fort which has been partly excavated, and had a massive gateway flanked by two towers 9.70 and 9.10 metres broad respectively. It is possible that it was not built until the fourth century, but the finds dating to an earlier period permit the hypothesis that a military strong-point had already been placed here in the third century. The cult-objects from a temple of Dolichenus, which were found to have been buried forty metres from the fort, around the year 235, suggest that an auxiliary unit from the eastern part of the empire may have been stationed here. It is a question what considerations caused this fortification to be set up in the hinterland of the Danube *limes*. The site does not command a view of the Danube valley, and no road-system ever connected the fort with the stretch of Danube between Wallsee and Ardagger Markt that lay to the north of it—the roads from here led to Lauriacum and Ybbs. Perhaps it was built as a support-base.

We certainly do not know the names of all the auxiliary units that belonged to the Norican army after the Marcomannic Wars. At any rate, the *alae* and cohorts that were already based in Noricum before Marcus Aurelius' wars seem to have survived these wars without exception. Only the Cohors II Batavorum milliaria lacks direct attestation after this time, but this is probably to be explained by the poor state of the sources.⁵³ The *Alae* I Pannoniorum Tampiana, I Augusta Thracum and I Commagenorum were stationed, as before, in their forts at Linz, Traismauer and Tulln. As for the cohorts, I Aelia Brittonum milliaria was at Mautern, I Flavia Brittonum milliaria was perhaps at Pöchlarn and I Asturum

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was at Zeiselmauer. Cohort V Breucorum was perhaps transferred from its previous base Zwentendorf to the western flank of the *limes*, which was now more seriously threatened, and split up there in several posts, such as Passau-Innstadt and Schlögen.⁵⁴ But during and after the Marcomannic Wars further units were brought in to supplement those already mentioned, and some of the new ones probably remained in Noricum permanently. One must assume, for instance, that the fort at Eferding west of Linz housed a Cohors milliaria Maurorum formed in the reign of Marcus Aurelius or Severus.⁵⁵ This is a further indication that after the time of Marcus it was on the western flank that the Norican *limes* appeared most threatened. Apart from this, the Norican army was seemingly reinforced regularly by detachments of Pannonian troops as well, for instance elements of Legion X Gemina, Ala I Thracum victrix and of a Cohors I Thracum.⁵⁶ In moments of crisis reinforcements probably came from Raetia also, and perhaps even from Mauretania.⁵⁷ In all there may have been three alae, three or four *cobortes milliariae* and several *cobortes quingenariae*. The total strength of the *exercitus Noricus* in the third century, including the Legion II Italica, will thus have been approximately twelve to fourteen thousand men.

The German tribes that had endangered Noricum in the reign of Marcus Aurelius were given such a battering during the Marcomannic Wars that the province remained undisturbed for as long as half a century thereafter, it would seem. The only large-scale war which affected Noricum during this period was the civil war between Septimius Severus and Clodius Albinus. When Severus was proclaimed emperor at Carnuntum in April 193, the Norican army did, indeed, embrace his cause and remained loyal throughout the struggles of the ensuing period; at that time, probably after the overthrow of Albinus in the year 197, Legion II Italica received the additional title *fidelis*.⁵⁸ However, Noricum was involved in the war, not only as a marshalling-area for the Severan army, but as a scene of hostilities. Preparations for the departure of Severus' forces against Clodius Albinus were already in hand in the year 195—at least, the roads from Teurnia to Juvavum and from there to Lauriacum and Pons Aeni, which were important both as supply-routes and for the movement of troops, were already in process of improvement at that time.⁵⁹ When in the year 196 the Severan armies moved through Noricum from the east against Albinus in Gaul, they had to fight against opponents in Noricum as well. Severus' energetic general Ti. Claudius Candidus conducted a punitive campaign here against 'public enemies'.⁶⁰ The pursuit of these people went on into 197, and rich men in Noricum put their wealth into a place of safety: the coin-hoards concealed at this time, at Kristendorf near Juenna, at Villach, and in the neighbourhood of Juvavum, are connected with this war.⁶¹ It remains unknown what forces took

the risk of making common cause with Severus' political enemies, in opposition to the posture adopted by the Norican army. Probably these people were civilians in the main, including, for example, the two Noricans whose names were deleted from the frieze in the Moosham Mithraeum, built at the end of the second century.⁶² Perhaps there were former praetorians among them, men dismissed the service when Severus disarmed the Guard in 193, after the fall of Didius Julianus, and banished them from Rome. A significant number of Norican ex-guardsmen doubtless returned home at that time.⁶³ One must also bear in mind the possibility that the governor of Noricum at this moment, in contrast to his legion, opted for Albinus' cause.⁶⁴

At the beginning of the third century there emerged, north of the upper Danube, a new and dangerous enemy that was thenceforward to threaten the *limes* of Noricum: the Alamanni. Norican troops probably participated in Caracalla's Alamannic expedition of 213.⁶⁵ At that time and in the years following improvements were made to the existing military roads in the province,⁶⁶ and a completely new one was constructed on the north-west flank of the Norican *limes*, which acquired great strategic importance as a result of the Alamannic danger. It led from Boiodurum, along the Danube, in the direction of Linz.⁶⁷ It was not long before enemy attacks reached Noricum itself. It was probably in A.D. 235 or 236 that coin-hoards were buried at Juvavum and at Niederaschau (south of the Chiemsee).⁶⁸ At this time also a band of barbarians burned the town of Lauriacum and destroyed the Bernau villa.⁶⁹ The hoard from Seewalchen on the Attersee, with terminal coin of A.D. 229, may also have been concealed at this time; likewise, perhaps, the cult-objects from a temple of Dolichenus at Mauer an der Url.⁷⁰ In A.D. 236 there was need for road-improvement and the refurbishing of bridges and milestones.⁷¹ Evidently a dangerous Alamannic incursion had struck north-western Noricum *c.* A.D. 235, at a time when Maximinus Thrax had commandeered strong detachments of the Norican army to serve in his campaigns on the middle Danube.⁷² A dedication to the goddess Victoria at Virunum made on 1 February 238 may perhaps indicate that the province was by then finally rid of the bands of looting enemy.⁷³

In the middle and second half of the third century the empire underwent a military crisis, and on the northern frontiers there was major warfare. Noricum was not spared. There were repeated barbarian attacks, causing destruction to settlements and roads.⁷⁴ Our sources inform us that in 253 Valerian was proclaimed emperor by the army 'in Raetia and Noricum', which suggests that he was serving in these provinces with a special command against the Alamanni, with an army of increased strength under his orders. This indicates that the military situation had deteriorated.⁷⁵ In the years that followed, during the joint

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reign of Valerian and Gallienus, there was a danger that Roman rule would collapse in Noricum, as in the adjacent provinces. The able governor Macrinus Decianus, who commanded the Norican army *c.* 255, could not produce any significant improvement in the situation. During these difficult years Noricum was as heavily devastated by the enemy as was Pannonia.⁷⁶ These dangerous irruptions probably began shortly after the proclamation of Valerian. The first coin-hoards from the period of these wars were buried as early as 253–4 or shortly thereafter, and not only in north-western Noricum,⁷⁷ but even in the southern part of the province—at Tentschach near Virunum or at Adriach in the Mur valley north of Solva.⁷⁸ The great Roman farm at Pocking south of the Inn's confluence with the Danube was also destroyed at around this time,⁷⁹ undoubtedly through the action of the Alamanni, who then or a little later laid waste the town of Juvavum as well.⁸⁰ The military crisis probably reached its peak about the year 260 in Noricum, as it did in the empire as a whole. Coin-hoards from this time and from the years immediately following, evidence of the state of panic to which the population of Noricum had been reduced, are found not only in the north, at Klugham on the Inn, Bad Goisern and Tulln, but from the east Styrian site of Oberdorf in the interior of the province.⁸¹ None the less, Noricum was not completely lost during these years, and the Roman counter-offensive had evidently already achieved some significant military successes under Gallienus. Virunum, for example, which was unfortified, seems not to have been reached by the barbarians at this time, and an inscription to the goddess Victory here from the year 267 was perhaps inspired by a Roman success on the Norican sector of the front.⁸²

Noricum experienced further bitter fighting during the reign of Aurelian, when the Alamanni and Juthungi moved through Raetia and broke into Italy itself, and the emperor responded with an expedition against these people mounted from Raetia. The *limes* of Noricum could not hold off these hostile attacks. The town of Lauriacum was burned and even the legionary fortress suffered damage, which could only be made good gradually.⁸³ A hoard from Ennsdorf near Amstetten indicates that the threat was felt east of the Enns,⁸⁴ and southern Noricum too was seriously endangered, as is shown by coin-hoards from *c.* 275 from several places in the Drau valley, Aguntum, Baldersdorf near Teurnia and Klagenfurt.⁸⁵ It was possibly in the reign of Aurelian that the east side of the Aguntum town-wall was strengthened with towers—if this had not already been done under Gallienus. But this hardly offered the town any protection—the enemy could have got round the walls.⁸⁶ The destruction of the baths area at Virunum, which certainly took place before the reign of Probus, should likewise be dated to the time of Aurelian rather than Gallienus.⁸⁷ There

were further disturbances during the following decades. The civil war between Diocletian and Carinus evidently affected Noricum.⁸⁸ There were serious wars against the Germans in the reign of Diocletian, when the Alamanni destroyed the fort at Schlögen.⁸⁹ But this energetic emperor was able to strike a heavy blow against the Alamanni in 289,⁹⁰ and the ensuing reorganisation of Noricum during his reign laid the groundwork for the defence of the frontier for the last two centuries of Roman rule on the Norican *limes*.

Unfortunately we know far too little about the third-century wars in Noricum. But this much at least is clear: they made life in the province insecure and caused widespread devastation. Not only did many soldiers fall in action,⁹¹ but the civilian population was decimated as well on many occasions, especially during the reigns of Gallienus and Aurelian: tombstones from the third century mention persons killed by the barbarians 'in the *canabae* of the legion'—presumably at Lauriacum—or even in the interior of the province.⁹² However, it seems that Noricum did not, in general, suffer so badly during the great wars of the third century as did, for example, Raetia and Pannonia. It was to some extent protected by the zone north of the *limes* between Passau and Krems, which was difficult to cross, and, above all, by the chain of Alpine peaks spreading right across the land. Large-scale invasions that were able to penetrate the province came mostly through the Vindelician plain, and it was principally north-western Noricum that was placed at risk; they were seldom able to reach the southern part (as they seem to have done in the reign of Aurelian). Solva, for example, apparently did not undergo any destruction at all during the third century.

Agriculture, mining, industry and trade

Although Noricum suffered a great deal during the Marcomannic Wars, these wars in no way ruined economic production in the province: the destroyed agricultural and manufacturing centres were soon rebuilt. There were indeed important changes in the economic structure at the end of the second century and under the Severan dynasty, but it was not until later that their effects were felt. Production did not decline during the decades of peace after the Marcomannic Wars. In fact, mining and industry enjoyed a rise in prosperity, thanks to the opening up of new sources of raw materials and the building of new workshops. The position of certain social classes was indeed altered by the changes in the economic structure, but under Commodus and the Severi Noricum experienced neither a social nor an economic crisis; this first developed in the difficult times of the middle and later third century. Most classes of society, as well as production, were then seriously hit.

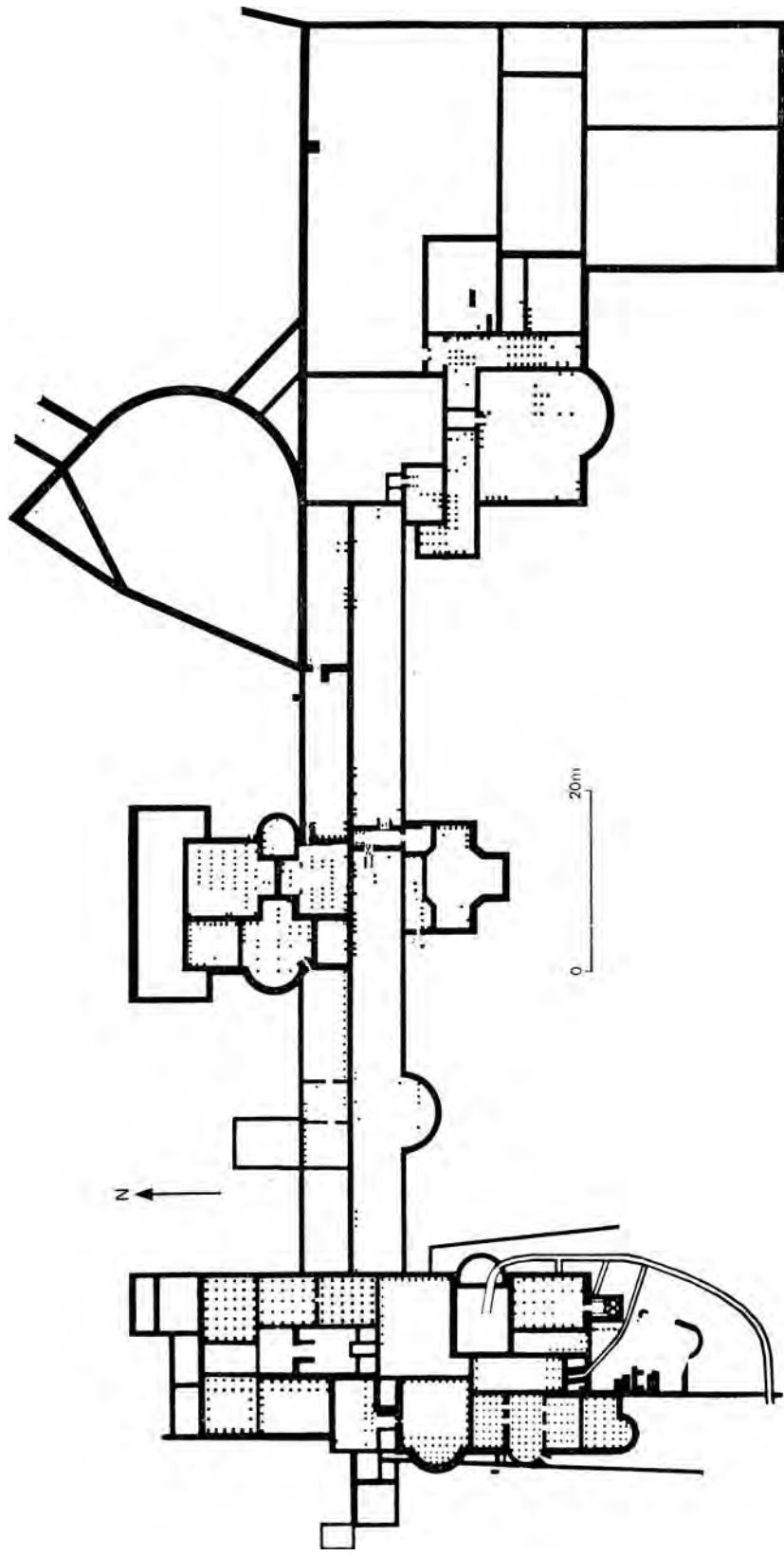


Figure 30 Villa at Thalerhof

One cannot say whether Norican farming was more or less productive than before the Marcomannic Wars. However, there is no reason to postulate any decline in agriculture or in stock-raising under Commodus and the Severi. For example, a ritual deposit of fruit from the Lentia Mithraeum shows that the varieties found earlier were still being cultivated after the wars.⁹³ Agriculture may have enjoyed a marked boom in the late second and early third centuries. The previously established villas (Fig. 18, p. 130), providing they had not actually been destroyed during the Marcomannic Wars, continued in existence thereafter—for example the many villas in north-western Noricum, and other concerns as well.⁹⁴ In fact many of them were even enlarged after the wars, for instance the Löffelbach villa (Fig. 14, p. 121) in Styria,⁹⁵ and some of the ones that were destroyed *c.* 170 were rebuilt, e.g. Wimsbach (Fig. 15, p. 122) near Ovilava and Mautern.⁹⁶ At the same time completely new establishments appear: the large, richly decorated luxury villa at Forst Thalerhof in the Mur valley between Graz and Solva is an example (Fig. 30); its wall-paintings indicate that its owner was extremely rich.⁹⁷ North of the Alps, where the number of villas was already greater before the Marcomannic Wars than in the interior, several new villas were built. Examples are Weyregg on the Attersee, which has mosaic pavements⁹⁸ and probably dates from the end of the second century, Kellau near Cucullae (Kuchl), and Bergheim-Kemeting in the neighbourhood of Juvavum.⁹⁹

It seems that the rise in prosperity of these farming establishments, at least in the particularly fertile areas—namely the extensive low-lying *territoria* of Juvavum and Ovilava—is connected with one important change in the economic structure: the development of large-scale land-owning. There is of course no evidence for the size of the estates which had one of these luxury villas as their centre. But the evidence indicates that there were some extraordinarily wealthy villa-owners, holding property in several different parts of the province simultaneously. The Kemeting villa seems to have belonged at the end of the second century to one L. Veditius Optatus, who is mentioned on an inscription there; and the same person is also known from another inscription, carried to Rotthof from the large villa at Pocking on the lower Inn.¹⁰⁰ One Copponius Lucianus, at the turn of the second and third centuries, is known to have possessed slaves at Elsbethen near Salzburg (where a villa is known), as well as at the Pocking villa.¹⁰¹ This evidence suggests the existence of some particularly rich property-owning families, whose appearance in the Juvavum area probably goes back to the mid-second century: the Salzburg family of Lollii, for instance, certainly had slaves and freedmen in different parts of the province then—and held land too, it is clear.¹⁰² In this connection it is particularly noteworthy that we know of a

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whole series of *actores* and *vilici* in north-western Noricum from the post-Marcomannic Wars period, in spite of the fact that the total number of inscriptions from the area at this period is extremely small. These people must have been the slaves of great land-owners and there can be no doubt but that they were employed in the running of great estates. Some are on record at Schalchen and Pocking, where the estates have been discovered by archaeology, and even at Juvavum;¹⁰³ east of there, some have been found at Altmünster on the Traunsee, where a large-scale farming establishment must be postulated;¹⁰⁴ again, probably, at Rohr in the Krems valley, next to the presumed villa of Kematen an der Krems;¹⁰⁵ and also at Tödling west of Lauriacum.¹⁰⁶ As far as can be seen, the epigraphic records of these estate-managers belong to the period between the end of the Marcomannic Wars and the mid-third century; it is probable that *actores* and *vilici* first began to be used more frequently in north-western Noricum at that time because the estates had increased in size and their work was now essential. Finally, one must draw attention to two place-names in north-western Noricum supplied by the Peutinger Table, names which perhaps go back to this period and suggest large-scale land-owning by particular families: *Vet(t)oniana* (near Voitsdorf south of Ovilava) and *Marinianum* (somewhere north of Ovilava) originally, no doubt, large estates owned by a Vettonianus and a Marinus, or some such name.¹⁰⁷

Place-names formed in this way, and evidence for slaves or freedmen administering estates, are lacking in other parts of Noricum,¹⁰⁸ and the number of villas is itself markedly smaller elsewhere than in the regions of Juvavum and Ovilava. The development of large-scale estates after the Marcomannic Wars was probably confined principally to the extensive fertile country in the valleys of the lower Salzach and lower Inn, and of the rivers of Upper Austria. The estates which grew up here certainly played a very significant role in Norican agriculture, and they were presumably the main suppliers of grain—apart from what was imported from the south—to the province and its army, at least in the reigns of Commodus and the Severi. But during the heavy warfare of the later third century it was precisely these low-lying agricultural areas in north-western Noricum that were most frequently endangered and devastated. This must have brought about a decline in production. A number of the villas destroyed by barbarian assaults were never rebuilt, for instance Bernau, destroyed c. A.D. 235, and the establishment at Pocking which was wrecked in the reign of Valerian. It probably became increasingly difficult to find enough agricultural labour, for the population was frequently decimated, and many of the inhabitants probably fled into the protected interior of the province. Large areas probably remained uncultivated while the wars were going on. This situation may have caused not

inconsiderable difficulties over food-supplies in the middle and later third century: agricultural production in the interior and the importing of supplies from the south, which was often brought to a standstill, would scarcely have sufficed to fill the gap.

The Norican mining industry was probably completely unaffected by the Marcomannic Wars. A particular reason for this was that the bands of barbarian invaders were unable to penetrate as far as the mining settlements in the protected interior of the province. The imperial mines were exploited just as actively from the time of Marcus Aurelius onwards as they had been previously, as the evidence for the government mining administration shows. New sources of raw material were exploited and new mines were opened up, and production in this sphere rose at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century. The rich mineral wealth of the Erzberg in Upper Styria was apparently first exploited on a large scale after the Marcomannic Wars—certainly, new galleries were opened up, and new smelting-ovens built, after the reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁰⁹ The intensive mining industry in this region produced a higher standard of living for some sections of the population than had been enjoyed there under the early empire; the large and luxurious third-century mausoleum at Donawitz, over three metres high (Pl. 51), is the most important monument of Roman art in this once backward area.¹¹⁰ It was probably, in the main, the Norican army's increased need for metal—for armaments—after the Marcomannic Wars that brought about this boom. Legion II Italica had its own arms-factory built in the fortress at Lauriacum, and this establishment is still recorded later, in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.¹¹¹ At least one stone-quarry was also opened up after the reign of Marcus Aurelius—the marble quarry on the Schaidberg, below Obertauern, which provided the stone for the numerous milestones set up under Septimius Severus.¹¹² This was probably imperial property (as were the iron-mines of central Noricum), for in contrast to all earlier and later milestones from Noricum those from the year 201 mention the name of the governor.¹¹³

It is impossible to tell whether or not the Norican mining industry was exposed to great difficulties during the mid- and later third century. But then too it is unlikely that the plundering bands of barbarians reached the mining centres. However, against this must be set the fact that the history of Norican industry is marked by noticeable variations in production. Under Commodus and the Severi one may postulate a certain increase in production in several sectors of industry. Not only were new metal foundries and arms-factories set up, but new brickworks and lime-kilns as well—especially, no doubt, in the north where a large amount of building work was particularly necessary after the Marcomannic Wars, as a result of the clearing up of damage and the founding of new forts and

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of the new town of Lauriacum.¹¹⁴ It is quite clear that there was an increase in pottery production also, once again in the northern part of the province above all. The Marcomannic Wars marked a sharp break in the stylistic development of Norican coarse pottery: after the wars completely new forms appear.¹¹⁵ Hence one may presume that a number of new potteries were founded. In about A.D. 200, for example, a pottery started up at St Paul in the Lavant valley in southern Noricum. This one, however, only supplied local needs in the Lavant valley, and its products reflect a continuity with earlier local traditions.¹¹⁶ More important were the new potteries at Lauriacum, whose wares were able to gain a wide distribution in northern Noricum, as far south as Hallstatt.¹¹⁷ New workshops flourished at Juvavum too, and, there is no doubt, at Ovilava and Cetium.¹¹⁸ However, the main development in the pottery industry was the establishment of samian factories on the Inn, at Westerndorf and at Pfaffenhofen near Pons Aeni. Although both these factories lay on the west bank of the Inn, they probably belonged to Noricum rather than to Raetia—as did a long stretch of land west of the Inn between Pons Aeni and Pocking.¹¹⁹ At any rate, their products were sent to Noricum and not to Raetia, and then, via Noricum, further east, along the Danube. As H.-J. Kellner's thorough investigation has shown, production in Westerndorf began after the Marcomannic Wars, probably shortly before the end of the second century. Its markets were the Norican and Pannonian *limes*, the Norican settlements north of the Alps such as Bedaium, Juvavum and Pocking, and free Germany north and east of the Pannonian frontier; some of its products even reached Britain.¹²⁰ Shortly after this, in c. A.D. 210 workers from Westerndorf set up the factory at Pfaffenhofen,¹²¹ and, as an attempt to produce samian at Juvavum shows, a potter there tried to imitate Westerndorf ware—but without success.¹²²

These new potteries did not, however, flourish for long: production ceased completely at Westerndorf and Pfaffenhofen shortly after the Severan period, c. A.D. 240. This may be mainly the result of the German invasions, as with the decline of the samian industry in the northern part of the empire as a whole.¹²³ In at least one sector of Norican industry—stone-carving—the decline had already set in before this, and for different reasons. By contrast with the great number of Norican tombstones from the first century and from the Antonine period, relatively few of third-century date have been found in the province, and the quality of these is mostly inferior to the earlier monuments.¹²⁴ The same applies to inscribed and sculptured stones in general.¹²⁵ The fact that in several parts of Noricum in the third century the custom of burying the dead in sarcophagi became widespread does not explain this decline in the quality of stone-carving.¹²⁶ The sarcophagi were not in fact very common and did not have the

artistic quality of—for example—the southern and south-eastern Norican grave-reliefs in the early and mid-second century.¹²⁷ One must assume, therefore, that the overall decline in stone-carving from the end of the second century onwards was not brought about merely by changes in funerary practice or by a failure of artistic talent. It was, rather, economic factors that played the main part—the impoverishment of certain classes of the population and the transfer of industrial production to the manufacture of more necessary items that could not be dispensed with, and to arms-manufacture. Barbarian incursions, financial difficulties, ever more restricted opportunities for export, and the decline of the artisan class from the mid-third century onwards, resulted, in the pottery industry at least, but probably in wider sections of industry as well, in decreased production. The individual workshops now began to produce for a local market only and their products were of inferior quality, as had earlier been the case with the St Paul pottery.

The history of trade in Noricum from the late second to the late third century in many respects ran a similar course. Trade was active up till the middle of the third century; there was not even any breaking off of the trading-links between Noricum and Italy. Norican merchants visited the emporia of northern Italy, probably on a regular basis. A certain Tauconius Optatus, and his son of the same names, both *equites Romani* from Aguntum, may well have had a business in Tergeste or its neighbourhood.¹²⁸ A freedman from Ovilava who died at Rome was likewise perhaps a merchant.¹²⁹ The trading links with the west were particularly close. From about the middle of the second century to the middle of the third, large-scale imports of samian entered Noricum from Rheinzabern on the upper Rhine—to Ovilava and Lauriacum, for example, and indeed to Aguntum and Virunum as well.¹³⁰ In Lauriacum at least, there were those who bought samian from Trier.¹³¹ The Westerndorf pottery sold its wares principally in northern Noricum, as already mentioned, and in particular to the military installations on the Danube there; in fact trade probably flourished particularly strongly in northern Noricum, where the troops had to be catered for, after the Marcomannic Wars, as did agriculture and industry. Norican merchants may also have played a not insignificant role in the further export of Westerndorf ware to the markets on the Pannonian *limes*. Indeed, Noricum's trading links reached still further afield than this, and the boom here in the time of Commodus and the Severi proved an attraction even to provinces a considerable distance away. We know of an African *negotiator* at Celeia,¹³² and it was probably as merchants that Syrians as well, and men from Asia Minor and Thrace, came to south-eastern Noricum.¹³³

Trade underwent a marked decline around the middle of the third century.

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The trade-routes along the *limes* were under constant threat from bands of barbarians and were frequently cut. At the same time production ceased completely in several large industrial centres on the northern frontier such as Rheinzabern, Westerndorf and Pfaffenhofen. Noricum was becoming ever more seriously cut off from the Roman west. The roads leading to Italy were, to be sure, less seriously threatened, but Italy had for some while been unable to provide Noricum with all the products that it had once exported. Hence imports into Noricum were sharply reduced, and even the trading-links within the province must have suffered a good deal.

The financial crisis and the fate of the towns

The circulation of money was also irregular, and frequently came to a standstill—and not merely from the mid-third century onwards: this situation had begun some time before. As the numerous third-century deposits show, large quantities of coins were hoarded and thus withdrawn from circulation. For this reason, and as a result of debasement of the coinage and price-rises—which are not directly recorded in Noricum itself, but may quite certainly be postulated—new supplies of freshly minted money constantly had to be poured into Noricum, above all to pay the soldiers. Yet the value of this money could not keep up with the rising prices of available goods. Besides this, money and hence wealth was distributed particularly unevenly through the province. Until the circulation of Roman imperial coinage in Noricum has been systematically investigated we cannot of course obtain a definitive picture of the monetary and financial situation. However, one can survey the circulation of money in some parts of the country at least. On the *limes* there was scarcely any interruption: the troops received the new coin-issues regularly.¹³⁴ During the excavations at the Lauriacum legionary fortress, for example, during the first two decades of the twentieth century, some 10,000 Roman coins were found, more or less regularly distributed from the second half of the second century to the end of the fourth.¹³⁵ The commonest coins from the third century found here are precisely those from the reigns of Gallienus, Claudius II and Aurelian, the period when the military and economic crisis reached its peak in Noricum.¹³⁶ By contrast the circulation of money seems to have diminished markedly among the civilian population of the interior during the third century, as may be seen from a comparison between the volume of coinage circulating in the Bavarian portion of Noricum and at Lentia (see the table on p. 179).¹³⁷ A total of 307 coins have been found in north-western Noricum from the period A.D. 69–180, whereas there are only 70 from the century that followed, A.D. 180–285, and of these there are only 18 from the

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TABLE 5 *Distribution of Roman coins found in the Bavarian part of Noricum and at Lentia (excluding coin-boards)*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number of coins</i>		<i>Date</i>	<i>Number of coins</i>	
	<i>S.E. Bavaria</i>	<i>Linz</i>		<i>S.E. Bavaria</i>	<i>Linz</i>
Republican	5	6	Gallienus	2	8
Augustus	11	6	Postumus	2	
Tiberius	20	4	Claudius II	4	15
Caligula	4		Quintillus		3
Claudius	19	12	Tetricus		1
Nero	14	6	Aurelian	4	13
Galba	2	1	Tacitus		2
Otho	1		Probus	2	8
			Carus and sons		1
Vespasian	49	13	First tetrarchy	31	7
Titus	2	3	Maximinus Daia	1	1
Domitian	43	12	Maxentius	9	
Nerva	17	7	Licinius	7	14
Trajan	54	19	Constantine I	33	27
Hadrian	65	16	Constans	8	8
Antoninus Pius	53	18	Constantius II	16	28
Marcus Aurelius	24	15	Magnentius	4	
Commodus	9	4	Constantius Gallus	2	8
Pertinax		1	Vetranio		1
Septimius Severus	8	7	Julian		4
Caracalla, Geta	5	1	Jovian		3
Elagabalus	3		Valentinian I	1	43
Severus Alexander	11	8	Valens	3	36
Maximinus Thrax	2		Gratian	5	5
Gordian III	8	2	Valentinian II	2	2
Philippus	6	1	Theodosius I	2	6
Decius	1	1	Honorius	1	1
Trebonianus Gallus	1	1	Arcadius	1	
Aemilianus	1	1			
Valerian	1	1			

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period between Decius and Carinus. At Lentia there are 103 coins from the years 69–180, compared with 79 struck in the period A.D. 180–285, of which 55 come from the time between Decius and Carinus. One may at least draw the conclusion from these statistics that the financial situation of the civilian population of the interior in the third century, especially from the time of Gallienus onwards, was inferior to that of the military, even when one considers that coins minted in an earlier period may have been circulating as well. Whereas large supplies of coin flowed in to the army garrisons during the second half of the third century, in some centres of population in the interior of the province, as for instance, it would seem, at Bedaïum, the circulation of money came to a complete standstill.¹³⁸ The basis of trade no doubt reverted to barter to a considerable extent, which probably provided a solution in rural areas such as Bedaïum.

It is noteworthy that at least in the Bavarian portion of Noricum there was a marked diminution in the circulation of money straight after the Marcomannic Wars. The impoverishment of certain social classes in the Norican interior probably began at that time. What we know of the financing of building work and other undertakings in Noricum after the wars provides evidence for this, and for a further decline in wealth in the third century. Private individuals could be called on less and less, and by contrast with the Flavian and Antonine periods the state and state officials had to take on the responsibility for investment to an ever-increasing extent. Under Commodus and the Severi, indeed, rich land-owners could still be open-handed—the wealthy Albii from Teurnia, for instance, had a Mithraeum built at Moosham, probably on their own property, and supplied bears from their own hunting estates and gladiators for wild-beast shows at Teurnia;¹³⁹ and a married couple in the Lavant valley was able to have the temple of Latobius near St Margarethen rebuilt c. A.D. 200.¹⁴⁰ But in the towns it was now only seldom that large-scale building was financed by rich private individuals: for instance at Virunum in the year 189 the temple of Dolichenus was paid for by one Bellicus Marini f(ilius), a *peregrinus*.¹⁴¹ Often resources were sufficient only to pay for a statue of the emperor, an act which was required in any case as a return for admission into the town council (*ordo decurionum*).¹⁴² Probably corporate bodies had not infrequently to underwrite the cost of building works, as on one occasion under Septimius Severus at Virunum¹⁴³ and on another occasion a little later at Cetium.¹⁴⁴ As the rescript of Septimius Severus on the *centonarii* of Solva in 205 shows, the membership of the *collegia* included rich men who were trying to escape burdens of this kind through illegal means; but government control obliged them to use their wealth in the service of the community.¹⁴⁵

In many cases, especially from the middle of the third century, people no

longer possessed the resources to finance large-scale undertakings. Even public collections were of little help: we happen to know that something of the kind took place from an inscription at Happening in north-western Noricum, where a votive inscription was paid for *pub(lica) stipe*.¹⁴⁶ On many occasions the emperors themselves took a hand: Elagabalus had the theatre at Virunum restored,¹⁴⁷ and c. A.D. 290 Diocletian and Maximian had some building done in the same town.¹⁴⁸ At Juvavum Septimius Severus took responsibility for public building works, which were carried out under the supervision of two successive governors, Pollienus Sebennus and Catus Sabinus; and Severus had work done at Celeia as well.¹⁴⁹ The governor was normally responsible for large-scale public building; an example is the *agens vices praesidis* who had work done to the river-bed at Cetium in the second half of the third century.¹⁵⁰ Of course the provincials doubtless had to share in the costs of projects of this kind; but the government certainly had to dip into the state treasury as well. Apart from this, building works and other expensive undertakings were often paid for in the third century by officials of the state who, thanks to their salary, were as well-off as their predecessors. For example a temple was restored at Tiffen and the cult-image in the Ruše Mithraeum was paid for by procurators;¹⁵¹ imperial slaves took care of the restoration of a Mithraeum at Virunum in the year 239,¹⁵² and, perhaps, of the building of a shrine of Mithras at Bad Ischl.¹⁵³ The soldiers, too, could afford to be open-handed, for their pay came in regularly.¹⁵⁴

However this may be, extensive building works were frequently necessary, especially in the towns, not least to make good the damage caused by barbarian raids. This work presumably became increasingly more difficult to undertake without grants from the state treasury. Solva, destroyed in the Marcomannic Wars, was soon rebuilt, and an amphitheatre was even erected in the southern part of the town. However, there were probably insufficient funds available for the reconstruction, since the rubble was not cleared away but only levelled, and many architectural fragments were reused. Still, at least the large *insulae* were decorated with wall-paintings and mosaics, which indicates that many elements in the population were prosperous, at least under Commodus and the Severi.¹⁵⁵ Celeia received a town-wall, and further building-work followed here c. A.D. 200 at the instigation of Septimius Severus.¹⁵⁶ Around the middle of the third century the town was afflicted by serious flooding from the river Savinja,¹⁵⁷ and as the poor quality of later finds shows,¹⁵⁸ Celeia was never again able to be rebuilt in its former splendour. The buildings erected at Juvavum after the Marcomannic Wars also show a poorer quality than those that were there before.¹⁵⁹ At Aguntum, towers for the town-wall, at least, were added.¹⁶⁰ At Virunum, which was at any rate partially destroyed in a barbarian raid in the second half of

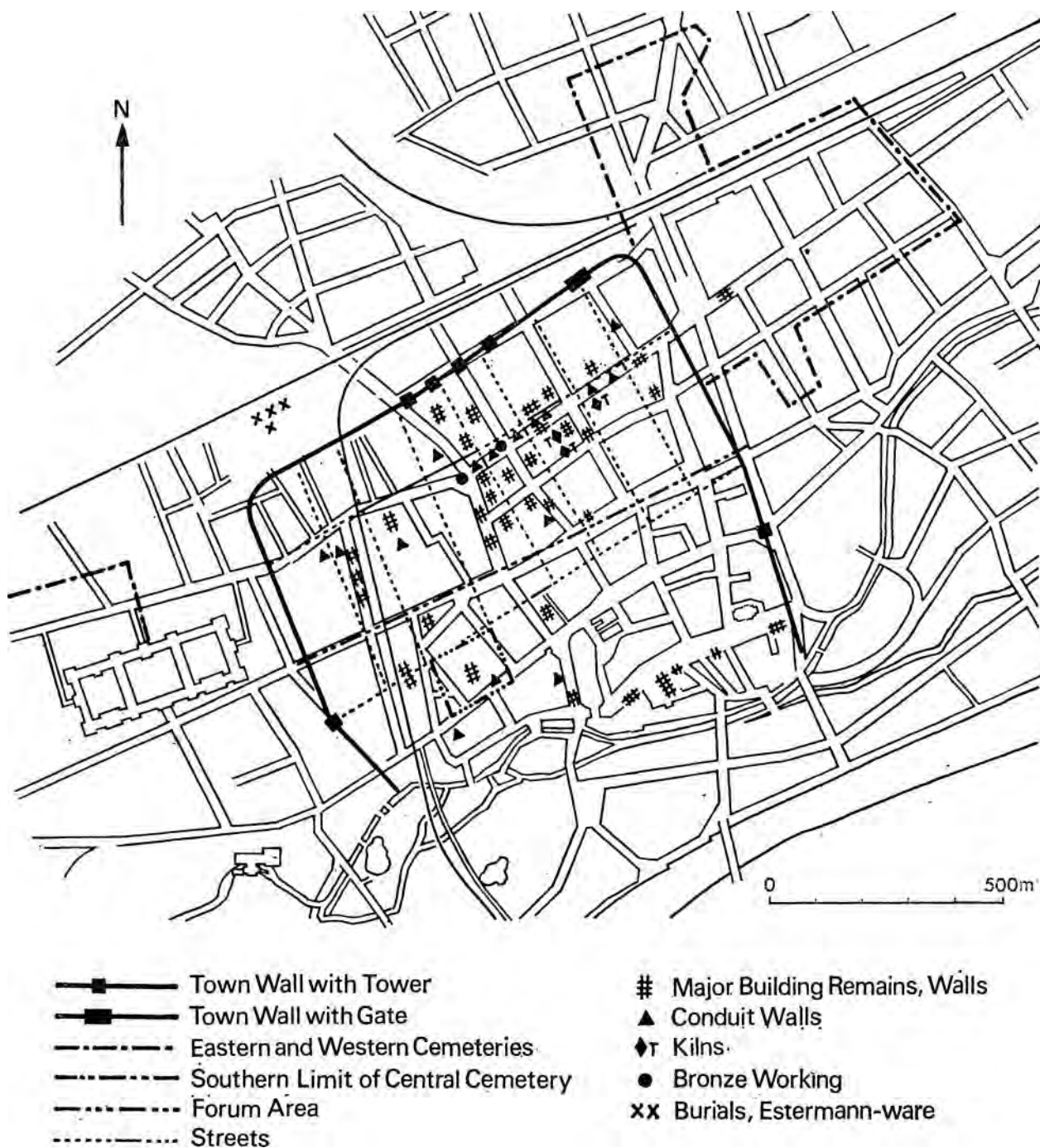


Figure 31 Plan of Ovilava

the third century, there was subsequently a vigorous building activity: the devastated baths-quarter was rebuilt, and one of the rooms there was even decorated with the expensive Dionysus mosaic.¹⁶¹ However, money for these building operations was probably not available until A.D. 290, when Diocletian and Maximian took on responsibility for large-scale works at Virunum¹⁶² in connection with their consolidation of the military position as well as of the economic situation.

Apparently more money was invested in building operations in the *limes* zone and in the north of the province as a whole: this area first attained real prosperity under Commodus and the Severi, and apart from this it was here that the greatest damage was done in the later wars, which had to be repaired—and, finally, here the government had to pay particular attention to the demands of the military. After the Marcomannic Wars it was not only villas in this area that were rebuilt, or founded;¹⁶³ even the civil settlements outside the forts were improved. At Lentia, for example, the temple-quarter destroyed in the reign of Marcus Aurelius was reconstructed and new temples were added.¹⁶⁴ There was further building at the towns of Ovilava and Cetium too.¹⁶⁵ Ovilava, which was awarded the rank of *colonia* under Caracalla, developed during the succeeding decades into one of the most important towns in Noricum. The town boundaries were considerably extended to the north (Fig. 31) and surrounded by a wall enclosing an area of approximately 800 by 800 metres (64 hectares); however, this new quarter on the north side of the town was not constructed immediately—it grew up gradually.¹⁶⁶ As is shown above all by the rich finds of samian, the town maintained its close trading links with the great production-centres in the west such as Rheinzabern and Westerndorf right up till the middle of the third century.¹⁶⁷ However, in the disturbed decades that followed, the town undoubtedly suffered a great deal and its trade also declined.

Under Caracalla there was even a new town founded in the northern part of Noricum: the civil settlement next to the legionary fortress of Lauriacum was granted the status of *municipium* at this time.¹⁶⁸ This town (Fig. 32), to the west of the fortress, was systematically excavated between 1951 and 1960.¹⁶⁹ It was built to a regular plan, with streets on a grid-system, and covered an area of approximately the same size as the fortress. The forum with the official buildings lay in the northern section of the town; south of it was a market. Numerous private houses have also been excavated, including a large building on the southern edge of the town with a bath-house.¹⁷⁰ The most important building to be uncovered is situated in the northern part of the town, beneath the church of St Laurence in modern Lorch: it was a temple of Gallo-Roman type, altered on several occasions in the course of the third century. It replaced a building-

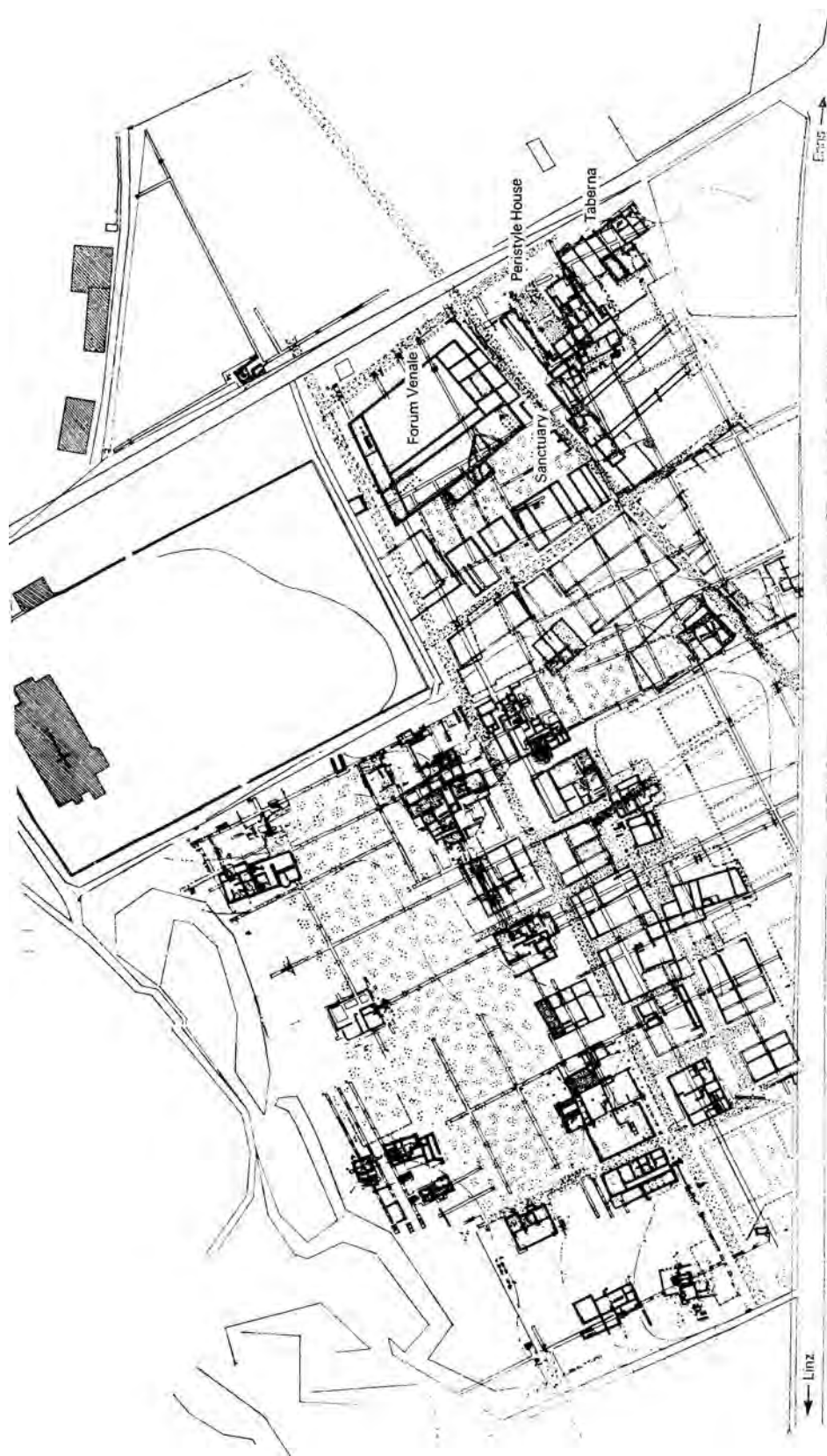




Figure 32 Plan of the civil settlement of Lauriacum

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complex that was still in existence in the year 197. Around the middle of the fourth century it was itself replaced by a Christian basilica, which was rebuilt after its destruction in the fifth century.¹⁷¹ In the vicinity of the town and fortress some twenty large graveyards and smaller burial-grounds have been identified and in some cases excavated.¹⁷² The grave-goods indicate that the population was living in prosperous circumstances at least up to the mid-third century, and the lively trade in samian and lamps suggests the same conclusion.¹⁷³ However, the town had to suffer a great deal in the third-century wars. It was destroyed as early as c. A.D. 235, and rebuilt; in the reign of Aurelian it was reduced to ashes again, by the Alamanni, to be completely restored once more under Diocletian and Constantine.¹⁷⁴

To summarise, it may be said that the third-century economic crisis of the Roman empire did not spare Noricum. But the country none the less continued to develop along the lines that its own specific circumstances permitted. Under Commodus and the Severi the tendencies of economic development were by no means negative. Particularly in the part of the province north of the Alps, which had formerly been somewhat backward, there was even an upsurge in production at this time in some sectors of the economy, while in the southern part of the province, that had been urbanised earlier, there was likewise no economic crisis, although some parts of the economy showed signs of difficulty there immediately after the Marcomannic Wars. During the half-century after the wars the main change was this, that the principal centre of economic production moved from the south to the north, a development similar to that in the province of Dalmatia, where a decline set in from the second half of the second century on the Adriatic coast, which had been urbanised early on, while in the interior, romanised at a later period, an improvement in economic conditions may be detected.¹⁷⁵ However, from the time of the Alamannic invasion of c. A.D. 235 a decline in the economy may be observed all over Noricum. It was precisely the northern part of the province, with its important agriculture and its centres of trade and industry, that was principally affected by the barbarian incursions. At the same time economic difficulties increased in the interior as well, and hence this region was unable to make good the frequent losses of production in the north. Apart from this, more and more money was constantly required for the Norican army, and the cost fell on the civilian population. This development led to a serious economic crisis, which had to wait for a solution until the energetic measures of Diocletian. Only the central highlands may have been more or less spared from this crisis, since the mining industry ensured a steady income as before and the barbarian raiders were scarcely able to penetrate as far as this.

The transformation of society

Hand in hand with the transformation of the economy went a gradual alteration of the social structure in Noricum after the Marcomannic Wars. The possibilities of rising in the social ladder were diminished, and the previously existing upper crust of society began to be more and more seriously affected. Most of the leading families of the Flavian and Antonine periods disappear from view more or less totally: so important a family as the Sabinii, for example, large-scale contractors in Virunum, seem to have completely lost their role in the province in the third century. The same may apply also to the Spectatii and their kinsfolk of Celeia, who in the third century were no longer in a position to pay for expensive funerary monuments at Šempeter.¹⁷⁶ It is typical of the period that a descendant of C. Vindonius Successus, aedile of Celeia—who in the Flavian period or thereabouts was able to afford a costly funerary monument at Šempeter—appears c. A.D. 200 in the list of members of a Celeian society whose ranks were made up of the poorer classes of the population.¹⁷⁷ There were of course rich merchants, factory-owners and craftsmen under Commodus and the Severi,¹⁷⁸ but the decline of trade and industry from the mid-third century onwards must have ruined the people of these classes. Even during the decades immediately following the Marcomannic Wars the urban bourgeoisie was no longer able to enjoy its riches and property undisturbed: Septimius Severus, in the rescript on the *centonarii* of Solva, declared emphatically that the rich, who were said to be enjoying their wealth without having any burdens to bear, must be compelled to take on *munera publica*.¹⁷⁹ As part of the same tendency, even service as a magistrate of the town became a *munus*, the holding of which involved a considerable outlay, and is rarely likely to have been undertaken voluntarily.¹⁸⁰

From the first decades after the Marcomannic Wars onwards there still remained two main pathways to social advancement and enrichment, which later, in the time of the economic and military crisis, probably became the sole means of advancement that there were: one was to own land in the agricultural areas; the other was military service. The land-owners, above all in north-western Noricum, were without doubt among the richest men in the province—among whom were the families who have already been mentioned, the Lollii, Copponii and Vedii and the Albii too;¹⁸¹ a whole series of landowners may have taken on public office in the towns, either voluntarily or under compulsion.¹⁸² It is especially noteworthy that our information about magistrates and decurions of Norican towns in the third century comes mainly from inscriptions that were set up not in the towns themselves, but in the countryside, in a number of cases no doubt on the estates of the men concerned; it was very probably increasingly the

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case that land-owners were the only men capable of taking on office in the towns, with the burdens that went with it.¹⁸³ But for many Noricans military service must have seemed the only path to social advancement—a more dangerous path, no doubt, but a more profitable one also. Impoverished townsmen or farmers could after all, as soldiers, at least count on getting a fixed rate of pay, a bounty at their discharge and, apart from this, on the donatives given out on numerous occasions in the third century whenever there was (as so often) a change of emperor; and, last but not least, there was the prospect of booty (more often to be gained in civil war than from fighting the Germans). In any case, the government was constantly in need of more soldiers, to make good the gaps in the ranks caused by the ever-recurring wars. Vacancies in the Legion II Italica and in the Norican auxiliary units were probably filled almost exclusively by men recruited in Noricum, and Noricans were hardly ever enrolled in the armies of other provinces any more.¹⁸⁴ Noricans were however still recruited into the praetorian guard after the Marcomannic Wars and even after the military reforms of Septimius Severus, as they had been previously, and they were also enrolled into the *equites singulares Augusti*, the emperor's horse-guards at Rome; the praetorians from Noricum were mainly men from urbanised areas, while the principal recruiting-grounds for the *equites singulares Augusti* were the imperial estates in central Noricum.¹⁸⁵

The richest of the land-owners could gain promotion into the equestrian order by receiving an officer's commission in the army. In comparison with the time before Marcus Aurelius, the number of *equites Romani* from Noricum had grown considerably in the later period;¹⁸⁶ the overwhelming majority of them were in fact the sons of land-owning families, who had done military service. Tauconius Optatus, and his son of the same names, from Aguntum, neither of whom held a commission in the army, are the only exceptions: they were perhaps wealthy merchants.¹⁸⁷ Three third-century *equites*, Q. Marcius Julianus, Metilius Maximinus and Aurelius Valentinus, came from Celeia and its neighbourhood; the second and third of these men, at least, whose inscriptions were found not in the town itself but in its *territorium* (Št Janž, Višnja Vas), apparently owned land there. We know of two *equites* from Virunum, one of them a man whose name has not been preserved, the other a certain M. Bellicius Saturninus, prefect of a cohort in the reign of Gallienus; a further three *equites* are known in the *territorium* of this town: C. Viator[ius . . .] from Timenitz, L. Tapurius from the Kanaltal, and Valerius Claudius Quintus from Hörzendorf, all of them apparently land-owners in these places. They too served in the army—Quintus, whose career probably belongs to the second half of the third century, was typical of the age in his dramatic rise from centurion to commander of several legions. Other

men from land-owning families—in the region of Ovilava and Cetium—who likewise rose to be equestrian officers were P. Aelius Flavius, and the brothers P. Aelius Sabinianus and P. Aelius Germanus. M. Vindius Verianus, who had an especially distinguished career as an equestrian officer under Septimius Severus, was probably a Norican as well (perhaps from Solva), as Aelius Restutus may also have been: this man governed Noricum itself in the second half of the third century. It is noteworthy that only Bellicius Saturninus and Vindius Verianus came from families that were already numbered among the *honestiores* before the time of Marcus Aurelius; the other *equites*, or at least the ones whose ancestors' citizenship was gained in the reign of Hadrian or later, came from newly risen families—which, again, is evidence for the change-over in the upper classes.

Very few Noricans, if any, obtained entry into the Senate: here there was no change.¹⁸⁸ Even the most important equestrian families in the province presumably lacked the basic wealth-qualification for membership of the senatorial order. Besides, the main career opening for the sons of the rich land-owning families lay in military service—and senators were gradually excluded from the army in the course of the third century. Origin in Noricum may be postulated for at most two senators during this century. The young senatorial military tribune whose career probably dates from the beginning of the third century, P. Petronius Priscus, was possibly a member of a Celeian family which may have owned land in the neighbourhood of Cetium. Another senator, whose name is unknown who from c. A.D. 235 onwards governed several imperial provinces, apparently originated from Solva.¹⁸⁹

Although it was easier for Norican land-owners to gain equestrian rank after the time of Marcus Aurelius than earlier, there were probably already fewer rich families in total under Commodus and the Severi than there had been before, and there were seemingly very few indeed from the mid-third century onwards. The vast majority of the urban population and the farming class were not wealthy. We are rather better informed about the lower classes in the towns shortly after the Marcomannic Wars than in the previous period, thanks to Severus' rescript of A.D. 205 on the *centonarii* in Solva, and to a number of *collegium*-inscriptions from other towns. We know of societies (trade unions or guilds) in most of the Norican towns, with names like *collegium fabrum* or *collegium centonariorum*. They were mainly for craftsmen, as were, probably, other societies, whose members described themselves as *cultores* of some deity.¹⁹⁰ It is noticeable that most of the *collegium*-inscriptions from Noricum belong to the time of Commodus and the Severi, or thereabouts, and not to the earlier period, despite the markedly richer quantity of epigraphic evidence from the latter.

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Presumably the urban craftsmen first began to join together in such societies on a larger scale when the economic difficulties of the period after the Marcomannic Wars began.¹⁹¹ Craftsmen in the towns were probably obliged to join societies of this kind on a regular basis from this time onwards. Indeed, they needed to do so: membership gave them the enjoyment of various privileges and exemption from burdensome duties. Apart from this, these societies did at least take care of the funeral arrangements for their members, whose heirs could not always afford to pay for them. But above all it was the state which had an interest in grouping craftsmen together in societies. The duties of an urban fire-brigade, which were assigned to these organisations, could best be carried out in this way. But it was in the main to enable the government better to oversee the activities of craftsmen, and to watch how they were making use of their privileges; and apart from this some kind of central direction could be provided for industrial production in this way. This was doubtless especially necessary with the growth of economic difficulties. As production sank more and more and many craftsmen no doubt abandoned their profession, the only way of rescuing the situation was to compel the craftsmen to join these societies, and thus, by the privilege of *vacatio* from expensive *munera*, to provide them with at least some kind of inducement to practise their trade. The rescript of Severus shows this tendency already developing: it also reveals the government's concern to stamp out the ever-present attempt to misuse such privileges.

The *collegium centonariorum* at Solva had almost a hundred members in 205. We know of societies at Celeia with in two cases twenty, in another case at least seventy-two members.¹⁹² All the members of *collegia* of this kind whose names appear on the lists dating to the period around 200 seem to have been free-born, and among these there were some, up till the *constitutio Antoniniana*, who were still without Roman citizenship.¹⁹³ Even the potters, for example, whose names are known from stamps on samian vessels made at the Westerndorf pottery, seem from all appearances to have been neither slaves nor freedmen.¹⁹⁴ This suggests that after the Marcomannic Wars industrial production had been completely taken over by free labour. The same largely applies to other branches of production: very few slaves and freedmen are known in Noricum from the late second and third centuries, in contrast to the great number of *servi* and *liberti* epigraphically recorded in the earlier period.¹⁹⁵ Only in the area round Juvavum and Ovilava is the number of known slaves only a little fewer than previously (Fig. 18, p. 130), but a proportion of these were *vilici* and *actores*, who must be regarded not as agricultural slave-labourers, but as estate-administrators.¹⁹⁶ In certain other parts of the country, where the volume of epigraphic evidence is more abundant, the differences between the periods before and after the Marcomannic

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Wars are quite remarkable (ignoring the fact that the dating of a number of inscriptions may be in some doubt),¹⁹⁷ as Table 6 shows.

There was of course a general decline in the quantity of epigraphic material of all kinds in Noricum after the Marcomannic Wars, but certainly not to the extent that the number of inscriptions mentioning slaves and freedmen would be seriously reduced.¹⁹⁸ One may not explain the almost total disappearance of

TABLE 6 *Servi and liberti mentioned in inscriptions*

Area	Number of examples c. A.D. 50–180		Number of examples c. A.D. 180–300	
	<i>servi</i>	<i>liberti</i>	<i>servi</i>	<i>liberti</i>
Celeia	7	16		2
Neighbourhood of Celeia	5	8		
Solva		14		
Neighbourhood of Solva	4	16		
Virunum	14	36	3	4
Neighbourhood of Virunum	19	18		2
Central Noricum	9	26		

inscriptions naming *servi* and *liberti* by arguing that these classes no longer had the money to set up inscriptions in the third century, for even during the earlier period it was mainly on inscriptions of their masters and patrons that they were named. This could easily have happened later on as well. It must therefore be considered likely that during the second half of the second century and during the third century slavery was reduced very greatly indeed in Noricum—not merely in industry but in other sectors of the economy as well. Not a single slave is recorded after the time of Marcus or Commodus either in the agricultural areas of eastern and south-eastern Noricum or in the mining-districts of central Noricum. It may be that it was principally freeborn tenants or hired hands who provided the work-force in agriculture and mining. On the great estates of north-eastern Noricum one might even postulate that the colonate system began to grow up, but as yet there is no direct evidence for this.

The gradual decline of slavery was a general phenomenon during the Roman empire. Various reasons have been put forward to explain it—principally that

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slave-labour did not bring in much profit; and, further, that after the wars of conquest came to an end it became increasingly difficult to find new supplies of slaves. However, this hardly seems an adequate explanation for the situation in Noricum. As has been pointed out earlier, slaves during the first two centuries A.D. were pretty regularly given their freedom here after a definite period. Hence the slave must have had an interest in his work and his services can hardly have been unprofitable. Besides, in Noricum slaves were not prisoners of war, but for the most part native Noricans, whose parents were probably in many cases freeborn people who allowed their children to be enslaved. This was not done out of sheer inhumanity: in view of the patriarchal relationship between masters and slaves, it was, rather, a way for poor families to ensure subsistence for their children.¹⁹⁹ The profitability of slave-labour and the sources of new slaves are problems that must have presented themselves in a different way in Noricum. It is probable that farmers or craftsmen, for example, simply could not take the children of other poor men under their *patria potestas* any more in the third century, pay a price for them and then bring these children up for years until they were capable of working. On the other hand poor families may also have been ever less willing to let their children be enslaved. The Norican slaves of the first and second centuries apparently came in most cases from families that did not possess the Roman citizenship. If they were bought by citizens, they themselves later acquired the citizenship as freedmen; and even if it was often only Latin rights and not full citizenship it was still an advance up the social ladder. However, by the second half of the second century most Norican families already possessed the citizenship, and from the time of Caracalla apparently all did. Whereas the enslavement of a *peregrinus* could carry with it the eventual possibility of social advancement, the enslavement of a Roman citizen meant a lowering of status that people would hardly have been willing to tolerate. Besides, in the third century even the sons of the lowest and poorest families had a way out—if they reached manhood, they could enrol in the army: soldiers were more and more badly needed for II Italica and for the auxiliary units on the Norican *limes*, to replace the losses which constantly mounted during this period. Here the sons of poor or impoverished families could get their keep, their pay and the chances of promotion. There were probably many families in the third century that placed their sons at the disposal of the recruiting officers as early as possible; the majority of the Norican-born soldiers of the third century for whom one may establish their age at enrolment joined up before they were twenty (normally between sixteen and nineteen), and none of the known *equites singulares Augusti* of Norican origin entered the service later than in their nineteenth year.²⁰⁰

The gradual changes in the Norican class-structure, the impoverishment of the urban bourgeoisie and the decline of numerous families that had once held a prominent position, the collapse of the urban middle class, principally composed of craftsmen and merchants, the growing poverty of the peasantry and the almost total disappearance of slavery, all these factors show that the general crisis of Roman society in the third century A.D. made an impact in Noricum no less than elsewhere. Under Commodus and the Severi only the first hints of the great social changes to come were apparent and Norican society at the time kept free from any crisis; but the decline was the more rapid thereafter, hastened considerably by the barbarian invasions. Only a few land-owning families, and the military, found themselves in an economic and social position that was at least relatively favourable. The broad masses of the population in the towns and on the land were poor. It was only in the protected mountain zone, near the great mines, that life may have undergone fewer changes. However, there does not seem to have been social unrest, either in the shape of banditry (*latrones*) or of any other kind—or at least we do not know of any unrest of this type in the third century.²⁰¹ The Norican *hostes publici* of the year 196 will not of course have been social revolutionaries but political enemies of Septimius Severus. The fact that the population remained calm even in the most difficult times of the third century (so far as we know) is of course scarcely to be explained by a strongly pronounced feeling of patriotic loyalty. It was rather that there were no densely packed masses of people, since the towns were small; and besides, the provincial garrisons were large enough to forestall any large-scale revolts by the civilian population.

Spiritual and intellectual changes

The century following the Marcomannic Wars brought spiritual and intellectual changes as well to Noricum. These were, of course, by no means necessarily caused directly by the developing economic and social crisis, yet they were not totally unaffected by it either. The further progress of romanisation was affected the least by the economic and social—and political—developments; especially the continuing spread of the Latin language. This spread was above all a natural consequence of the ever more permanent and long-lasting Roman rule, though it may have been to some extent accelerated on account of the third-century situation, for many inhabitants of non-urbanised areas, and even the lowest classes, now served in the army and could learn Latin there. Whereas during the Flavian and Antonine periods one-third of the *cognomina* recorded in Noricum were of native type, the proportion of native *cognomina* after the Marcomannic

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Wars, taking the country as a whole, had sunk to 10 per cent or less (Table 4, p. 136). Even in the once backward central Norican mountain zone the proportion of non-indigenous *cognomina* rose from 56 to 92.5 per cent. Even if these figures only reflect changes in the epigraphically recorded nomenclature, they at least make clear the developing tendencies in selection of names, and there can be no doubt that the movement was the result of a further spread in the use of Latin.

Art was certainly affected more seriously than linguistic development by the general situation after the Marcomannic Wars. The decline of industry and the loosening of relations with Italy had important consequences. Artistic activity was sharply reduced; at the same time, in the plastic arts at least, influences from the south declined and the provincial character of the work became more pronounced than hitherto.²⁰² There were also changes in religious life. The old cults, and even the native ones, by no means went out of existence, of course; even the African Church Father Tertullian was aware at the beginning of the third century that the native god Belenus was still much worshipped in Noricum,²⁰³ and Norican votive inscriptions, which no doubt mainly for economic reasons were discontinued more or less completely around the middle of the third century, frequently mention the names of native deities at least up till this period.²⁰⁴ However, a kind of religious uncertainty is indicated by the fact that, as in other areas of the empire, men often turned not to a single deity as before, but to several or even to 'all the gods'.²⁰⁵ At the same time, in the third century more care was taken than previously to fulfil the religious—and political—duty of paying homage to the emperor: dedications for the welfare of the ruler or to the ruler himself suddenly begin to appear in large numbers after the Marcomannic Wars, set up by individuals, corporate bodies or communities (Pl. 24).²⁰⁶

A noteworthy phenomenon, finally, is the wide spread of oriental cults. Isis, identified with Noreia, was of course already honoured in Noricum during the earlier period,²⁰⁷ as was Mater Magna, whose figure was likewise not sharply distinguished from that of Noreia.²⁰⁸ None the less the Egyptian cults at least do seem to have gained a firmer foothold after the Marcomannic Wars, mainly in the area north of the Alps,²⁰⁹ and other oriental cults, especially of Jupiter Dolichenus and Mithras, first spread widely in Noricum from the second half of the second century.²¹⁰ This religious development was of course a general phenomenon in the Roman west, and began independently of the economic and social crisis: in most parts of the empire it began much earlier than the crisis. However, it was considerably accelerated by the ever more difficult position that the empire was in from the time of Marcus Aurelius onwards. It is impossible to separate the strong spread of the cults of Dolichenus and Mithras in Noricum after the Marcomannic Wars from the growing uncertainty of life and the

deeper religious demands—which may have arisen not least because of this uncertainty.

It was mainly eastern traders, and soldiers, who spread the cult of Jupiter of Doliche in Noricum: the soldiers themselves were in some cases of eastern origin, while others had served with Norican forces on eastern expeditions.²¹¹ The cult flourished in Noricum, as in most other parts of the empire, particularly under Commodus and the Severi. Virunum seems to have been its most important centre in southern Noricum: a shrine of Dolichenus was erected on the northern edge of the town in 189.²¹² It may have been from here that the cult spread out to the Lamprechtskogel area²¹³ (Pl. 54) whereas it was apparently brought to Feldkirchen by men seconded there from the Norican army.²¹⁴ The cult probably found larger numbers of devotees north of the Alps, where there is evidence for it in towns such as Juvavum, Ovilava and Lauriacum²¹⁵ as well as in military contexts. At Windischgarsten on the 'Norican main highway', where there was evidently a *beneficiarius*-post, the cult may have become entrenched through the soldiers,²¹⁶ as at the fort of Traismauer.²¹⁷ At Mauer an der Url, where the repository of a temple of Dolichenus was hidden in the ground near the fort c. A.D. 235, soldiers were certainly numbered among the god's adherents.²¹⁸

The cult of Mithras was even more widely diffused in Noricum than that of Dolichenus²¹⁹ (Fig. 33). The slave-employees of the customs-post at Atrians had made the god their own by the mid-second century;²²⁰ apart from these slaves it was in the main easterners and soldiers, once again, who helped to spread the cult. In contrast to those of Dolichenus, the worshippers of the Iranian sun-god left many monuments of their devotion in southern Noricum as well. At Celeia and in the surrounding area several shrines are known or postulated, in addition to the one at Atrians;²²¹ likewise in the area round Solva;²²² apparently the great majority of Mithraic monuments from this area belong to the third century. There was at least one Mithraeum at Virunum (Pl. 53), probably founded as early as the second century, and rebuilt at the beginning of the fourth;²²³ there may have been others in the area round the town.²²⁴ These shrines were not lacking in the mining area either,²²⁵ or at Teurnia and Aguntum.²²⁶ It was probably the wealthy L. Albius Atticus from Teurnia, himself responsible for the fitting out of a Mithraeum at this town, who spread the cult to Moosham in the Lungau, where a temple of Mithras was built at the end of the second century.²²⁷ In the third century the cult is attested in several places north of the Alps: at Höglwörth in the Juvavum area, at Oberrohr and Schachadorf near Ovilava,²²⁸ as well as at Lentia, Lauriacum and St Andrä near Tulln among military sites.²²⁹

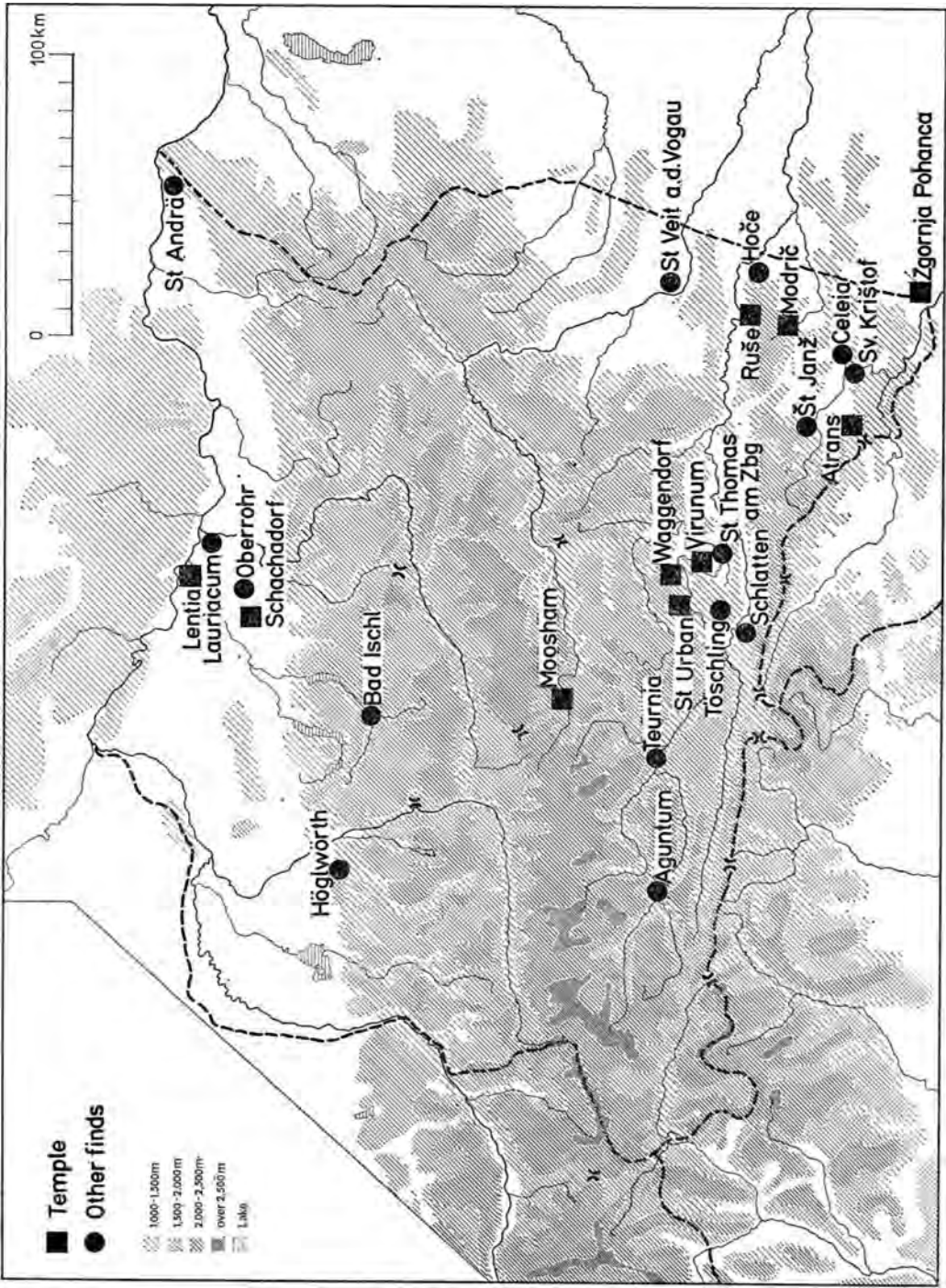


Figure 33 Mithraic communities and monuments in Noricum

It would be mistaken to try to see in the spread of these cults evidence for an ideological crisis, deriving from the economic, social and political crisis. The cults were already flourishing in Noricum before the general situation in this province deteriorated. At the same time, however, it was precisely the eastern mystery-religions that were so well adapted to restore confidence and provide an escape when living conditions were new and difficult: their theological content, their moral teachings and their colourful liturgy accorded with the growing religious demands of the period. The cult of Isis at least, and, above all, that of Mithras, may have become extremely popular in the particularly critical times after the middle of the third century, and offered a rivalry to a new religious movement that had already appeared in Noricum in the second half of that century: Christianity.

Chapter 11

From Diocletian to Honorius

A new era began in Noricum with the reign of Diocletian, which brought about changes no less important than those that had resulted from the annexation itself, or from the reforms of Claudius or the Marcomannic Wars. The iron hand with which the great emperor ruled, building to some extent on the policies that his predecessors had already attempted to introduce, enabled him to bring the political and military crisis of the empire to an end and, at least in part, to overcome the economic crisis. Noricum too benefited from the new regime's measures. A general stabilisation of the situation was achieved, and the province was able to enjoy the fruits of this relatively undisturbed up till the end of the fourth century. But this stabilisation was made possible only by radical reforms, which profoundly altered the whole structure of the province. Under Diocletian and his successor Constantine the administration and the garrison were as drastically transformed in Noricum as anywhere in the empire, and the economy and society of the country did not remain unaffected. It is true that we know comparatively little about the social and economic history of Noricum under the late empire, mainly because the supply of epigraphic evidence almost completely dries up. But this much at least is clear: the province's last period of economic prosperity began under Diocletian. It was only in the sphere of his religious policy that this emperor failed to anticipate the verdict of posterity. But in spite of his bloody persecution of the church, which had its martyrs in Noricum too, Christianity's path to victory could no longer be obstructed. During the fourth century it gradually permeated the whole of Noricum.

The administration

In the course of the sweeping Diocletianic reforms of the imperial administration, Noricum was divided into two provinces. The northern part of the former province, with its main centres at Lauriacum and Ovilava, became Noricum Ripense; the southern division, with the old capital Virunum, was given the name Noricum Mediterraneum.¹ The new arrangements were already in effect by A.D. 304–5, for Aquilinus, who was active at Lauriacum at that time, held the position of governor of Noricum Ripense.² Apart from this, the earliest recorded *dux* of the northern province dates to the year 310 or shortly afterwards, and the first *praeses* of Noricum Mediterraneum is found in A.D. 311.³ As the new names show, Noricum was not divided ‘vertically’ from north to south, as was the case with Raetia, but ‘horizontally’—clearly because the chain of the Alps running across from west to east provided a natural geographical division. This natural barrier had indeed already led to the splitting up of the provincial administration in certain fields. Shortly after the end of the Marcomannic Wars a number of officials had been transferred to Ovilava,⁴ while by the mid-third century the posting-service was also divided: southern Noricum was administered jointly with Transpadane Italy, and what later became Noricum Ripense was run separately, probably as part of a zone that included the adjacent sectors of the *limes*.⁵ The boundary between the two new Norican provinces ran either along the crest of the Tauern, or, if the upper Enns valley and the Bad Ischl area belonged to the central Noricum imperial estates, more probably along the Hohe Tauern, the Salzkammergut and the Styrian and Lower Austrian Alps.

During the late empire the frontiers of the Norican provinces were adjusted in several places. The narrow strip of land on the left side of the Inn was probably transferred to Raetia Secunda, for a unit of the Raetian army is recorded in garrison at Pons Aeni.⁶ In the south-east, Poetovio and the surrounding area were added to Noricum Mediterraneum, a measure which may have already taken effect as part of the Diocletianic reorganisation.⁷ The term *civitas Noricum* which was used in the fifth and sixth centuries probably referred to this region, together with Celeia and the area surrounding the town. Thus a surviving rump of the old southern province remained over which the East Roman empire claimed certain rights.⁸ But, by contrast, it is completely uncertain whether in the north-east Klosterneuburg was detached from Pannonia Prima and added to Noricum Ripense, as has been argued.⁹ This view is only based on the fact that the *Notitia* lists the fort of Cannabiaca under Noricum. The Norican forts are given by the *Notitia* in an idiosyncratic fashion: the individual garrisons are listed according to the type of unit (cavalry regiments, detachments of legions,

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fleets, infantry cohorts) in a west to east order, i.e. down the Danube, and, in the last place among the cohort-forts, after Astura (Zeiselmayer), comes Cannabiaca.¹⁰ Although it is true that there was no other fort between Astura and the old Norican-Pannonian frontier to the east of it, and that the next fort in this direction was indeed Klosterneuburg, which had been in Pannonia, the identification of Klosterneuburg with Cannabiaca is by no means certain. Even the biography of St Severinus records that the saint, coming from Pannonia shortly after A.D. 460, first of all visited Astura, *in vicinia Norici Ripensis et Pannoniorum*.¹¹ It may be that the *Notitia* diverged from its usual geographical basis in the case of Cannabiaca.¹² It is possible that it is in fact the fort of Zwentendorf, west of Astura; Piro Torto on the Peutinger Table is not necessarily Zwentendorf but, rather, a road-station south of it.¹³ All the same, the identification of Cannabiaca with Mauer an der Url is perhaps more plausible: there too is a late Roman site for which no other name in the *Notitia* is available. Besides this, it is very possible that the reason why Cannabiaca comes in the last place of all in this section of the *Notitia* is because it lay in the interior and not on the Danube—and of all the Norican forts, apart from Bedaium (Seebuck), this applies only to Mauer an der Url.¹⁴

The two new provinces were given separate administrations,¹⁵ although both formed part of the Diocese of Illyricum, where from the time of Constantine I onwards the *praefectus praetorio Illyrici* was at the head of the civil administration and the *magister militum per Illyricum* was the army Commander-in-Chief. The administration of economic affairs, about which very little is known, was, to some extent at least, carried out jointly for both provinces. From the time of Constantine the man primarily responsible was the *rationalis summarum Pannoniae Primae, Valeriae, Norici Mediterranei et Ripensis*.¹⁶

In the northern province there were both a head of the civil administration and an army commander. At first, to be sure, civil and military authority was still concentrated in the hands of a single person. This is shown by the fact that Aquilinus, *praeses* of Noricum Ripense, was, as far as can be seen, filling both the governor's role as chief justice and the position of army commander: as governor of the province he sentenced to death Florianus, his *princeps officii*, who was a Christian¹⁷—but his seat of administration was at Lauriacum, which was at the same time the army command headquarters of Noricum Ripense.¹⁸ But after the reign of Diocletian the civil and military powers were finally divorced in this province. The duties of the *praeses Norici Ripensis* were confined to the civil administration;¹⁹ he resided at Ovilava, where an *officium* was at his disposal. Command over the army of the province was now entrusted to a general of equestrian status. The earliest known of these is one Aurelius Senecio, who bore

the title *vir perfectissimus dux* and was possibly a native Norican; shortly after some victory in 310 he had a temple to the goddess Victoria built at Bedaïum on the Chiemsee.²⁰ From Constantine's reign at latest the troops in Noricum Ripense and in its neighbour to the east, Pannonia Prima, were placed under a single command. This was apparently because barbarian pressure on the sector of the Danubian *limes* between the mouth of the Inn and the Brigetio area, and, above all, on the Wienerwald together with the Tullnerfeld and Vienna Basin, made unified military leadership essential. The general to whom this command was given carried the rank of *vir spectabilis* and the title *dux Pannoniae Primae et Norici Ripensis*;²¹ his headquarters were at Carnuntum in Pannonia Prima. The *Notitia* also lists the members of his *officium*—there was a complete staff of junior officials from *numerarius* to *singulares et reliqui officiales*, headed by a *princeps officii*.²²

By contrast, there were no large military units at all in Noricum Mediterraneum in the fourth century. At most, individual soldiers from the army of Noricum Ripense may have been seconded here for administrative duties, as before; thus for instance we know of a *speculator* of the Legio I Noricorum, which was raised under Diocletian, at Virunum, where he made a dedication to the Sun god.²³ The governor of the province, whose residence up till about the year 400 was at Virunum, had the rank of *vir perfectissimus*: one such was Aurelius Hermodorus, who in 311 had restored a temple of Mithras which had been 'deserted for more than fifty years'.²⁴ Other governors of the southern province in the first half of the fourth century are known from inscriptions at Solva and Celeia. They probably visited these towns on tours of inspection, and while there made dedications in honour of the reigning emperor.²⁵ The urban communities and, probably, even the provincial council as well, also had the duty of doing this—the council of the province evidently met frequently at Celeia, and not merely at Virunum²⁶ (Pl. 55).

The Norican limes from Diocletian to Honorius (see general map)

The Norican army was completely reorganised under Diocletian and Constantine. The *Notitia* shows what its composition was at the end of the fourth century,²⁷ and the units there listed may well have been uninterruptedly in existence, for the most part, since the time of Constantine I. According to the *Notitia*, there were six cavalry units, forming the élite of the late Roman army of Noricum: two detachments each of *equites promoti*, *equites sagittarii* and *equites Dalmatae*. Apart from this, there were two legions, II Italica and I Noricorum, newly formed under Diocletian;²⁸ both consisted of infantry units and naval detachments, and elements drawn from them were stationed at several points

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along the Norican *limes*. Then, in addition, there were further fleet-detachments and three infantry cohorts. Thus the late Roman army in Noricum consisted of units that had existed in the pre-Diocletianic period (II Italica), units formed under Diocletian (I Noricorum) and of later, Constantinian, creations (such as the *promoti*). According to the *Notitia* they were disposed along the *limes* as follows:

Boiodurum (Passau-Innstadt)	infantry cohort under a tribune
Joviacum (Schlögen)	fleet-detachment from II Italica under a prefect
Ad Mauros (Eferding)	<i>equites promoti</i>
Lentia (Linz)	<i>equites sagittarii</i> and a detachment of II Italica under a prefect
Lauriacum (Enns-Lorch)	II Italica under a prefect and the <i>classis Lauriacensis</i> under a prefect
Lacus Felix (Wallsee, or perhaps Ardagger Markt)	<i>equites sagittarii</i>
Ad Juvense (Ybbs)	fleet-detachment from I Noricorum under a prefect
Arelape (Pöchlarn)	<i>equites Dalmatae</i> and a fleet-detachment under a prefect
Faviana (Mautern)	fleet-detachment of I Noricorum under a prefect
Augustiana (Traismauer)	<i>equites Dalmatae</i>
Commagena (Tulln)	<i>equites promoti</i> and a fleet-detachment under a prefect
Astura (Zeiselmauer)	infantry cohort under a tribune
Cannabiaca (probably Mauer an der Url or perhaps Zwentendorf: hardly Klosterneuburg)	infantry cohort under a tribune

This late order of battle has itself preserved many traces of the earlier distribution of units. Thus Boiodurum and Astura already housed infantry cohorts in the pre-Diocletianic period, while Lentia, Augustiana and Commagena had cavalry garrisons before Diocletian as well as after.²⁹ All the same, the military dispositions of the late period do in the main reflect new strategic considerations. There were no points of special concentration on any sector of the front—neither on the east flank between Mautern and Zeiselmauer as was the case

before the reign of Marcus Aurelius, nor on the west flank between Boiodurum and Lauriacum as happened after the Marcomannic Wars. The troops were now stationed all along the *limes* at more or less uniform strength; only the sectors like the Strudengau and the Wachau, that were protected to begin with by their geographical position, remained without garrison. At least in cavalry and naval strength the three sectors of the front (west flank, centre—from Wallsee to Pöchlarn—and east flank) were equally balanced with two units of each arm; otherwise, the west flank and perhaps the east also were stronger than the centre but only to the extent that they had a few more infantry units—and in any case enemy attacks were less to be feared in the central sector. The widespread distribution of separate detachments drawn from the legions and the fleet likewise marked a profound break with earlier defensive concepts. The Roman government of the late empire clearly aimed to fortify the Norican *limes* in approximately equal strength at all vulnerable points. If war should break out, troops could be moved and concentrated wherever the situation demanded. This was not, however, the concern of the frontier forces, *limitanei*, of the Norican army which have been described above. It was, rather, the field army, created in the fourth century, the *comitatenses*, which dealt with emergencies in this way: units of this kind would be despatched to Noricum on the outbreak of hostilities, as under Constantine I were the *eq(uites) Dalm(atae) Aquesiani comit(atenses)* named on an inscription at Bedaïum which was set up after a victory gained on 27 June 310.³⁰

Epigraphic and archaeological evidence permits considerable amplification of the picture of the fourth-century Roman army in Noricum obtainable from the *Notitia*. At Bedaïum (Seebruck) there was a late Roman fort belonging to the province of Noricum Ripense.³¹ It lies east of Pons Aeni, where there was likewise a fourth-century garrison (which formed part of the Raetian army).³² The stationing of troops at these two places may have been the result of the lesson taught by the great barbarian incursions of the third century which, passing unopposed over the Vindelician plain, had on several occasions caused serious damage in the Inn valley and north-western Noricum. A building inscription of 370 at Ybbs mentions *milites auxiliares Lauriacenses*, who were constructing a *burgus* there at the time;³³ this formation must be distinguished from the unit attested for Lauriacum in the *Notitia*.³⁴ But other finds support the *Notitia*'s evidence that Ad Juvense (Ybbs) had as its permanent garrison the Legio I Noricorum and the main tilery of this unit was apparently situated there as well.³⁵ By contrast, no further details are known concerning a *numerus* and various *alae* which are recorded on tile-stamps found in considerable quantities in the western sector of the Norican *limes*; at all events, the military tilery

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where the tiles were produced was at Andiesen-Holzleiten on the lower Inn.³⁶

It would appear that Noricum enjoyed a period of relative calm between the Alamannic wars of Diocletian and the end of the fourth century. The only warfare against the barbarians in the fourth century before the reign of Valentinian I, that recorded with some degree of certainty by the inscription at Seebruck of the *dux* Aurelius Senecio and the *equites Dalmatae*, ended with a Roman victory in 310: this gave the *dux* the occasion to have a temple erected at Bedaïum to the *numen* of the goddess Victoria.³⁷ One normally associates hoards of coins or treasure with barbarian invasions, and it is significant that there are scarcely any which can be assigned to a date anywhere within this long period.³⁸ The province did at any rate remain untroubled by major barbarian devastations. On the Danube frontier itself there may have been more frequent hostilities, but of a localised nature. Repeated destruction-layers in the civil town of Lauriacum, between c. 350 and 375, may possibly provide evidence of occurrences of this kind.³⁹ The fact that the Wimsbach villa near Ovilava, which continued in existence until c. 400, had to be protected by a defensive wall (Fig. 15, p. 122) is further proof that life in this area was often dangerous in the fourth century.⁴⁰ None the less, hostile bands were apparently incapable of penetrating into the Norican interior before the end of the century; and until the reign of Honorius the *limes* garrisons continued to receive their pay in regular fashion.⁴¹

Civil wars, by contrast, did frequently affect Noricum. In 351 south-eastern Noricum felt the impact of the struggle between Constantius II and Magnentius; before his defeat in southern Pannonia, Magnentius had been able to inflict a reverse on the emperor's forces at Atrans.⁴² In 354, the Caesar Gallus, stripped of his powers, fled before Constantius to Noricum, and was suppressed there. A hoard from Lauriacum, with terminal coin from this year, was possibly buried by someone disturbed at these events.⁴³ In 361 armies once more marched through the country, when war broke out between Constantius and Julian.⁴⁴ The civil war between Theodosius I and Magnus Maximus seems likewise to have had an effect on Noricum; at any rate another hoard from Lauriacum, with terminal coins from this year, may point in this direction.⁴⁵

The last great reorganisation of the Norican *limes* came about under Valentinian I, c. 370 and during the years that followed, as it did everywhere along the northern frontiers of the empire. Forts were rebuilt and given stronger defences; the clearest cases are the Valentinianic fortifications at Mautern, Zwentendorf and Schlögen.⁴⁶ The building inscription of 370 at Ybbs, already referred to, shows that new watchtowers were being built: in accordance with the *saluber- rima iussio* of the reigning emperors Valentinian, Valens and Gratian, the *comes et*

utriusque (sic) *militiae magister*, Equitius, ordered the construction of a *burgus*, which was carried out by the *auxiliares Lauriacenses*, under their *praepositus*.⁴⁷ Undoubtedly, a whole series of *burgi* will have been constructed at this time as part of the same programme. The large number of tiles stamped with the names of the *dux* Ursicinus and of other generals and units of the Norican army, that have been found at all points on the Norican *limes*, bear witness to the intensity of building activity that must have been taking place.⁴⁸ In the Tulln Basin, at least, this even extended into the territory north of the Danube. Watchtowers with stamped tiles of Valentinianic date are attested at several places there (or may be assumed to be derived from places in the area), for example at Wagram am Wagram, Etsdorf and Zeiselberg.⁴⁹ The sudden marked rise in the circulation of coinage attested everywhere in the Norican *limes* zone, particularly at Lauriacum and Lentia where the material has been carefully studied,⁵⁰ can be associated principally with this building activity, which must certainly have required no little expenditure of money.

After the death of Valentinian the *limes* gradually began to run down. Gratian, who took ship at Lauriacum in the spring of 378, to hurry eastwards along the Danube,⁵¹ probably took with him a number of troops who never returned to Noricum; and from the time of Honorius onwards the soldiers' pay ceased to arrive regularly. Noricum soon became once more the scene of barbarian raids of devastation; its garrisons, reduced in strength, could scarcely continue to offer resistance.

Town and country

The consolidation which took place under Diocletian, and the relative tranquillity which Noricum enjoyed under his successors, permitted one final period of economic prosperity in the country. This lasted until the end of the fourth century, and although the flourishing conditions of Flavian and Antonine times did not reappear, at least any recurrence of the crisis which had caused so many difficulties in Noricum in the middle and later third century was staved off for a century.

Farming was probably able to flourish without major difficulties, even in the extensive fertile agricultural areas of north-western Noricum, which were less threatened by barbarian assault than they had been in the third century. Large-scale land-holding may be assumed to have continued there after Diocletian, as before. Several villas which were the centres of large estates went on until approximately the end of the fourth century, e.g. Wimsbach (Fig. 15) and Heilbrunn.⁵² Others lasted longer still, such as Weyregg on the Attersee, which was

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not destroyed until near the end of the fifth century.⁵³ Work went on as actively as before in the mines and foundries; a forge on the Styrian Erzberg (Erzberg-Feisterwiese) was still in use in 323 or later, on the evidence of a coin from that year found there.⁵⁴ The exploitation of metal played a key part in the manufacture of weapons, which was carried on, for instance, at the arms factory at Lauriacum mentioned in the *Notitia*.⁵⁵ But Norican raw materials may also of course have continued to be exported to the south, as before. At any rate, 'Norican iron' was still an expression which Rutilius Namatianus could use in the early fifth century.⁵⁶ There was no decline in industrial production either. As well as metal-working, which produced not only weapons but also, for example, belt-buckles made by the chip-carving technique,⁵⁷ other branches of craftsmanship began to flourish. The glass industry, for instance, first became really productive precisely in the fourth century, with workshops even in rural districts such as Juenna and Kreisbach near Wilhelmsburg.⁵⁸ Brickworks also prospered, particularly military ones like those at Lauriacum, Ybbs or Andiesen-Holzleiten;⁵⁹ it would seem that they had to supply building-materials, at least for public buildings, even in the towns, such as Ovilava.⁶⁰ The textile industry was also important, working for export and foreign trade as well as for the home market. The edict of Diocletian on maximum prices, which mentions Norican woollen goods, indicates that these were known even in the eastern half of the empire at the beginning of the fourth century, while the *Expositio totius mundi* likewise emphasises that Noricum exported textile goods.⁶¹

A certain degree of prosperity under Diocletian and later in the fourth century is also shown by the fact that more money and a larger labour force were available for building work than was the case during the period of economic crisis in the third century. This applied even to the smaller settlements as well as to the towns. There was a great deal of new building at Virunum under Diocletian and his successors;⁶² it included the restoration in 311 of a Mithraeum that had lain abandoned for more than fifty years, in other words since the time of Gallienus. The reason for the neglect was probably not so much that Mithras had become less popular than before, but that for a considerable time the funds were not available to carry out long-needed reconstruction work.⁶³ The finds from Solva make it clear that there was a certain degree of prosperity there even in the fourth century, while at Aguntum too some building work was done.⁶⁴ Juvavum could now be rebuilt after the destructions it had undergone in the second half of the third century,⁶⁵ as happened also at Lauriacum, where rebuilding was carried out in the civil town under Diocletian, Constantine and his sons; and again, after further destruction under Valentinian I and later, in the last decades of the century as well.⁶⁶ At the end of the third century, too, large-scale building had

been undertaken in the *vici* of auxiliary forts, for instance in the temple quarter at Lentia, where a new Mithraeum appeared at this time.⁶⁷

Major construction work for military purposes (for example the costly fortifications under Valentinian I) could, no doubt, only be paid for out of government funds—although, one may be sure, not before the maximum possible had been squeezed out of the taxpayers. Indeed, even in the towns extensive building programmes had to be financed by public money. Probably subsidies were provided by the imperial regime from time to time; this was certainly so under Diocletian and Maximian, who initiated building at Virunum. Where the evidence indicates that the provincial administration authorised the work, the costs may have been borne by the provincial treasury or by that of the town. Examples are at Virunum in 311, where the governor of southern Noricum ‘had the Mithraeum rebuilt’ (*restitui fecit*), or at Bedaium at about the same time, where the *dux* of Noricum Ripense ordered the construction of a temple of Victoria (*feri iussit*).⁶⁸ There were probably scarcely any rich private individuals who could underwrite the costs of a temple or other public buildings and works. None the less, the financial situation of the population of Noricum may have been, on average, better in the fourth century than in the critical decades of the middle and later third century. Under the first Tetrarchy and in the reigns of Constantine I and his sons the volume of money in circulation was back to normal all over Noricum, even in the areas where the coinage had almost disappeared from use in the third century. In south-eastern Bavaria, for example, where there was virtually no coinage in circulation in the last decades before Diocletian, the situation was regularised again, and remained so until *c.* 360.⁶⁹ Several rich tombs and burial-grounds where rich grave-goods have been found⁷⁰ show that at least some elements in the population in both town and country enjoyed relatively favourable conditions in the fourth century.

We have scarcely any detailed information on the social structure of fourth-century Noricum. The propertied classes were certainly less numerous than they had been in Flavian and Antonine times. The limited upper class of wealthy men may have been composed largely of land-owners, as was already the case in the third century; at all events the villa-owners of the Juvavum and Ovilava areas certainly belonged to it. It was probably to a large extent rich land-owners of this type who were able to take on the costly duties of office-holding in the towns—men like a *laudabilis vir* recorded at Teurnia, in the first half of the fourth century.⁷¹ Otherwise, the path to social advancement lay, as before, in military service. Soldiers could even afford to have tombstones with verse inscriptions made for themselves and their dependants (as was the case with one Flavius Januarius at Ovilava, who set one up to his wife, a Christian),⁷² or to have

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statues of themselves put up.⁷³ As coin-finds at Lauriacum, Lentia and other *limes*-forts show, their pay was still coming in regularly under Valentinian I and his immediate successors, at a time when the circulation of money was already on the wane once more among the civilian population (for instance in south-eastern Bavaria), as had happened before Diocletian.⁷⁴ The broad mass of the civil population was scarcely prosperous, either in the towns or among the rural peasantry. Nor were the Christians well-off in the fourth century—not even the churches as corporate bodies. Out of the scanty examples of Christian tombs of this period only that of Herodiana from Virunum, with a relief of the Good Shepherd, is of superior quality.⁷⁵ Likewise, richly adorned places of worship are unknown in fourth-century Noricum. Most of the churches here were built after the beginning of the fifth century; before then the only Christian shrines will have been of a modest kind. It was only in the fifth century that the Norican church achieved a certain prosperity.

The spread of Christianity (Fig. 34)

The success of Christianity in gaining a firm foothold in Noricum was the most important development in the spiritual and intellectual life of the province in the fourth century. Before 300 there can scarcely have been any Christian communities in the province worthy of mention. The medieval legends, which maintained that the evangelists Mark and Luke had brought the faith into the Norican part of the Danube lands,⁷⁶ are of course totally lacking in foundation. It was probably a long time before the church was able to gain its first adherents in the area: the population's obstinate loyalty to the old native cults, the popularity of certain oriental religions and, not least, the absence of densely inhabited urban areas, were not favourable conditions for the spread of Christianity. Small Christian communities may only have begun to develop for the first time during the critical years in the later third century and were probably founded, in most cases, by missionaries from Aquileia: that city was to exert a decisive influence on Norican Christianity at a later period too.⁷⁷

The first certain trace of Christianity in Noricum comes from the period of the Diocletianic or 'Great' persecution. As R. Noll has shown, the *Passio beatissimi Floriani martyris Christi* is a largely reliable source, and the evidence it provides for the persecution in Noricum is to be regarded as genuine.⁷⁸ According to the *Passio*, the *praeses* of Noricum Ripense, Aquilinus, instigated an energetic hunt for Christians in the *castrum Lauriacense* in about the year 304, as instructed by the anti-Christian imperial edict (*sacrilegorum principum praeceptio*). Forty *sancti* were arrested, including Florianus the *princeps officii* who was residing at Cetium. His

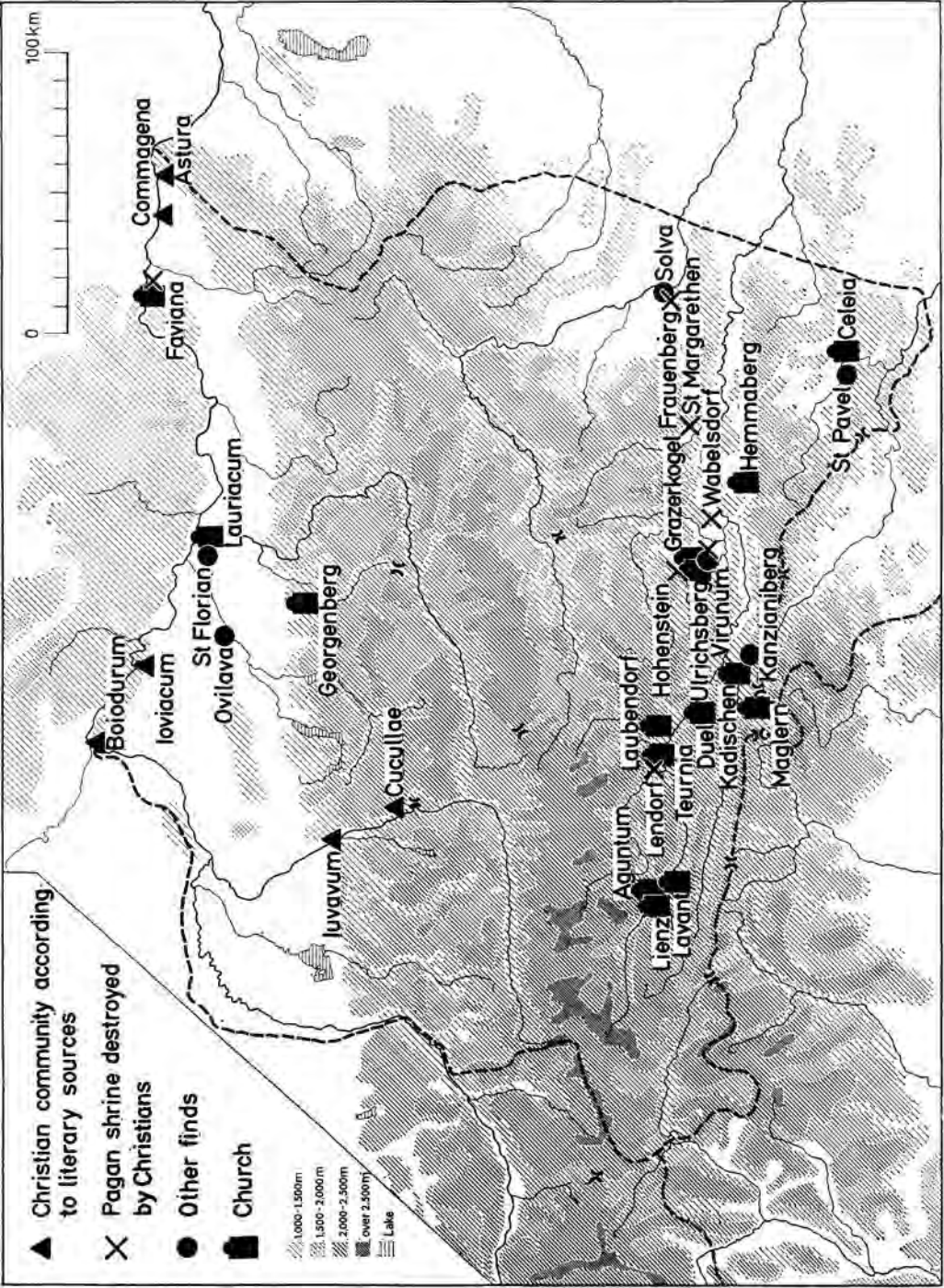


Figure 34 Christian communities and monuments in Noricum

From Diocletian to Honorius

steadfast demeanour caused Aquilinus to have him executed.⁷⁹ Thus there were already Christians at both Lauriacum and Cetium at this time, and, no doubt, in other Norican towns as well—but they were still not very numerous and there will have been very few indeed among them from the upper ranks of society, like Florianus. Under Diocletian and his immediate successors the official state religion was promoted strongly by the authorities (probably not without some success, to judge from the dedication of temples to Mithras and Victory at Virunum and Bedaium respectively *c.* 311).⁸⁰ It was only under Constantine and during the decades that followed his death that Christianity was able to attract large numbers of adherents in Noricum.

Under Constantine the Norican church began to organise itself on a regular basis, and in conjunction with this a very vigorous evangelising activity probably began. In 343 there were already Norican bishops: several of them, non-Arians, i.e. orthodox, participated in the council of Serdica in that year.⁸¹ The exact number is unfortunately not recorded, and there remains some doubt about the details of the episcopal organisation even for the fifth and sixth centuries. There were, at all events, bishoprics of Celeia, Virunum, Teurnia, Aguntum and Lauriacum;⁸² Juenna may also have had a bishop, temporarily at least, in late antiquity.⁸³ These dioceses all belonged to the archiepiscopal province of Aquileia.

But by the end of the fourth century Christianity had still not won a decisive victory in Noricum in spite of the establishment of these sees. There is only a limited quantity of Christian monuments from this century, including some tombstones, for example from Ovilava and Virunum, and a few churches—the earliest of which are the one lying below the Laurenzikirche at Lauriacum, dating to the second half of the fourth century, and that at Aguntum (Fig. 40) which may go back to the end of the fourth century.⁸⁴ There were, no doubt, already Christian communities in places where churches were later to be built, shortly after 400, for example at Celeia, Teurnia and elsewhere—but paganism was by no means dead. To judge from the evidence of coin-finds, pagan shrines were still being frequented, the Dolichenum at Virunum up till *c.* 370, and two others later still: these were the temple of Mars at Lendorf (Fig. 35) near Teurnia (*c.* 380) and that of Mars Latobius at St Margarethen (Fig. 20) in the Lavant valley (until shortly after 395).⁸⁵

The ideological struggle between Christianity and paganism in fourth-century Noricum came into the open at the end of the century, when it took a violent turn—and it was only then that Christianity ‘triumphed’. The statues of the gods in the Virunum baths-quarter had probably already been destroyed by Christian fanatics⁸⁶ (Plates 37–42), but otherwise there were few open clashes between the

adherents of the old and the new religions until about the time of Gratian. However, during the last two decades or so of the fourth century Christian 'idol-wreckers' here, as in other parts of the empire, went to work with energetic and evidently well organised enthusiasm. In some cases the pagans succeeded in bringing the rich treasures of their shrines to a place of concealment and thus in preserving them from the fury of the fanatical Christian mobs, as for example on the Magdalensberg, where the bronze statue of Mars that had stood there since republican times may have been deliberately buried in the ground by pagans.⁸⁷ But mostly the Christians destroyed the pagan shrines at this time, smashing and burying their contents. This was to be the fate of the temple of Mars at Lendorf, of the shrine of Noreia at Hohenstein, of the Dolichenum at Virunum, of the shrine of the Genius cucullatus at Wabelsdorf, of the temple of Mars Latobius in the lower Lavant valley, and of the shrine of Isis Noreia on the Frauenberg near Solva (Fig. 34). There will certainly have been many other holy places which met the same end.⁸⁸

Only a very small number of pagan places of worship seem to have survived these waves of destruction. The temple of Isis Noreia on the Ulrichsberg was perhaps unscathed and, it would seem, was not destroyed until the end of the

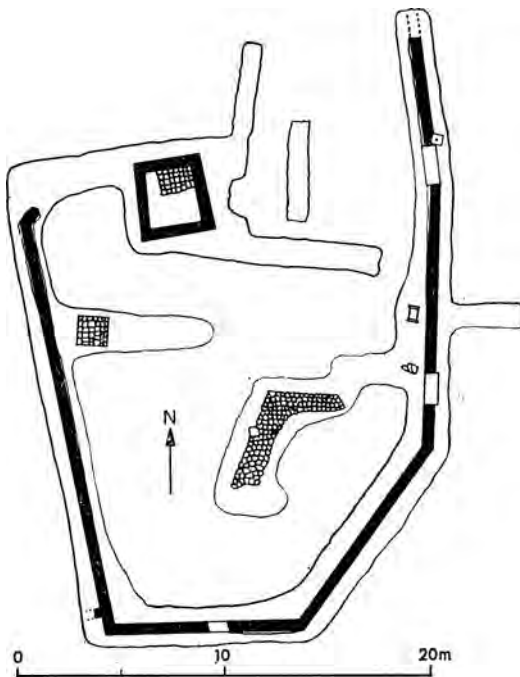


Figure 35 Sanctuary at Lendorf near Teurnia

From Diocletian to Honorius

fifth century.⁸⁹ But in the towns at least, Christianity's victory was more or less complete by the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries; pagan cults could only continue in out of the way places and in secret. In spite of this, they did survive in the countryside as late as the second half of the fifth century: St Severinus had to lead a struggle at that time, in the area of Cucullae (Kuchl), south of Salzburg, against 'part of the population' which was still devoted to pagan rites, the *nefanda sacrificia*, long prohibited and officially shunned.⁹⁰

Chapter 12

The decline of Roman rule

Noricum in the fifth century and the work of St Severinus

The beginning of the fifth century marked the opening of a new epoch for Noricum. It led not only to wars, devastation and suffering—as had the crisis of the third century—but to the gradual collapse of Roman rule in the east Alpine lands.¹ The Danubian frontier could no longer be successfully defended. About the year 400 the garrisons of the Norican *limes* ceased to receive regular pay, and normal monetary circulation alike in the Danubian forts and at many settlements in the interior such as Ovilava and Hallstatt came to an end.² Only at Lauriacum did a relatively large quantity of coins of a later date continue to come into use, but even this probably no longer now represents the annual pay-issues.³ As the biographer of St Severinus aptly commented a hundred years later, the cessation of military pay gradually led to the dissolution of the regular army units and to the collapse of the *limes*.⁴ This was, to be sure, a long process, and the details are largely unknown. From time to time attempts were made to halt the downward trend. We hear for example of a certain Generidus, who held a unified command over western Pannonia, Noricum and Raetia, *c.* 409; but in spite of this one may no longer speak of organised resistance by the authorities of the western empire on the Norican *limes*.⁵ At the time of St Severinus there were no longer any units in garrison on the Danubian *limes* in Noricum and the population had to depend largely on its own efforts.

It became less and less frequently possible to oppose the barbarians with regular military forces, and plundering bands could soon thrust unopposed through Noricum. In 405 Radagaisus and his hordes overran at least part of the

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country: evidently they entered Italy through western Pannonia and south-eastern Noricum.⁶ Two years later, Alaric and the Visigoths occupied large tracts of Noricum and invited the emperor Honorius officially to hand over the land to his people, a request which he justified with the statement that Noricum was scarcely paying any more taxes to Rome in any case.⁷ After the departure of the Visigoths from Noricum to press on further afield, the country may have enjoyed relatively stable conditions again for some four decades. The writ of the western emperor must, at all events, have officially run here; in the years 430 and 431 Aëtius had to suppress disturbances in Noricum by armed force, disturbances which probably originated among the provincial population itself and not, for example, among groups of barbarians settled there.⁸ In 451 the Huns and their allies poured through Noricum on their way to Gaul, and with this began a series of barbarian blows that was to have no end. Two years later, after Attila's death, an extensive movement of Germanic peoples was set in train in the Danubian basin—tribes which had been forcibly included in Attila's empire and were now reasserting their independence.⁹ As part of this movement of peoples the Germanic Rugii succeeded in establishing themselves in the zone beyond the north-eastern *limes* of Noricum. They forced Faviana and other settlements on the opposite bank of the Danube to pay them tribute and made their influence felt as far as north-western Noricum.¹⁰ After St Severinus' arrival in Noricum shortly after 460, further dangers appeared, and in 488, after repeated barbarian onslaughts, the whole of northern Noricum had to be abandoned.

The barbarian attacks resulted in the destruction of the unprotected Norican settlements that lay in their path; they were never rebuilt. Most of the villas came to an end at the beginning of the fifth century at the latest. Even Ovilava, given defences under Caracalla, completely lost its importance in the fifth century. In the time of St Severinus Lauriacum was the main centre in Noricum Ripense, and it had already had to suffer repeated devastation before Severinus' arrival.¹¹ In the southern province two towns that had earlier been flourishing were already completely in ruins before the end of the first decade of the century, namely Solva, probably destroyed during Radagaisus' march in 405,¹² and Aguntum which appears to have been at least partly destroyed by Alaric and the Visigoths in 407.¹³ Even Virunum, the capital of Noricum Mediterraneum, could no longer be protected. The inhabitants abandoned the town and sought refuge either in mountain hide-outs such as in the *Almdorf* on the Ulrichsberg (Fig. 36; Pl. 56) or on the Maria Saalerberg,¹⁴ or in the fortified *Fliebburgen* such as that on the Grazer Kogel (Fig. 45) and, certainly, on the Kirchhügel of Karnburg.¹⁵ Virunum's buildings gradually collapsed during the fifth and sixth centuries. The central administration of southern Noricum had probably been

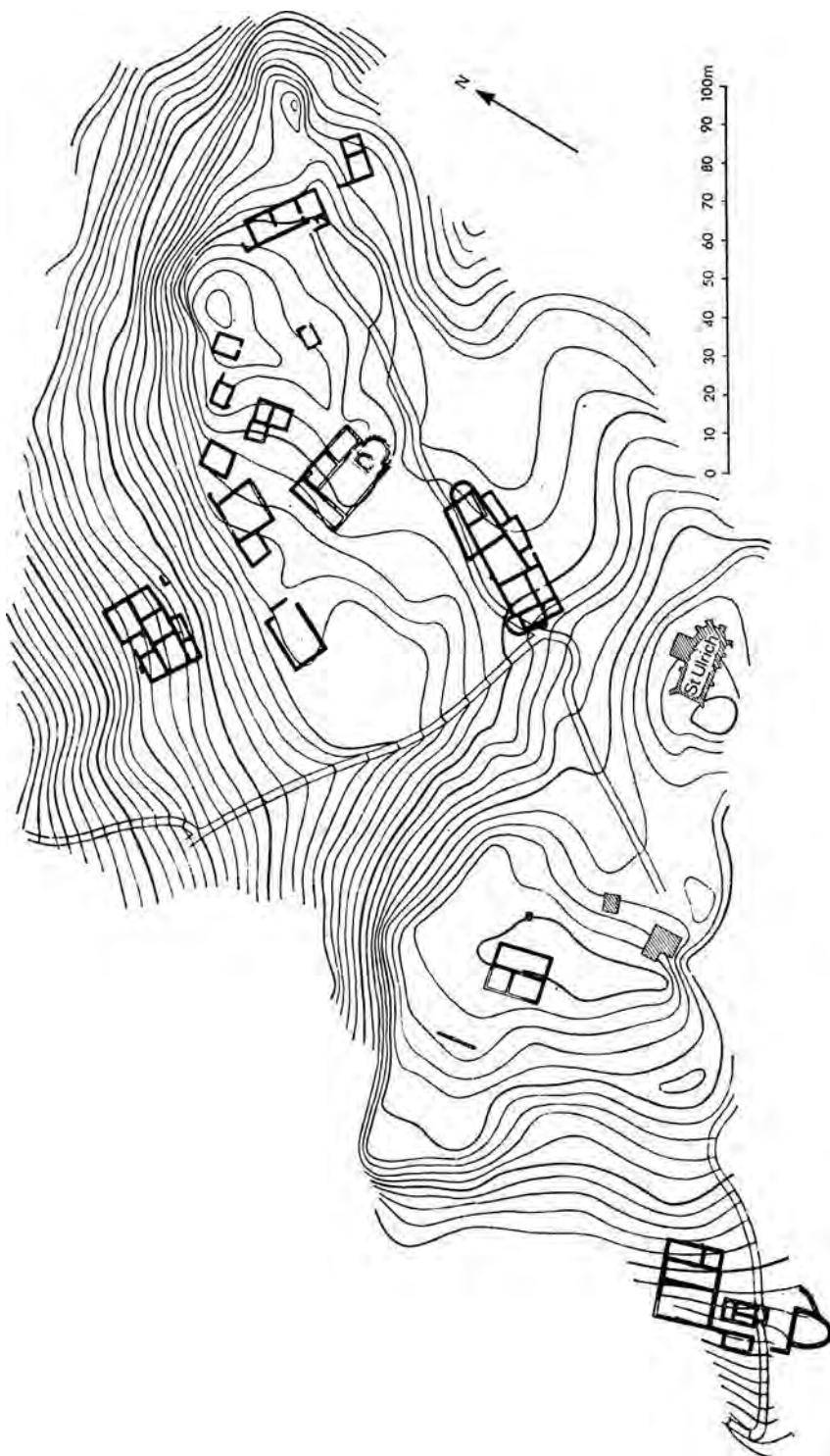


Figure 36 The settlement on the Ulrichsberg

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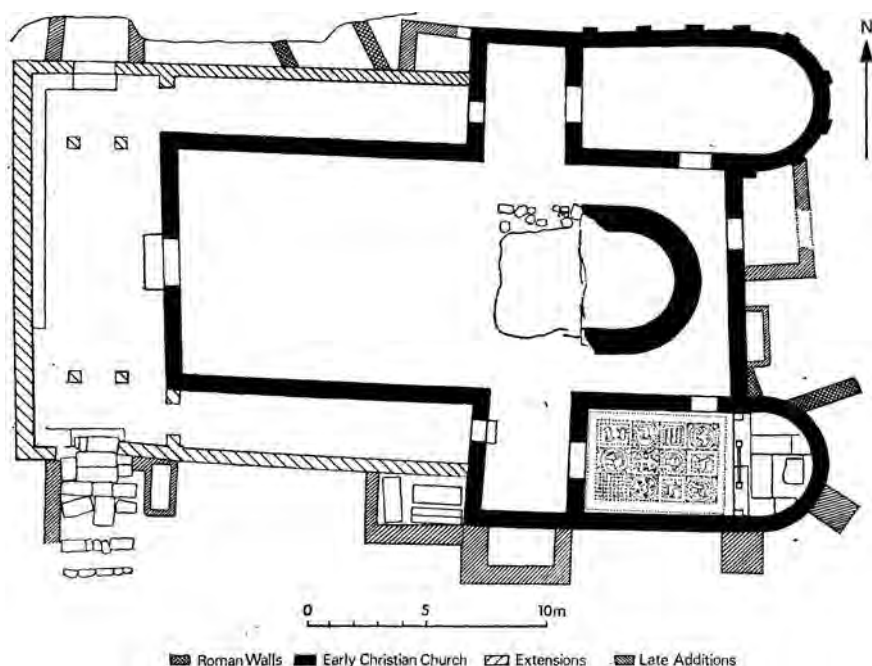


Figure 37 The church at Teurnia

transferred from there to Teurnia at the beginning of the fifth century, and the latter town is referred to as *metropolis Norici* in the *Vita* of St Severinus.¹⁶ Teurnia lay further from the routes used by barbarian invaders, and was protected by its natural surroundings and its fortifications: from the beginning of the fifth century life there was mainly focused on the Holzerberg plateau, where many houses were built, and the settlement was walled.¹⁷ Regular officials of the Roman administration may have resided there until c. 500. The mosaic floor in the Teurnia sepulchral basilica (Fig. 37; Pl. 58) was made for one Ursus, *vir spectabilis*, together with his wife—he was apparently governor of southern Noricum and may perhaps have been a German from Theoderic's kingdom, to which Noricum belonged c. 500.¹⁸ In Noricum Ripense, by contrast, the regular administration must already have ceased to exist before the middle of the fifth century. When St Severinus settled there shortly after 460, there was no governor, and he himself, a private citizen, had to organise the defence and provisioning of the community.

Life remained relatively secure only in the *Fliehburgen*, which appeared in large numbers in Noricum from c. 400 onwards. These were forts built on protected slopes, difficult of access, frequently with a church in the middle of the settlement; many of them served as a *refugium* in time of danger only, but most of

them had dwelling-houses and were built as permanent fortified settlements.¹⁹ Food supplies were stored in them²⁰ and their inhabitants would wait there until the barbarian hordes had passed them by, exactly in accordance with St Severinus' wise counsel. He advised the inhabitants of the Lauriacum region to 'put all your possessions within the safety of your walls, so that the enemy on his terrible march may find nothing that men need to support life, and may as soon as possible be compelled to abandon his awful and inhuman undertaking'.²¹ There were a few of these *Fliehburgen* in certain favoured spots in the north, e.g. on the Georgenberg near Micheldorf, south of Ovilava, and, probably, on the protected hill of Cucullae (Kuchl),²² but most of them were in southern Noricum. There were a fair number in south-eastern Noricum, for example on the eastern edge of the Bachergebirge or at Vranje near Podverh north of the Save, where the site, surrounded by walls and including several houses and cisterns, measures some 140 by 70 metres.²³

But it is in East Tirol and Carinthia that they are found in the greatest numbers. Many of these southern Norican *Burgen* grew up north of the Drau, for example at Tiffen near Feldkirchen or on the Lamprechtskogel near the Trixen castles.²⁴ Most of them, however, including all the larger examples, lie south of the Drau, on the edge of the river valley (or immediately to the north of the river, like Teurnia). The *Burgen* of this region are identical with the *castella* of the diocese of Teurnia mentioned in the *Vita* of St Severinus,²⁵ and with the *castella* which still dominated the upper Drau valley in 565, according to Venantius Fortunatus.²⁶ The most important were at Lavant-Kirchbichl (Fig. 38) near Aguntum, Teurnia itself (Fig. 7, p. 91), on the Duel near Feistritz, on the Drau east of Teurnia, and those on the Tscheltschinkogel near Warmbad Villach, the Hoischhügel near Maglern in the Kanaltal, on the imposing Kanzianiberg close to the Faakersee and on the Hemmaberg, overlooking the Jauntal from the south.²⁷ On the Duel the defensive walls enclosed an inhabited area more than a hectare in size, with a Christian church (Fig. 39); the powerful defences at Lavant surrounded an area 2.7 hectares in extent, on an almost inaccessible crag, with houses and an episcopal church 40 metres long (Fig. 42; Pl. 57). This settlement probably grew up, like most of the others, at the beginning of the fifth century, when the Visigoths destroyed Aguntum and compelled its inhabitants to take flight. But it was not only the ordinary inhabitants of the town that came here; even the episcopal see was transferred and the 'proud Aguntum' which Venantius Fortunatus saw in 565, perched on a hill, was certainly not the largely destroyed and ruined town in the Lienz Basin, but the *Burg* of Lavant.²⁸

At some of the *Burgen*, such as Lavant, the Duel and the Hoischhügel, military

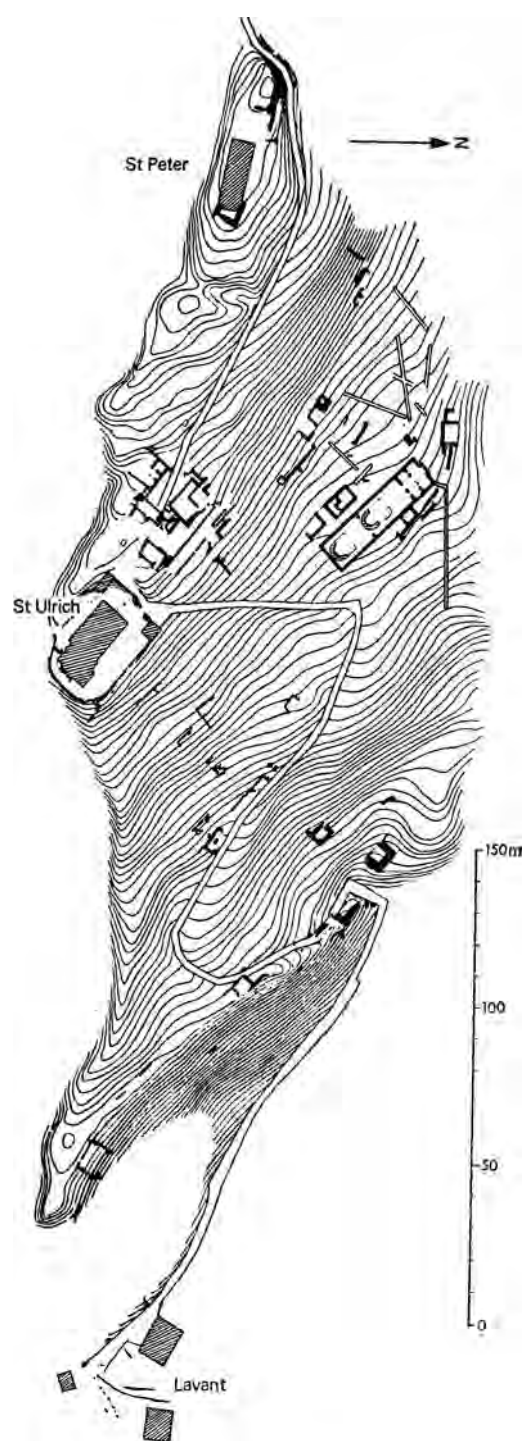


Figure 38 The Fliebburg of Lavant

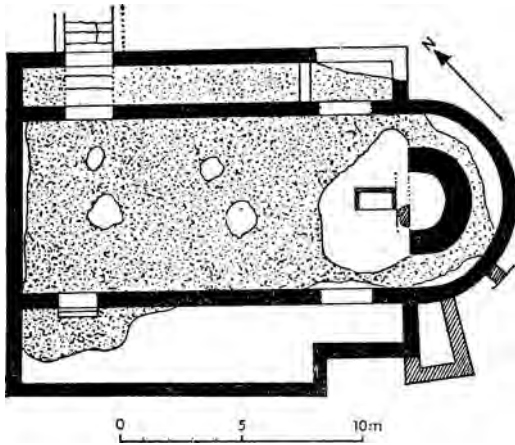


Figure 39 The church on the Duero

buildings are attested as well; in the light of this evidence, and because of the geographical position of the *Burgen*, support has been given to the view that they formed part of a 'Drau-limes' in the fifth and sixth centuries, the principal task of which will have been to protect Italy from barbarian invasions.²⁹ The existence

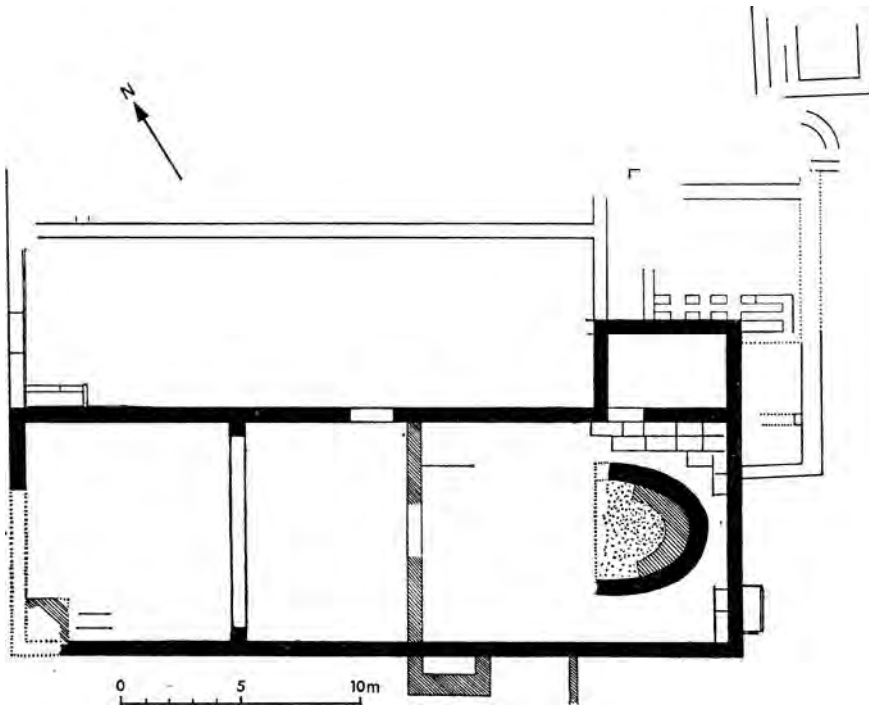


Figure 40 The church at Aguntum

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of the post of *vir spectabilis comes Italiae*, whose tasks are more precisely defined by the descriptions *comes rei militaris Italiae* and *comes limitis Italiae*, also lends credence to the existence of a defensive line in the south-eastern Alps for the protection of Italy, which, at least in the fifth century, was still under the control of the central government.³⁰ The main task of the *comes* will of course have been to command the *clausura Alpium Juliarum* north of Istria,³¹ but he may also have exercised authority over the small garrisons in the Norican *Burgen*.

Thanks to these *Burgen* and to the protected geographical position of southern Noricum the population here remained relatively unaffected by wars in the fifth century, with the exception of the panic created by Radagaisus and Alaric. The Ostrogoths of Pannonia did, to be sure, occupy parts of eastern Noricum in 468,³² and when Flaccitheus the king of the Rugii wanted to enter Italy with his people at this time, it was the Ostrogoths who denied him passage over the Alps.³³ In 472 the Pannonian Goths even forced their way through the Drau valley as far as Teurnia, and 'the citizens of Tiburnia [Teurnia] fought, with varying fortune, against the besieging Goths'. But the aggressors failed to capture the town and withdrew after making an agreement with the people.³⁴ Likewise, some years later, the Alamanni coming from the north-west launched an attack on the Teurnia region and 'in terrible fashion laid everything waste; but the forts felt no danger at all'—the *Burgen* of East Tirol and Carinthia then too could not be captured.³⁵ As is shown by the rich decoration in the southern Norican churches of the fifth century, for example the mosaics at Teurnia or on the Hemmaberg (Fig. 41) and at Celeia, there were still prosperous elements in society even here—not least the church itself.

The situation north of the Alps was incomparably more wretched. The *Vita Sancti Severini* tells us how it was there in the last three decades before Noricum Ripense was abandoned in 488. This biography, written in 511 by Eugippius, a former pupil of the saint, is one of the latest and at the same time one of the most important literary sources for the history of Noricum. It is no simple hagiography, but an outstanding historical source, for Severinus was capable not only of praying, fasting and working miracles, but of leading the country like a born statesman.³⁶

Severinus came to Noricum 'at God's command' c. 460 or a little later, after 'an endless journey' from 'a desert of the east', where he had been for some time. His origins—which were evidently distinguished—and his past history were shrouded in mystery by the saint; but he was at any rate *homo omnino Latinus*, doubtless highly educated and to all appearances not without expertise in administrative matters either.³⁷ He remained in Noricum up to his death in 482, for the most part at Faviana (Mautern), where he built a monastery; from time to

time he visited other Norican settlements north of the Alps and even went westwards as far as Künzing and Passau, beyond Noricum's borders, in Raetia. Although by his own account only a simple monk with no official position, who refused the episcopal dignity and never even entered the priesthood, he soon became the 'spiritual head' of Noricum Ripense, and his authority was recognised not only by the provincial population and even by the southern Noricans, but by the Rugii and Alamanni too, as well as by Germans living still further

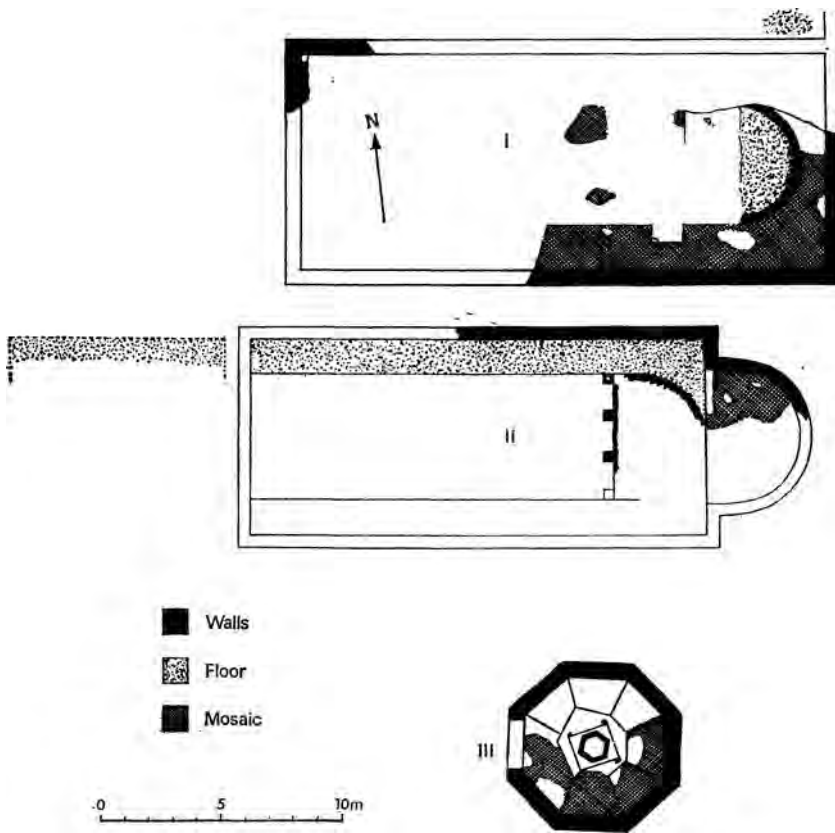


Figure 41 Churches on the Hemmaberg (Juenna)

afield—including Odoacer.³⁸ A personal charisma allied with his modesty even in his greatest actions enabled him to carry out work which brought genuine blessings to the afflicted country. Not only did he struggle against pagans, heretics and indolent Christians,³⁹ but he undertook a remarkable diplomatic activity to keep plundering Germanic raiders out of the province, or to gain the release of captured provincials from imprisonment; and he had a wonderful

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capacity for dealing with defence, provisioning and social problems, whenever measures of any kind were possible. At the same time he was able to foresee what was to come, repeatedly warning that the entire population of the province would eventually be compelled to leave its home in northern Noricum.⁴⁰

Eugippius, who lived in Noricum Ripense himself until the province was abandoned, makes many excellent observations which give a picture of everyday life in these difficult times. There were for practical purposes no longer any regular troops. A small garrison did indeed struggle on to the bitter end at Raetian Passau, and at Faviana there was even a tribune named Mamertinus in command during Severinus' first years in Noricum, but he only had *milites paucissimi* at his disposal, and very ill-armed at that; in any case, many of these soldiers soon abandoned their profession, as did Mamertinus himself, who became a bishop, and one of his men named Avitianus, who became a priest.⁴¹ But even skeleton garrisons such as these were exceptional. The troops were no longer paid, and when on one occasion a few of the men from the Passau garrison set off for Italy to bring back the money, they were killed on the journey by barbarians.⁴² There were no troops at all in most of the former forts of the Norican *limes*. The Rugii had occupied Commagena (Tulln) and were only evicted by a miracle; Astura (Zeiselmayer) was destroyed by the barbarians shortly after 460; the Danube forts upstream from Lauriacum were under continuous assault for as long as they remained standing.⁴³ Signal-stations, for example, were abandoned, even in the immediate vicinity of Mautern.⁴⁴ When

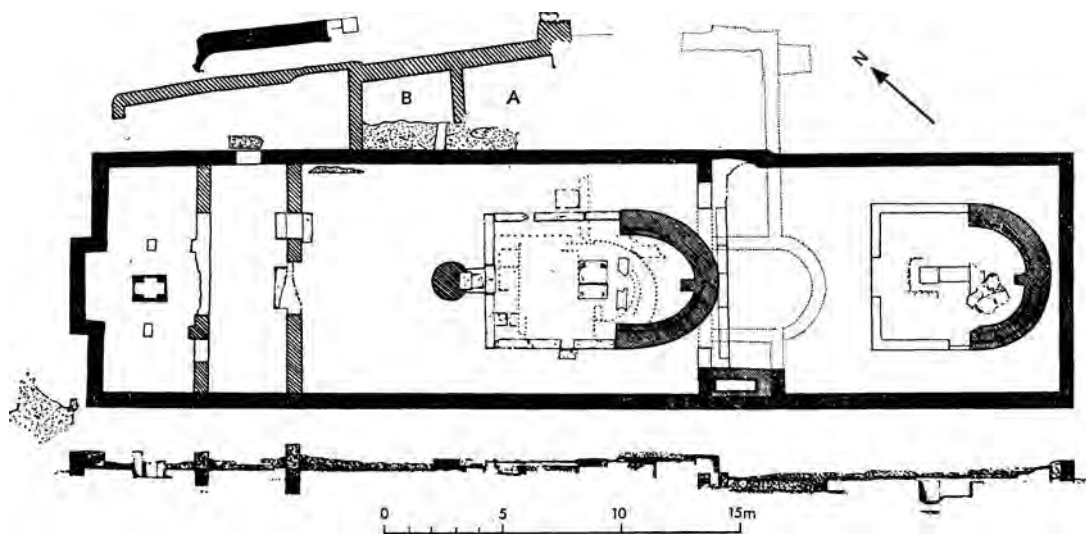


Figure 42 The church at Lavant

the situation became critical, the civilian population had to provide its own fighting men to defend itself.⁴⁵

The economic situation was catastrophic. The fields were still ploughed, to be sure,⁴⁶ and trade did not come to a complete standstill: there were links with northern Italy, and oil was still imported from there as it always had been, while goods were transported via the Inn and the Danube as far as Mautern;⁴⁷ the people of Passau even wanted to trade with the Rugii.⁴⁸ But all this was no longer sufficient even to feed the population. Eugippius refers again and again to poverty;⁴⁹ Severinus fought against it like a real hero, organising the collection of food and clothing for the poor, even in southern Noricum,⁵⁰ and levied a tithe, *frugum decimae*, on natural produce.⁵¹ Only a very few were still classed as 'rich', for example a distinguished widow at Faviana, named Procula, who was able to store grain.⁵² In spite of all these efforts there was often famine;⁵³ and,

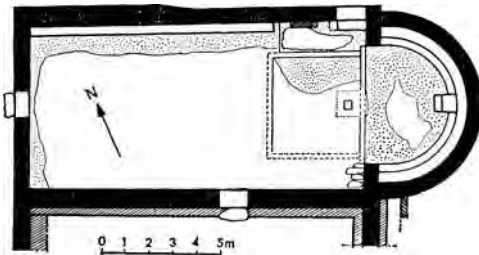


Figure 43 The church at Laubendorf

what was even worse, there were the barbarians: the Rugii and Alamanni in particular again and again carried provincials off into captivity, stole cattle and laid waste the countryside.⁵⁴

At the beginning of Severinus' activity in Noricum, most of the settlements between the Alps and the Danube must still have existed. The saint himself visited Astura (Zeiselmauer), Commagena (Tulln), Lauriacum, Joviacum (Schlögen) and Boiodurum (Passau-Innstadt) as well as Faviana; and also went to Juvavum and Cucullae in the interior and Passau and Künzing in Raetia.⁵⁵ But their fate was soon determined. Astura was already destroyed soon after 460. Between c. 472 and 480 the western flank of the former *limes* was lost. First Joviacum was destroyed by the Heruli, in the space of a single night: 'In this night the Heruli unexpectedly descended, laid the town waste, led most of the people away into captivity and hanged the presbyter on the gallows.'⁵⁶ Even more serious were the consequences of the repeated Alamannic attacks on north-western Noricum. They destroyed Juvavum and reached the Teurnia area; on

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the *limes* itself they captured Passau, which had already suffered earlier, and any who still survived ‘were either killed or taken away captive by the Thuringians.’⁵⁷ Severinus thereupon evacuated the whole frontier-land upstream from Lauriacum and put the refugees into that town, which then had to stand a siege itself;⁵⁸ thereafter the homeless were quartered in the surviving settlements in the Rugian sphere of influence east of Lauriacum.⁵⁹ With this move, all that remained of Roman Noricum Ripense was squeezed into the sector of the frontier between Lauriacum and Faviana, and its hinterland—and soon after the death of Severinus this too was lost.

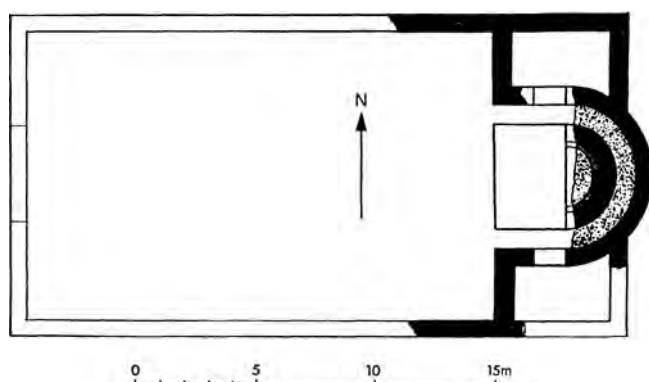


Figure 44 The church on the Hoischhügel

The abandonment of Noricum Ripense and the fate of the interior

In the time of St Severinus Noricum officially belonged to the western empire, and, after the empire's collapse in 476, to the kingdom of Odoacer. But even that change of power in Italy scarcely affected Noricum. The land was turned in on itself; relations between Odoacer and Severinus were limited to mutual respect and friendship. It was not until after the death of Severinus—on 8 January 482—that events took place which compelled Odoacer to intervene in Norican affairs, but which at the same time led to the end of Roman rule north of the Alps. The east Roman emperor Zeno, who had long regarded Odoacer's power with mistrust, persuaded the Rugian king Feletheus, son of Flaccitheus, to invade Italy. Odoacer, however, forestalled the attempt and defeated the Rugii in Noricum in 487. In the following year his brother Onoulfus led a further expedition against Feletheus' son Fredericus, and completely destroyed the power of the Rugii.⁶⁰ But Odoacer recognised that Noricum Ripense could no longer be defended and ordered the abandonment of the land between the Alps and the

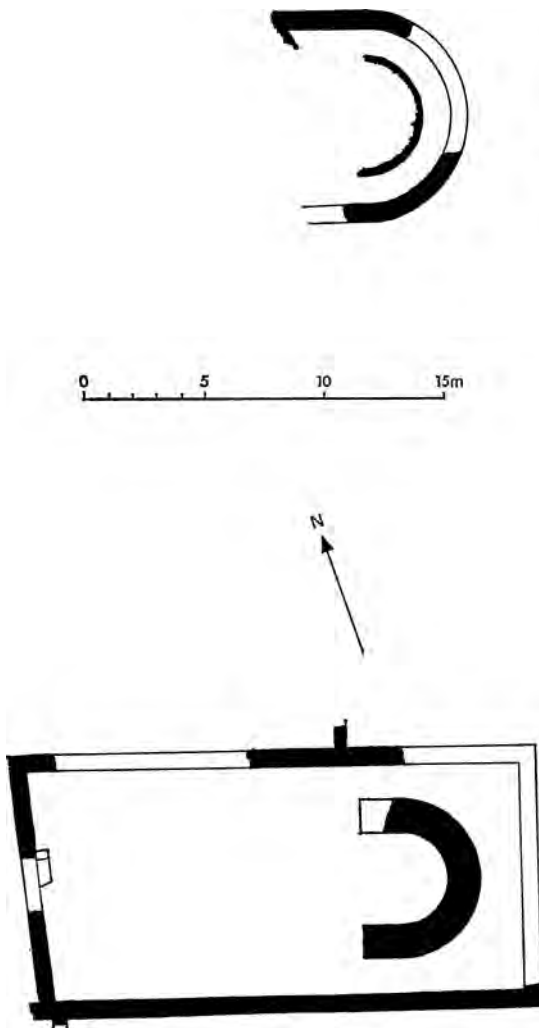


Figure 45 Churches on the Grazerkogel

Danube: 'Onoulfus, in accordance with his brother's instructions, ordered all *Romani* to leave for Italy. And at that time all the inhabitants of the country were led out, as from the house of bondage in Egypt, to escape the daily repeated plundering of the barbarians; and thus they fulfilled the prophecies of St Severinus.'⁶¹ When Odoacer's envoy, the *comes* Pierius, was pressing on with the evacuation, the tomb of Severinus at Faviana was opened, and the saint's body, miraculously preserved, was 'laid in a sarcophagus long since prepared, placed on a horse-drawn wagon and then led away, following with us the same route as

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all the people from the province, who left their towns on the Danube and found various separate places to live in every possible part of Italy.⁶²

With this abandonment of Noricum Ripense in 488, 'Roman rule' north of the Alps, which in the preceding decades had already been merely nominal, finally ceased. Not all *Romani* left, to be sure, and life did not completely come to an end in most settlements; Germans soon occupied the partially standing houses and put the walls that were not yet destroyed in the towns and forts or fallen into ruin into a state of defence. At Juvavum, Ovilava, Cetium and most of the former forts on the Danube—especially Lauriacum, Faviana, Augustiana and Commagena—there is evidence of continuity of occupation, and the medieval Salzburg, Wels, St Pölten, Enns, Mautern, Traismauer and Tulln grew up more or less out of the former Roman settlements.⁶³ Yet this continuity of occupation was connected at most only to a very limited degree with any continuity in the romanised population; and there was no continuity at all in the corporate organisation of the community.

Southern Noricum remained for a further hundred years or so within the sphere of influence of the Mediterranean world, although not undisturbed by stormy events. When Odoacer was overthrown by Theoderic in 493, the latter's Ostrogothic kingdom succeeded to Odoacer's control over the former Noricum Mediterraneum; it seems that the Gothic *rex* either continued or reintroduced a relatively normal form of administration, for he may have sent a 'governor' to Teurnia.⁶⁴ Southern Noricum may have enjoyed a certain tranquillity, at any rate, until his death in 526. Soon afterwards, difficult times began again. From 537 the expansion of the Franks under Theudebert made itself felt; by c. 545 he already controlled the eastern Alps and part of Venetia.⁶⁵ At the same time the Lombards were exerting pressure in the east, occupying Celeia; and southern Noricum was ceded to them by Justinian.⁶⁶ The Byzantines were able to drive the Franks out of northern Italy, indeed, and thereby to destroy their power in the Alpine lands also; in 568 the Lombards pushed through Noricum into Italy and gained a stronger influence here too from this time onwards.⁶⁷ Finally, at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries, new peoples arrived, the Avars and the Slavs from the east and the Baiuvari from the north-west; and in the bitter struggles and permanent confusion that these movements of peoples caused, the last Norican towns such as Celeia and Teurnia went under, about the year 600.⁶⁸

Of the former Roman *municipia* of southern Noricum only at Celeia is there any evidence of continuity in occupation. Virunum was never resettled; its role was taken over by Karnburg and St Veit, and, later, by Klagenfurt. Solva, too, and Teurnia and Aguntum disappeared, and their 'successors' Graz, Spittal and

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Lienz have no direct link with them. Apart from Teurnia, where the church of St Peter im Holz still stands on the site of the episcopal church of late antiquity, only place-names recalled in the Middle Ages the former towns of Roman Noricum. *Civitas Zup* or *Zulp*, and the river-name Sulpa (Sulp) near Solva, or 'Lurnfeld' near Teurnia, are the clearest examples.⁶⁹ By contrast, most of the *Fliebburgen* which had assumed the role of the former towns in the fifth and sixth centuries were still occupied in the centuries that followed, and in many cases pilgrimage churches still stand on the sites of early Christian churches such as those on the crag of Lavant or on the Hemmaberg (Fig. 41). But the Romanic population was certainly very heavily reduced in numbers in the troubled times from the sixth century onwards, and the *Fliebburgen* were taken over by Germans and Slavs.

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APPENDIX I 'Venetic' personal names in Noricum

CLEVVO. *JÖAI(B)* 38 (1950) 80 f. (Lavant-Kirchbichl near Aguntum, c. A.D. 100): *Clevvo Veitoris* f. Not Illyrian (thus Miltner, *JÖAI(B)* loc. cit.; cf. Capovilla, *Studi* 92 f.). Cf. the names Clevas, Clevatus (A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier* I (Vienna 1957) 193), Clevius (*CIL* V 4717), Vesclevesis (Alföldy, *Personennamen* 326) in the northern Adriatic area.

PATALUS. *CIL* II661 (p. 2708) (Rieding in the Lavant valley, first-second cent. A.D.): *Cotulus Patali* f. Cf. the Venetic names Patalus, Patalius, Patalicus (Mayer *op. cit.* I 260; Alföldy *op. cit.* 107).

TRAUSEUS, TRAUSUS. *AÖAW* 1967, 197 ff. (Magdalensberg, lead seal, early imperial): *Trauseus* (not a *nomen* as Egger, *AÖAW* loc. cit., supposes, but rather a *cognomen*). *CIL* 12027h = *Car.* 149 (1959) 163 (Magdalensberg, calculating token, early imperial): *Trausus* L. *Pomp(onii)* ser.). Cf. the *gentilicium* characteristic of Venetic areas, Trosius (Alföldy *op. cit.* 129). Probably an immigrant to the Magdalensberg from northern Italy.

VEITOR. See under Clevvo. Not Illyrian (thus Miltner, *JÖAI(B)* loc. cit.). Also attested in northern Italy (*CIL* V 1807). Cf. also the *gentilicium* *Vitorius* (at Lavant-Kirchbichl, formed from Veitor, see p. 310), of which there are other instances in Noricum: *Car.* 125 (1935) 268 = *FbÖ* 2 (1935-8) 10 = Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 72 (Pockhorn in the Möll valley) and *CIL* 5059 (Greith near Neumarkt)—latinised form from Veitor in Noricum.

VELSO. *Car.* 151 (1961) 469 ff. (Virunum, first cent.): *Iomatius Velsonis* f. *mil. chor. IIII Tun- (grorum)*. In the same group as the northern Adriatic names with the root Vols- (Alföldy *op. cit.* 330 f.). The man did not necessarily come from Virunum, but was Norican.

VELSONIA. *Osttiroler Heimatbl.* 4 (1927) 35 ff. = *ES* 8 (1969) 29 f. no. 41 (Oberdrum, c. A.D. 100): *Ve<l>sonia* [. . .]. *Gentilicium* formed from Velso.

VOLSENUS. Egger, *Grosshandelsplatz* 7 (Magdalensberg, graffito, early imperial): *Volsenus*. Cf. under *Velso*. Probably merchant from northern Italy—or indeed on the Magdalensberg, perhaps a Norican.

VOLTISEMA. *JÖAI(B)* 38 (1950) 80 f. (Lavant-Kirchbichl, c. A.D. 100): *Voltisema Bussumari* f. Not Illyrian (thus Miltner, *JÖAI(B)* loc. cit.); the root Volt- is characteristic of the northern Adriatic like many personal names (J. Untermann, *Die venetischen Personennamen* (Wiesbaden 1961) 129 ff., 170 f., with map 32; Alföldy *op. cit.* 331). The father's name is Celtic.

The Latin *gentilicium* *Volusia* near Aguntum (Lavant-Kirchbichl and Oberdrum, on the same inscriptions as Voltisema and Velsonia) may be a latinised form of a Venetic name of similar sound.

On the republican Venetic inscriptions from south-western Noricum, which also include personal names, see p. 17.

APPENDIX II *Illyrian personal names in Noricum*

ANAEUS. *AÖAW* 1967, 197 ff. (Magdalensberg, lead seal, early imperial): *Anaeus* ([. . .] *anaeus* according to Egger, *AÖAW loc. cit.*). Cf. the Illyrian names Annaius/Annaeus (Alföldy, *Personennamen* 150) but cf. also the Latin name Annaeus. Probably immigrant to the Magdalensberg.

BATEIA. *CIL* 5076 (Globasnitz, second cent.): *Bateia Disocni f.*; *CIL* 5031 = *ILS* 7115 (Micheldorf near Friesach, second cent.): *Iunia C.f. Bateia*. The name is nowhere else recorded: the Illyrian names Bato and Batua (Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier* I 80 ff.) are comparable.

BATELIS. *CIL* 5057 = *MZK* 1904, 165 f. (Greith near Neumarkt, first-second cent.): *Batelis Deusonis f(ilia)*. Cf. under Bateia (on the type of formation cf. the parallels in Alföldy *op. cit.* 355).

BINHDO. *CIL* 5483 (Bad Gleichenberg, first cent.): *Binbdo* (fem.). Cf. the Iapodian deity-name Bindus (Mayer *op. cit.* I 87). Illyrian women's names in -o (cf. also Dasto) characteristic of the tribe of the Delmatae (most recently Alföldy *op. cit.* 351). On the reading cf. *BJ* 170 (1970) 557.

CANDALA. *Car.* 145 (1955) 119 f. (Dellach in the upper Gail valley, A.D. 50–150): [...]*ia M. l. Candala*. Cf. the Illyrian personal name Candalio among the Delmatae (Alföldy *op. cit.* 72) and the Norican place-name Candalicae (p. 228, n. 27).

DASIUS. *Car.* 92 (1902) 176 = *Car.* 93 (1903) 181 f. (St Stefan near Friesach, second cent.): [*M.*] *Ulp. Dasius vet. ex ce(nturione)*. See also *CIL* XIII 8243 = *ILS* 9270 (Cologne, end of first cent.): *M. Cocceius Dasius vet. alae Noric.*, probably from Noricum (Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 181). The Illyrian name Dasius was diffused mainly in northern Dalmatia and Pannonia.

DASTO. *Car.* 149 (1959) 775 f. = *ES* 8 (1969) 15 f. no. 22 (Wiesenau in the Lavant valley, first-second cent.): *Panenti Lavi f. Dasto Nepotis (filia) marito et sibi*. The Illyrian woman's name Dasto occurs only among the Delmatae (Alföldy, *Personennamen* 186). The name Nepos was very widespread among the romanised Illyrians (*ibid.* 251).

EPANTIA. *Car.* 122 (1932) 35 = *FbÖ* I (1932–5) 102 (St Thomas near Wolfsberg, first-second cent.): *Epantia Iuni fil.* Celtic parallels are lacking; cf. by contrast the Illyrian woman's name Pantia and related names (Alföldy *op. cit.* 259). See also *Car.* 120 (1930) 25 (Reisberg, likewise in the Lavant valley, first-second cent.) with part of a name [...]*ntia*, probably [*Pa*]*ntia* or [*Epa*]*ntia*.

LAVUS. See under Dasto, also *Car.* 149 (1959) 139 ff. no. 24 (Magdalensberg, graffito on vessel, early imperial): *Lavi* (genitive, rather than *Lavi[nus]* in *Car. loc. cit.*). The name and versions of it were characteristic of the Delmatae (Alföldy *op. cit.* 228). Probably immigrant to the Magdalensberg.

LICCAIUS. *Car.* 148 (1958) 163 (Magdalensberg, calculating token, early imperial): *Liccaius Pompon(ii servus)*; *AÖAW* 1967, 197 ff. (*ibid.*, lead seal, early imperial): *Liccaia*; *MZK* 1903, 80 = *ES* 8 (1969) 19 no. 27 (Virunum, early imperial): *M[...] Licc[ai f.]*. The name and versions of it were characteristic of northern Dalmatia and Pannonia (Alföldy *op. cit.* 230). Probably immigrants to Noricum.

Appendix II

MESSIA, MESSOR. *CIL* 6519 = 11656 = *PAR* 17 (1967) 30 (St Stefan in the Lavant valley, first-second cent.): *Messia Crescentis* (f.); *CIL* 14366, 5 = *Car.* 149 (1959) 775 (Wiesenau, first-second cent.): *Messor*. These names are Latin as well, but in the Lavant valley they could be Illyrian as among the Delmatae (Alföldy *op. cit.* 246 f.).

PANES. See under Dasto. Characteristic of the Delmatae (Alföldy *op. cit.* 258).

SUTTA, SUTTIHUS. *JZK* 1906, 264 (Teufenbach, first-second cent.): [*S*]utta; *CIL* 4831 (Virunum, third cent.): *T. Aelius Suttibus veter.* Sutta is attested frequently as an Illyrian name (Alföldy *op. cit.* 303 f.).

TEMAIO. *CIL* 11603 (Magdalensberg, early imperial): *P. Titius P. I. Temaio*. The *cognomen* is Illyrian (see the parallels in Alföldy *op. cit.* 306 f.). Apparently immigrant to the Magdalensberg.

A number of names which had been regarded as Illyrian are in my opinion Celtic: e.g. *Darbius* (St Jakob bei Wolfsberg, *Car.* 140 (1950) 248) and *Darbosa* (Dolga Gora, *AIJ* 75); cf. for this the parallels in Holder I 1241 f. (for a different view, Egger, *Car. loc. cit.* 248). Vetter, *JÖAI(B)* 38 (1950) 113 ff. regards the names *Blaus*, *Camaius*, *Cemeia*, *Tromperus* from Ruprechtshofen as Illyrian (see also Saria, *Historia* 1 (1950) 450; Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 779 f.). For *Blaus* cf., however, Celtic *blavos* = yellow, flavus, and, further, the names *Blava*, *Blavia* (Holder III 888; I 450 f.). The suffix *-aio/-eio* in the cases of *Camaius* and *Cemeia* by no means proves Illyrian origin, cf. for example the Celtic names *Aio-Aiu-Aiun*, *Caio*, *Catureius*, *Cottaio*, *Coteleius*, *Mainus*, *Malaius*, *Maleius*, *Maleio*, *Meleius*, *Montaio*, *Vercaius*, *Vercaio*, etc. from Noricum; on the suffix among the Celts cf. Holder I 707 ff., 977 f., and a *Cameius* at Langres (*ibid.* III 1062). Only *Tromperus*, at most, remains uncertain. Against 'Illyrian' personal names in Styria cf. Alföldy, *BJ* 170 (1970) 558.

APPENDIX III *Celtic personal names in Noricum*

The following are omitted: names on Celtic coins (p. 42), names of pre-Roman kings and *gentilicia* formed from Celtic names. The numbers refer to the recorded instances. N in brackets indicates that the find-spot is in northern Noricum (north of the Hohe Tauern and the northern ridge of the Alps); otherwise the names are attested in southern and central Noricum. Unless otherwise noted, names in -us, -o and -is are masculine, and in -a and -u feminine. Variant forms are indented.

Acaucu	1	Amb[...]	1	Ateia	1
Accis	1	Ambidrabus	1	Ateloudus	1
Acclo	1	Ambisavus	1	Atemerus	2 (1 N)
Accu	1	Ambudsuilus	1	Atimeria	1
Adgeleius	1	Anbusulus	1	Atismerius	1
Ageleius	1	Amma	2	Atepo	1
Adginna	1	Amoenus	1	Ateressa	1
Adgonetus	1	Amomma (?)	1	Atressus	2
Adiatullus	4	Amuro	1	Atestas (?)	1
Adium[...a]	1	Aneca	1	Atevalus	2 (1 N)
Adnamatus	13 (1 N)	Anecila	1	Atvalus	2
Admatus/a	2	Anectio	1	Atevortus	1
Adnamatius	1	Annicus	1 (N)	Atvortus	1 (N)
Adnamato	1	Annilio	1 (N)	Atiantus	3
Annamatus	1	Anno	1 (N)	Atio	1
Adnamius	1	Ansira	1 (N)	Atiouclus	1
Adnamus/a	9	Anta	1	Atiougō	1
Adnnamus	1	Antia	1	Atito	1
Annamus	1	Aracu	1	Atitto	1 (N)
Adrotus	1	Argentonia	1 (N)	Atouta	1
Adsedilus	1	Arimanus	2	Atpomarus	3
Adsedus	1	Ariomanus	2	Atta	1
Adsedo	1	Ario	3 (2 N)	Attus	1
Asedia	1	Armianus	1	Att(i)us	3
Asseda	1	Assedomarus	1	Atto	4
Aeta	3	Atara (masc.)	1	Ato	1
Aevo	1 (N)	Aterus	1	Attu	4
Agilor(ius?)	1	Atera (masc.)	2	Attalus	1
Agisus	1 (N)	Ateboduus/a	3	Attalo	1
Aiacus	1	Atecina	1	Attasaon	1
Aio	1	Atectus	1	Atteris	1
Aiu	3 (1 N)	Atecurus	1	Atucus	2
Aiiu	1	Ateduna	2	Attucus	1
Aiuccio	1 (N)	Ategenta	2 (1 N)	Attucia	1
Aiucia	1	Atigentia	1	Atuco	3 (1 N)
Allo	2	Ategnatus/a	3	Atuius/a	2

Appendix III

Atunus	2	Bounis (fem.)	1	Cacurda (masc?)	1
Aubnissus	1	Boniatus/a	19	Cacsius	1
Auctomarus	1	Bonita	1	Cadias(i)us	1 (N)
Audonius	1	Bononia	2	Caio	1
Augnu	1	Borio	1	Caixu	2
Aunoniba	1	Botta	1	Caletiu	2
Auscus/a	3	Bottia	1	Calo	1
Ausscus	1	Bottio	1	Calupa	1
Ausco	1	Boto (?)	1	Camaius	2 (1 N)
Ausobus (?)	1	Botuca	1	Camona	1
Autoscuttus/a	3	Bouda	3 (1 N)	Camuinuus (?)	1
Auxanon	2	Bouterio	1	Camulianus	1
Avarea	1	Bovierius	1	Camulius/a	4 (1 N)
Aveta	5	Brem[...]	2	Camolius	1
Avva	1 (N)	Brenturia	1	Camula	1
Babbe(. . .)	1	Bricco	1	Canio	1
Bacacu	1	Bricio	1	Cantaber	2
Bacaucu	1	Briga	1	Capatius	1
Bacausus	2	Brig(i)us	1	Cardacanus	1
Banona	11 (1 N)	Brigia	2	Carmaeus	1
Banana	1	Bricostix	1 (N)	Carmo	1
Bardus	2	Brigantia	1	Carpilio	1
Bardo	4	Brigomarus	1	Casillus	1
Barus	2	Brit[...]	1	Casima	1
Batro	1	Brogia	1	Casticus	1
Battauso	1	Brogimara	1	Castimarus	1
Battu	1	Bromius	1	Castio	3
Baussus	1	Bruto	1 (N)	Catiu (?)	1
Bauso	2	Brutta	2	Catro	2
Belatullus/a	4	Buccio	6	Cattus	1
Belatumara	1 (N)	Bucia	2 (1 N)	Catta	2
Belatussa	1	Bugia	1	Cattu	1
Bella	1	Bullu	1	Cata	1
Betautu	1	Buranus	1	Catureius	1
Biraco	3	Burranus	1	Catussa (masc.)	2
Bisugnata	1	Burrus	3	Caucavus	1
Blaesatus	1	Burrius	1	Cauru	1
Blaus	1 (N)	Bussulla	2	Causia	1
Blendo	2	Bussumarus	1	Cautus	1
Boius	1	Busturus	1	Cavaro	1
Boio	1	Buttura	1	Cavarinus	2
Bonia	5	Buttus	1 (N)	Cavecius	1 (N)
Bounia	1	Buxa	1	Celatus	3
Bonio	1	Caballus	1	Cemetia	1 (N)
Bonis (fem.)	1	Caballo	2	Cemenu	1

Appendix III

Cenicello	1	Cotu	3	Deusus/a	3
Censo	1	Cotucco	1	Deuso	2
Cerula	1	Cotulus/a	2	Devillius	1 (N)
Cettus	1	Cotulo	1	Deivilla	1
Ceudo	1	Cotulia	3	Devinatus	1
Ciantullus	1	Coudomarus	1	Deunatus	1
Cilumba (masc.?)	1	Counertus/a	13	Devignata	1
Cinamen	1	Cunerta	1	Devognata	1
Cintullus	1	Covinertus	1	Devva	1
Cintus	1	Covinaerta	1	Diacu	1
Cirpo	2	Counertianus	1	Diastullus	2
Cirro	2	Couria	1	Diastulus	1
Cisiacus	1	Couruna	2	Diastumarus	1
Citatus/a	4	Goruna	1	Dincen	1
Clemenno (?)	1	Couso	1	Diocaitus	1
Cloutius	1	Cudsu (?)	1	Disocnus	1
Clutius (?)	1	Covincius	1	Docimus	1 (N)
Cobruna	1 (N)	Covio[...]	1	Docnimarus	2
Cocina	1 (N)	Craccus	1	Donco	2
Cucusio	1	Craxsantus	1	Donicus	1
Coma	4	Cribo	1	Donnissa	1
Comatilla	1	Cribuio	1	Donnus	1
Comatus	3	Crielo	1	Dono	1
Cona	1	Crigalo	1	Draconia (masc.)	1
Conbogius	1	Crinuo	1	Dresia	1
Conconnus (?)	1	Crotus	1 (N)	Dresiu	1
Condianus	1	Crouta		Drippius	1
Condollus	1	(masc.?)	2	Dubna	3
Congeistlus	1	Cuca (masc.?)	1	Dubnia	1
Conginna	1 (N)	Cucio	1	Dubnissus	1
Congonetus	1	Cummia	1	Dulso	1
Conina	1	Cunaito	1	Dumba	1
Consagio	1	Curena	2	Dumia	1
Con[. .]aluis	1 (N)	Curen(us?)	1	Dunus	2
Corbus	2	Curio	1 (N)	Eburus	1
Corio	1	Dabro (?)	2	Ecouta	1
Cornh(. . .)	1	Dagod[ubnus?]	1 (N)	Egetumario	1
Corubus	2	Damio	1	Eliomarus/a	2
Cosalus	1	Dammo	1	Elvia	1
Cosso	1 (N)	Darbius	1	Elvima	3
Cosutus	1	Darbosa	1	Elvissus/a	2
Coteleius	1	Darsetus	1	Elvisa	1
Cotia	1	Deivio	1	Elvisius	1
Cotonia	1	Demarus	1 (N)	Elvisso	1 (N)
Cottaio	1	Derva	1	Elvisianus	1

Appendix III

Enobux	1	Lappus	1	Malaius	1
Entia	1	Ledia	1	Malcius	1
Eppius	1	Leucamulus	1	Maleio	2
Erbritto	1	Leucimara	1	Malsus	1
Essibnus	1 (N)	Leuco[...]	1	Malso	1
Esullus	1	Licus	1	Malusia	1
Eumitus (?)	1	Limmo	2	Manneanus	1 (N)
Euna	1	Linno	1	Mannus	1
Exapia	2	Litanu	1	Manno	1
Exepia	1	Litua	1	Marco	1
Excingo	1	Litugena	9 (2 N)	Marcrotta(masc.)	1
Excingomarus	2	Litulla	1	Marica	1
Exomnus	1	Lituna	1	Maricca	1
Fambiscianus	1	Loco	1	Maritiu (?)	1
Gambugius	1	Lo(i)us	1 (N)	Maro (Lat. ?)	2 (1 N)
Giamillus	1	Lotta (masc. ?)	1	Maron (Lat. ?)	1
Gianillina	1	Lotto	2	Massa (masc.)	1
Gilutus (?)	1	Loto	1	Masso	1 (N)
Gintussa		Lotucus	1	Massarus	1
(masc.)	1 (N)	Loturus	1	Massatus	1
Gnavo	1	Loucita	1	Masunnus	1
Goutus	2	Luccus	1	Mat[.] (fem.)	1
Gouto	2	Lucco	5	Materiu	1
Goutia	1	Lucria	1	Matiaris	1
Granus	1	Lugidamus	1	Matico	1
Gripon(ius ?)	1	Luo	1	Matuco	1 (N)
Hoponinus	1	Luppo	1	Matitus (?)	1
Iantullus/a	5	Luteiva	1	Matiu	1
Iantumarus/a	10 (2 N)	Lutetua	1	Matta	1
Ientumarus	1	Lutrina	1	Matto	1
Ibliendus	1	Lutumarus	1	Mato	1
Icco	2 (1 N)	Maccus	1	Matugentus	1
Ioitus (?)	1	Maciovindus	1	Matum[arus ?]	1
Iomatius	1	Magiovindus	1	Mauso	1
Ioventina	1 (N)	Maenus	1	Medsia	1
Itria	1	Magemarum	1	Mesia	1
Itto	3	Magimarum	1	Messia	1
Ittu (masc.)	2	Magiomarus	1	Medu	1
Itta (masc. ?)	1 (N)	Magenia	1	Meitime	1
Itucus/a	2	Magetiu	1	Meleius	2 (N)
Itulus	3	Magio	1	Melissa	4 (1 N)
Itus	1	Magiona	2	Melisa	1
Iura	1	Maguria	1	Mellita	1
Iutumarus	1 (N)	Maius	1	Menitta	2
Lalus	1	Maiusa	1	Mercusena	1

Appendix III

Messicus	1	Nonnus/a	2	Redsomarus	1
Michu	1	Nonus	1	Ressimarus	2
Mira	1	Nonnosa	1	Restumarus/a	2
Mitto	1	Noricus	1 (N)	Rissimarus	1
Mocca	1	Novena	1 (N)	Redsatus	2
Mocco	1	Obilus	1 (N)	Ressatus	2
Moge[...]	1	Obilo	1 (N)	Resatus	1
Mogetius/a	3	Obilia	2	Ressicus	1 (N)
Mogiancus	2	Occia (masc.)	1	Ressilla	1
Mogio	2	Occianus	1	Rigo	1
Mocio	2	Occus	1	Risia	1
Mogia	2	Ocellio	1	Ritulla	1
Mommus	2 (1 N)	Oecia	1	Ritumara	1
Momucus	1 (N)	Oico	1	Rucces(us ?)	1
Monnus/a	2	Orgetcius	1	Ructicus	1
Montaio	1	Osicu	1	Ruma	2
Montia	1	Ottus	1 (N)	Rumo	2
Montissius	2	Otto(?)	1	Ruscus	5
Muntissius	2	Otu	2	Rudscus	1
Morsinus	1	Oxmus	1	Sacretia	1
Mosgaitus	2	Pallo	1	Sacer	2
Mosicaitus	1	Palumbus	2	Sacro	2
Mosicu	2	Pametus/a	5 (1 N)	Sacronia	1
Motrus	1	Partus	1	Saetobulus	1
Motus	1	Paterio	3	Saggo	1
Mottu	1 (N)	Patiaanta	1	Saitullus	1
Mufo	1	Paturus	1	Samaius	1
Muscio	1	Pettu	1	Sambarra	1 (N)
Muscus	1	Petu	2	Samianta	1 (N)
Mussa (masc.)	1	Pileto	1	Samicantu	1
Mussa (fem.)	2	Pincio	1	Samtu (?)	1
Muso (masc.)	1	Pinitu	1	Samuco (fem.)	1
Muso (fem.)	1	Pisaita (masc.)	1	Samuda	1
Musso (fem.)	1 (N)	Pisus	1	Sammio	1
Nammo	1	Pluncus	1	Sammus/a	8 (1 N)
Nemeta	4	Pocca	1 (N)	Sammo	1
Nemeto	2	Poio	1	Sammu	1
Nertomarus	2	Potus	1	Samu	1
Nivius	2 (1 N)	Pusinnus	2	Sarturo	1
Noebio	1	Quersor	1	Satico	1
Noeibio	1	Quordaio	1 (N)	Satucio	1
Noibio	1	Quordus	1	Satullus/a	3
Noebia	1	Racco	1	Satula	1 (N)
Nonia	1	Rantillus	1	Satulius (?)	1
Nonis	1	Reburus	1	Satus	1

Appendix III

Saurus	1 (N)	Spittulus	1	Tetus	1 (N)
Sauro	1	Spora	3	Teurnicus	1
Savus	1	Sporilla	1	Teutumerus	1
Saxamus	2	Strito	1	Tevina	1
Saxia (?)	1	Stritto	1	Tinco	2 (1 N)
Saxio	1	Suadrus	1	Titiu	1
Saxsio	1 (N)	Suadra	7	Tituca	1
Saxxu	1	Suadru	1	Tituco	1
Seccius	2 (N)	Suaducia	3	Titulenus(Lat. ?)	1
Seccio	2 (1 N)	Suadulla	4	Togia	2
Secio	1	Subitio	1	Tocia	1
Seccus	2	Sucela	2	Togio	7 (1 N)
Secco	1	Sucella	1	Tonicus	1
Sedata	1	Suceliu (?)	1	Tottia	1
Sedatina	1	Sumarius	2	Tottio	1
Senaca	1	Somario	1	Tottus	1
Senantus	1	Sumelius	1 (N)	Totulo	1
Senillus/a	2	Sumelu	1	Toutus	1
Seniu(?) (masc.)	1 (N)	Suntra	1	Tretucio	1
Sennus	1	Suputa	1	Triccus	3
Senus	1	Suratus	1	Tricus	1
Senno	5 (1 N)	Sutuedus	1	Tricco	1
Seno	2	Sutus	1	Tritoutus	1
Senogius	1	Sutu	1	Tritus	1
Senucius	2	Suvo (?)	1	Trogimarus	1
Seubrinubius(?)	1	Taetio	1	Tromperus	1
Sic[cu?]	1	Taio	1	Trouca (masc.)	1
Sincoria	1	Talio	1	Troucilla	1
Singoria	1	Talsa	1	Troucleimarus	1 (N)
Sinnianus	1 (N)	Tamacus	3	Tuio (or Tuiu)	1
Sinomarus	1	Tamisieta	1	Tuttius	1
Siora	1	Tannio	1	Tutuia	1 (N)
Siriccus	1	Taparu	1	Uccus	4
Sirica	1	Tassarnus	1 (N)	Uca	1
Sirus	2 (1 N)	Tattus	2	Ucco	2
Sira (masc. ?)	2	Tata	1	Uperac[us]	1
Siro	3	Tattu	1	Uppius/a	2
Sisia	5 (1 N)	Tatu	1	Upia	1
Sisiu	2	Tatucus/a	3	Uppu	1
Siunia	1	Tatulus	1	Uragiso (fem.)	1 (N)
Solia	1	Taulus	1	Uttu	1 (N)
Solicurus	3	Tecc(i)us	1	Uxela	1
Solimarus/a	2	Tedsicnatus	1	Vaeno(?) (fem.)	1 (N)
Sonus	1 (N)	Tertus	1	Vallaunus	1
Spirvico	1	Tessillus	1 (N)	Vannianus	1

Appendix III

Vannius	3	Vercombogius	2	Vindrana	1
Vellecia	1	Veriugus	1	Vindus/a	4 (1 N)
Velleco	1	Vetra	1	Vindo	4
Venimarus/a	9	Vetuis	1 (N)	Vindu	1
Venno	1	Viaius (?)	1	Viredo	1
Vepo	1	Vibenna	1	Viria	1
Vepotalus	1	Vibenus/a	22	Viriondagicana	1
Verbica	1	Vebeuis	1	Viruna	1
Verbicius	1 (N)	Vivenus	1 (N)	Viscla[. . .]	1
Vervicius	2	Vindicio	1 (N)	Vogitoutus	2
Vercaius	10	Vindillus/a	4	Volovicus	1 (N)
Vercaio	1	Vindilus	1		
Vercilla	5	Vindio	1		

APPENDIX IV *Celtic names of deities in Noricum*

Among the native deities of Noricum only *Atrons* is possibly Illyrian (see n. 56 on p. 290); the others are, in some cases definitely, in other cases with a great degree of probability, Celtic:

ADSALLUTA, SAVUS. Dedications, mostly from the sanctuary at Za Savu: *CIL* 5134 (11680), 5135, 5136 (p. 1828), 5138 = *ILS* 3907, 11684-5, *AIJ* 26-7, 255.

ANIGEMIUS. *CIL* 5157 (Celeia): *Genio Anigemio*.

ARUBIANUS, ARUBINUS. *CIL* 5185 (Celeia) (Pl. 52): *I.O.M. Conser. Arubiano et Cel(eiae) sanc.* *CIL* 5443 = *ILS* 4852 (Rein): *I.O.M. Arubino*. *CIL* 5532 (Juvavum): *I(ovis) Arub(iani)*. *CIL* 5580 = *IBR* 25 = *ILS* 4853 (Pittenhart): *I.O.M. Arubiano et Bedaio sancto*. *CIL* 5575 = *IBR* 20 (Stöttham): *I.O.M. Arub. et sancto Bed(aio)*.

BEDAIUS, ALOUNAE. Cf. p. 68. All the inscriptions are probably 'carries' from Bedaium. *CIL* 5572 = *IBR* 12 = *ILS* 4857 (Chieming): *Bedaio Aug. sacr. Alounar*. *CIL* 5574 = *IBR* 13 (*ib.*): [*Bedaio Au*]g. *CIL* 11777 = *IBR* 14 = *ILS* 4854 (*ib.*): *Bedaio Aug.* *CIL* 11778 = *IBR* 15 = *ILS* 4855 (*ib.*): *Bedaio Aug. sacr. Alon*. *CIL* 11779 = *IBR* 16 = *ILS* 4856 (*ib.*): *Sacro Alounarum Aug.* *CIL* 5581 = *IBR* 26 = *ILS* 4858 (Secon): *Bedaio Aug. et Alounis sacr.* *CIL* 5580 = *IBR* 25 = *ILS* 4853 (Pittenhart): see under Arubianus. *CIL* 5575 = *IBR* 20 (Stöttham): see under Arubianus.

BELINUS, BELESTIS. According to Tertullian, *Apol.* 24 and *Ad nat.* ii 8 Belenus was a 'Noric god', but most of the monuments of the cult come from Aquileia. Cf. most recently Kenner, *JÖAI* 43 (1956-8) 84 ff. *JV* 1 (1964) 30 (Villach): *Bel[i]no Au[g]*. *CIL* 4774 = *ILS* 4866 (Klagenfurt): *Belino Aug. Car.* 126 (1936) 81 = *FbÖ* 2 (1935-8) 68 (Hochosterwitz): *Belino*. *CIL* 4773 = *ILS* 4865 (Unterloibl): *Belesti Aug. Car.* 93 (1903) 19 = *MZK* 1903, 348 f. = *Car.* 138 (1948) 277 (*ib.*): *Belesti Aug.*

CARVONIA. *CIL* 5115 = *AIJ* 17 (Dobrtěša Vas): [*Ca*]rvoniae *Aug.*

CASUONTANUS. *Car.* 140 (1950) 44 ff. (Ulrichsberg): *Casuontano*.

CELEIA. *CIL* 5154 (Celeia, as all the other inscriptions): *Celeiae Aug.* *CIL* 5185: see under Arubianus. *CIL* 5187 (p. 2285): *I.O.M. et Cel. sanct.* *CIL* 5188 = *ILS* 4860: *I.O.M. et Cel. et Noreiae sanct(a)e*. *CIL* 5192 (p. 1830) = *ILS* 4859: *I.O.M. Eponae et Celeiae sanctae*. A representation in Schober, *Römerzeit*² plate xxvii, fig. 74.

C[.]BUS. *CIL* 4721 (Görtschach): C[.]bo *Aug.* Not definitely Celtic.

EPONA. Cf. Kenner, *JÖAI* 43 (1956-8) 66 ff. *CIL* 5176 (Celeia): *Eponae Aug.* *CIL* 5192 (p. 1830) = *ILS* 4859 (*ib.*): see under Celeia. *CIL* 5312 (Radvanje): *Eponae Aug.* *CIL* 4776 (p. 1046) (Landskron): *Eponae Aug.* *CIL* 4777 = *JÖAI* 18 (1915) 125 (Virunum): [*E*]pon[ae] and [*Epo*]nae. *CIL* 4784 = *ILS* 4835 (*ib.*): *Herculi et Eponae Aug.* A representation from Lauriacum: *FL* 2 (1954) 82 fig. 75.

GRANNUS, SIRONA. *CIL* 5588 (p. 1839) = *IBR* 33 (Baumburg): *Apollini Granno [et S]ironae*.

Appendix IV

IOVENAT(. . .). *CIL* 14366, 3 = Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 75 (Hemmaberg): *Iovenat. Aug.* Cf. now Piccottini, *Car.* 160 (1970) 280 ff.

LATOBIVS. Cf. p. 46; most recently Kenner, *JÖAI* 53 (1956–8) 70 ff.; Vetter, *RE IX A* 285 f.; C. J. Guyonvarc'h, *Car.* 151 (1961) 436 ff. *CIL* 5321 (false reading in *JAK* 1 (1907) 46) (Solva): [*La*]tobi[us]. *CIL* 5320 (p. 1048) = 17721 = *ILS* 4566 = *JAK* 1 (1907) 46 (*ib.*, reading revised by myself): *Marti Latobio Marmogio Toutati Sinati Mogetio*. Egger, *Römische Antike* I 102 (Burgstall near St Margarethen in the Lavant valley): *Latobio*. Egger *op. cit.* (*ib.*): *Latobio Au[g]*. *CIL* 5097 (St Paul in the Lavant valley, probably carried there from the temple at St Margarethen): *Latobio Aug.* *CIL* 5098 = *ILS* 4567 (*ib.*): *Latobio Aug.* Representations: Praschniker, *JÖAI(B)* 36 (1946) 15 ff.

MARMOGIUS. *CIL* 5320, etc. (Solva): see under Latobius. *CIL* 5672 (Perwarth): *Marmogio*.

MOGETIUS. *CIL* 5320, etc. (Solva): see under Latobius.

NOREIA. See p. 299, n. 66 with bibliography. *CIL* 5123 = *ILS* 1858 (Atrans): *Noreiae August. et honori stat(ionis) Atrant.* *CIL* 5188 = *ILS* 4860 (Celeia): see under Celeia. *CIL* 5193 = *ILS* 4861 (*ib.*): *Marti Herculi Victoriae Noreiae*. *CIL* 5300 = *ES* 8 (1969) 3 no. 6 (Črešnjevec): [. . .]ug. e[st] N[oreiae] re[g.] e[st] Britania[e]. *PAR* 2 (1952) 9 = *BHK* 27 (1953) 63 = Modrijan, *Frauenberg* 24 (Frauenberg): *Isi[di] Noreiae[?]*. *CIL* 4810, etc. (references and text on p. 242) (Ulrichsberg): *Noreiae Isidi F[ortunae]*. *CIL* 4806 = *ILS* 4863 (Hohenstein): *Noreiae Aug.* *CIL* 4807 = *ES* 8 (1969) 25 no. 34 (*ib.*): *Noreiae Au[g]*. *CIL* 4808 (*ib.*): *Nor(e)iae*. *CIL* 4809 = *ILS* 1467 (*ib.*): *Isidi Norei(ae)*. *CIL* 14362, etc. (references and text on p. 244, *ib.*): [*Noreiae Au[g]*. *Car.* 123 (1933) 4 = *JÖAI(B)* 28 (1933) 154 f. (*ib.*): *Noreiae Aug.* *PAR* 17 (1967) 18 (Juva-vum): [*Nor.* I[s]idi. *CIL* 5613 = 11781 = *IBR* 434 (Weihmörting): *Noreiae [Aug.]* Representations: Petrikovits, *MVKIPh* 10 (1933) 116 ff. and *Germania* 20 (1936) 25 ff.; Praschniker, *Car.* 131 (1941) 262 ff.; Fleischer, *Bronzen* 89 f. no. 107; cf. also Silber, *Car.* 132 (1942) 21 ff.; Kenner, *Car.* 151 (1961) 439 ff.; etc.

SEDATUS. Cf. Petru, *Situla* 4 (1961) 42. *ILLug* 387 (Celeia): *Sedato Aug.* Representation at Celeia: Klemenc, *Zbornik Fil. Fak. Ljubljana* 1 (1950) 133 ff.

SINATI (dative). *CIL* 5320, etc. (Solva): see under Latobius.

SIRONA. *CIL* 5588, etc. (Baumburg): see under Grannus.

SMERTRIUS. *JÖAI* 35 (1943) 99 ff. (Grossbuch): [*D*]iti Smer[trio] *Aug.*

TEURNIA. *JÖAI(B)* 17 (1914) 29 f. (Teurnia): *Teurniae sanctissim. Aug.*

TOUTATES. *CIL* 5320, etc. (Solva): see under Latobius. The place-name *Tutatio* near Micheldorf in upper Austria is probably connected with this god's name: a Gallo-Roman temple has been excavated on the Georgenberg there, Vetter, *JÖAI(B)* 43 (1956–8) 123 ff.

UXELLIMUS, UXLEMITANUS. Cf. Polaschek, *Car.* 132 (1942) 53 ff.; Egger, *JÖAI* 43 (1956–8) 46 f.; Petru, *Situla* 4 (1961) 41 f.; etc. *CIL* 5145 = *ILS* 4626 (Bukovca): *I.O.M. Uxellimo*. *JÖAI(B)* 31 (1939) 94 ff. = Modrijan–Weber 32 f. = *ES* 8 (1969) 12 f. no. 16 (Brunn near Fehring): *I.O.M. Uxlemitano*.

VANTIT(. . .). *CIL* 5118 = 11671 (Atrans): *Vantit*.

Appendix IV

VIBES. See p. 290 n. 56. *Car.* 125 (1935) 136 f. = *Car.* 140 (1950) 140 ff. (Warmbad Villach): *Vibebos Aug.* See also *Car. loc. cit. (ib.)*: *Vibebos*.

VOCRETANUS. *JÖAI* 43 (1956–8) 41 ff. (Landskron): [*V*]ocretan[o]. *JÖAI loc. cit. (ib.)*: *Vocretan. JV* 8 (1971) 69 ff. (*ib.*): *Vocreta. Aug.*

APPENDIX V *The presidial procurators of Noricum*

C. BAEBIUS P. F. CLA. ATTICUS between A.D. 41 and 54
CIL V 1838 = *ILS* 1349; *CIL* V 1839 (Julium Carnicum). A. Stein, *PIR*² I 345 f. no. 11; Pflaum, *Carrières* I 27 f. no. 11; Winkler, *Noricum* 33 ff.

Origin: Julium Carnicum (C. H. V. Sutherland, *JRS* 31 (1941) 73 ff. is mistaken).

Cursus: *IIvir i.* [d.] (at Julium Carnicum)

primus pil. leg. V Macedonic.

praef. civitatum Moesiae et Treballia[e]

[*pra*]ef. [*ci*]vitat. in *Alpib. maritumis* (CC)

t[r.] *mil. coh. VIII pr.*

primus pil. iter.

procurator Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug. Germanici in Norico.

PETRONIUS URBICUS 69 (beginning)

CIL 11551 (Kraig, cf. p. 81); Tac., *Hist.* i 70. Pflaum, *Carrières* III 1060; Winkler, *Noricum* 35 f.

Origin: probably from Brixia, cf. his presumed descendant Q. Petronius Q.f. Fab. Urbicus ex Italia domo Brixia (*CIL* VII 704 = *RIB* 1686), see E. Birley, *Car.* 143 (1953) 249.

Cursus: *proc. August*[...] or *procurator* (Noric).

SEXTILIUS FELIX

69 (summer and autumn)

Tac., *Hist.* iii 5; iv 70. Pflaum, *Carrières* III 1060; Winkler, *Noricum* 37 f.

Origin: perhaps from Africa, possibly a kinsman of P. Sextilius P.f. Arn. Felix flam. Aug. p(er)p. sacerdos provinciae Africae (*CIL* VIII 14731, Ghardimau). There are several instances in Africa of men named Sextilius Felix (*CIL* VIII 15029 f., Thignica; *CIL* VIII 4066, Lambaesis; *CIL* VIII 20419, Mons (in Mauretania Sitifensis); *CIL* VIII 23595, Mactar). However, homonyms are known elsewhere too (*CIL* VI 36343, Rome and *CIL* IX 2145: freedmen; *CIL* X 3474, Misenum with *origo* from Nola; *CIL* XIV 4569, viii, 6, Ostia).

Cursus: (*procurator Norici*).

A. TREBONIUS [...] (Pl. 14)

second half of first cent.?

CIL 4810 (Ulrichsberg). Jantsch, *Car.* 117 (1927) 5 f. and *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 261 ff.; v. Petrikovits, *Germania* 20 (1936) 26; Polaschek, *RE* Suppl. vii 583; Egger, *Car.* 128 (1938) 23 and 140 (1950) 48; Pflaum, *Carrières* III 1060 and 1106; Winkler, *Noricum* 38 f.

Origin: definitely Italian. Trebonii are scarcely attested anywhere other than Italy, southern Gaul and the Danubian provinces. The *nomen* was especially common in Etruria and adjacent areas (*CIL* XI: 21 instances). Trebonii with the *praenomen* A(ulus) are attested only at Clusium in the imperial period (*CIL* XI 2470). An A. Trebonius was proscribed by Sulla in 82 B.C., but seems to have been rescued; another A. Trebonius was an *equus* and merchant in 56 B.C. (Cic., *Ad fam.* i 3); F. Münzer, *RE* vi A 2273 nos. 2 f. The Norican procurator may belong to the same family, perhaps from Clusium.

Cursus: *proc* [...] (Noric).

The correct restoration of the Ulrichsberg inscription is, in my opinion, that given by H. v. Petrikovits: *Noreiae Isidi F[ortunae sac.] | A. Trebonius [...] | proc. [... | ...]*. It was previously assumed that he had no *cognomen* and belonged to the first half of the first century. According to Polaschek and Winkler he is probably identical with A. Trebonius Garutianus, who was pro-

curator in Africa in A.D. 68 (Tac., *Hist.* i 7). According to Egger and Pflaum the inscription belongs to the second half of the first century. The Noreia temple, where Trebonius dedicated his inscription, was already standing in the first century, see Egger, *Car.* 140 (1950) 69.

G. RASINIUS SILO second half of first or beginning of second cent.?
CIL 5165 (Celeia). Pflaum, *Carrières* III 1060; Winkler, *Noricum* 52 f.

Origin: probably from Etruria. The family of the Rasinii is well-attested by Arretine stamps; scarcely any other bearers of the name are known. The *cognomen* Silo was, however, common mainly in Spain (I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965) 237).

Cursus: *proc. Aug.* (Noric).

According to Pflaum the activity of Silo belongs to the period A.D. 96–161, whereas Winkler favours a date before 152; we may suggest an earlier date (Flavian–Trajanic period): the *beneficiarius* of Silo recorded at Celeia has no *gentilicium* and was not a full citizen. Only one other out of the many known *beneficarii* of the presidial procurators at Celeia was a non-citizen, in service with P. Prifernius Paetus Memmius Apollinaris c. A.D. 110 (CIL 5179). The *beneficarii* attested later all had *gentilicia* and were full citizens.

P. PRIFERNIUS P. F. QUI(R.) PAETUS MEMMIUS APOLLINARIS c. A.D. 110
CIL IX 4753 = ILS 1350 (near Reate); CIL 5179 (Celeia). Pflaum, *Carrières* I 166 f. no. 71 and III 1060; Winkler, *Noricum* 40 ff.

Origin: Reate.

Cursus: III*vir iur. dic. quinq., mag. iu(venum)* (at Reate)

praef. coh. III Breuc.

trib. leg. X gem.

praef. alae I Asturum, *donis donatus exped. Dac.* (A.D. 101–2)

proc. provinc. Sicil. (C)

proc. provinc. Lusitan. (CC)

proc. XX her. (CC)

proc. prov. Thrac. (CC) (before A.D. 106)

proc. prov. Noricae, or *proc. Aug.* (Noric).

Q. CAECILIUS REDDITUS c. A.D. 115
CIL 5163 (Celeia); CIL XIV 47, 49, 169 (73). A. Stein, *PIR*² II 13 no. 71; Pflaum, *Carrières* I 225 f. no. 97 and III 968, 1060; B. E. Thomasson, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas* II (Lund 1960) 294 f.; Winkler, *Noricum* 42 f.

Origin: unknown. The *cognomen* is rare and occurs mainly—in the form Reditus—in the Danubian provinces (Kajanto *op. cit.* 355).

Cursus: (*praef.*) *coh. I Montanorum* (A.D. 102)

(*praef.*) *cohort. I Britannicae (milliariae)* c.R. (A.D. 105)

(further unknown posts)

proc. Aug. (Noric)

(*proc. Aug.*) in *Mauretania Tingitana* (CC) (A.D. 122).

The presidial procuratorship in Noricum, in all probability, preceded that in Tingitana (for a different view, cf. Winkler *op. cit.*). Cf. the career of C. Censorius Niger, as well as those of Sex. Baius Pudens and Ti. Claudius Priscianus, where the procuratorship of Mauretania Caesariensis comes after that in Noricum.

Appendix V

CLAUDIUS PATERNUS CLEMENTIANUS

c. A.D. 120

CIL 5775 = IBR 85 = K. Kraft, *Studien zu Abodiacum-Epfach* (Munich 1964) 77 no. 4; *CIL* 5776 = IBR 86 = *ILS* 1369 = Kraft *op. cit.* 77 f. no. 5; *CIL* 5777 = IBR 87 = Kraft *op. cit.* 76 f. no. 3 (Abodiacum); *CIL* 14362 + 14363, p. 2328, 197 = Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 63 no. 67 = *ES* 8 (1969) 25 f. no. 35 (Hohenstein). A. Stein, *PIR*² II 230 no. 953; Pflaum, *Carrières* I 354 ff. no. 150 *bis*; Kraft *op. cit.*; Winkler, *Noricum* 43 ff.

Origin: Abodiacum, from a romanised Celtic family. His mother was called Cl. Indut[i f.] Clementi[na].

Cursus: *praef. coh. I classicae*

trib. milit[um] leg. XI C[l.]

praef. eq. alae Silia[nae] torquatae c.R.

proc. Aug. provincia[rum] Iudaeae (C)

Sar[dinia] (CC)

Africae (CC)

[et Norici] or proc. Aug. (Norici).

The inscription from the temple of Noreia at Hohenstein may best be restored as follows: [Noreiae Au]g. s[a]crum | Sabi[nius ... pro sal. (?) Cl]audi Paterni Clementiāni *proc. Aug.* | a [solo restituit cel]lam columnas pavimenta porticum. The dedicator was not a subordinate official ([*bf.*?] according to Egger and Pflaum), but probably a member of the distinguished Virunum family of Sabini (p. 116 f.), with a position in the administration of the Norican mines, possibly as a *c(onductor) f(errariarum) N(oricarum)*. One could alternatively restore [*in hon.*] or perhaps [*amicus*] instead of [*pro sal.*].

C. CENSORIUS NIGER

c. A.D. 120–30

CIL 5174 and 5181 (Celeia); *CIL* XVI 176; etc. A. Stein, *PIR*² II 148 no. 658; Pflaum, *Carrières* I 226 ff. no. 97 *bis*; *ib.* III 968, 1060, 1108 with further references (from Fronto, *Ep.*); Thomasson *op. cit.* II 297; Winkler, *Noricum* 48 ff.

Origin: apparently Norican, probably from Solva. The *gentilicium* (formed from the *cognomen* Censor) is attested in the Gallic provinces and for Noricans, but scarcely at all otherwise (*CIL* III 9203; *CIL* VIII 2838). One C. Censorius C. fil. Serenus Fl. Solva (centurio) leg. XIII gem. came from Solva (*CIL* 1615, unknown findspot in Dacia, probably shortly after Trajan's Dacian wars). C. Censorii are otherwise recorded only in Africa (*CIL* VIII 2838). On the Solva family see also *CIL* 5439 (Graz); and cf. *CIL* VI 209 = *ILS* 2097 (Rome, praetorian from Virunum). The procurator C. Censorius Niger was perhaps son of the legionary centurion from Solva. His *cognomen* is also found among the Norican population (*CIL* 11699 = *ILS* 3301; *CIL* 11561; *CIL* 11582 = *Car.* 120 (1930) 27).

Cursus: *proc. Aug. (Norici)*

(*proc.*) [*in Mauretania Tingitana*] (CC) (A.D. 130–40).

On the order in which his posts were held cf. Pflaum *op. cit.* (for another view, Winkler *op. cit.*). Cf. also under Q. Caecilius Redditus.

PLAUTIUS CAESIUS

c. A.D. 140

CIL XVI 75 (Dacia inferior); *CIL* 5177 (Celeia). Polaschek, *RE Suppl.* vii 583 (erroneous) Pflaum, *Carrières* I 271 f. no. 111; III 1060; Winkler, *Noricum* 47 f.

Origin: perhaps Italian.

Cursus: (*proc. Aug. Daciae inferioris*) (C?) (A.D. 129)
(further unknown posts [?])
proc. Aug. (Norici).

C. ANTISTIUS AUSPEX between c. A.D. 100 and 160
CIL 5173 (Celeia). A. Stein, *PIR*² I 143 no. 756; Pflaum, *Carrières* III 1060; Winkler, *Noricum* 53.
Origin: perhaps Italian (on the *cognomen* cf. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 318).
Cursus: *proc. Aug. (Norici)*.

DRUSIUS PROCU[LUS] between c. A.D. 100 and 160
CIL 5170 (Celeia). Pflaum, *Carrières* III 1060; Winkler, *Noricum* 51 f.
Origin: apparently from Venusia (see also Polaschek, *RE* Suppl. vii 583) where a [Dr]ussi[us Pr]ocul[us] is known (*CIL* IX 506). Apart from at Venusia (cf. also *CIL* IX 505), the *nomen* is found at Larinum (*CIL* IX 752), Puteoli (*CIL* X 2701) and Nemausus (*CIL* XII 3566).
Cursus: *proc. Aug. (Norici)*.

Q. LISINIUS SABINUS between c. A.D. 100 and 160
CIL 5167 = *AIJ* 43; *CIL* 5168; 5175; 5176 (Celeia). Pflaum, *Carrières* III 1060; Winkler, *Noricum* 52.
Origin: probably from Gemonia, where Lisinii are known (*CIL* V 1820). The *nomen* is otherwise found only in Dacia and Pannonia (*CIL* 1535 = 13788; 10321; 13429).
Cursus: *proc. Aug. (Norici)*.

EGNATIUS PRISCUS between c. A.D. 110 and 160
CIL 11759 (Juvavum). Polaschek, *RE* Suppl. vii 583 f.; Pflaum, *Carrières* III 1060, 1106; Winkler, *RE* Suppl. ix 34 and *Noricum* 39 f. (with too early a dating, cf. Alföldy, *BJ* 170 (1970) 560).
Origin: unknown.
Cursus: *proc. Aug. (Norici)*.
His *beneficiarius* was an Ulpian and hence had obtained the citizenship under Trajan at earliest. The procurator is a kinsman of one L. Clodius Justus Egnatius Priscus (*AE* 1937, 67 from A.D. 111), if not identical with him; and a lady named Aegnatia Priscilla, wife of a procurator, may be a relation (*CIL* XII 112).

[C]AECILIUS [I]UVENTIANUS between c. A.D. 138 and 160
CIL 5182 (p. 1830) (Celeia). A. Stein, *PIR*² II 8 no. 5; Pflaum, *Carrières* III 1060; Winkler, *Noricum* 50 f.
Origin: unknown.
Cursus: *proc. Aug. (Norici)*.
Probably identical with one Caecilius Juventianus, recipient of a rescript from Antoninus Pius (*Dig.* xlviii 18, 10).

T. FLAVIUS TITIANUS probably c. A.D. 153
CIL 5164; 5172 (Celeia). Pflaum, *Carrières* I 362 f. no. 154; III 1060; Winkler, *Noricum* 53 ff.
Origin: unknown.
Cursus: *proc. Aug. (Norici)*
(further unknown posts)
praefectus Aegypti (A.D. 164–7).

Appendix V

The identification with the homonymous prefect of Egypt, proposed by Pflaum, is hardly in doubt. The period *c.* A.D. 153 is seemingly the latest possible date for his Norican post, as all the procurators appear to be known after this.

ULPIUS VICTOR

c. A.D. 156

CIL XVI 101 (Regensburg); *CIL* 5161; 5169 (Celeia). Polaschek, *RE* Suppl. vii 583; Pflaum, *Carrières* I 385 f. no. 159 and III 1060; Winkler, *Noricum* 55 f. and *BVBl* 36 (1971) 61 f.

Origin: unknown.

Cursus: [*proc. in Raetia*] (CC) A.D. 153

proc. Aug. (Norici).

A *beneficiarius* of Victor at Celeia, one Adnamius Flavinus, had further served there under Usienus Secundus (*CIL* 5161-2 with p. 2285). Usienus Secundus will have been the immediate successor of Ulpus Victor, who apparently obtained his Norican post straight after that in Raetia.

USIENUS SECUNDUS

c. A.D. 158

CIL 5162 (p. 2285) (Celeia); *CIL* 5166 (*ib.*, A.D. 158); *CIL* 11826 (Lauriacum). Pflaum, *Carrières* III 1060; Winkler, *Noricum* 56 f.

Origin: perhaps Mutina, where the *nomen* is recorded in the form Ussienus (*CIL* XI 921). Otherwise there is only an Usena from Rome (*CIL* VI 29603) and some Ussieni from there.

Cursus: *proc. Aug. (Norici)*.

M. BASSAEUS M. F. STEL. RUFUS

c. A.D. 160

CIL VI 1599 = 31828 = *ILS* 1326 (Rome); *CIL* 5171 (Celeia). See esp. A. Stein, *PIR*² I 356 f. no. 69; Pflaum, *Carrières* I 389 ff. no. 162 (with further references and bibliography); Winkler, *Noricum* 57 ff.

Origin: certainly Beneventum; the family is known mainly here (*CIL* IX 1640 f., 1763 ff., 1848, 2084, 6282) and note also that this town was in Stellatina. Rufus was of humble parentage (Dio lxxi 5, 2 f; *SHA*, Avidius Cassius 14, 8).

Cursus: (centurion's career)

trib. coh. V vigul.

trib. coh. X urb.

trib. coh. [. . .] pr.

p.p. bis

proc. Asturiae et Callaeciae (CC)

proc. regni [Norici] or [proc.] Aug. (Norici)

proc. Belg[icae et du]arum Germaniarum (CC)

proc. a rationibus

praef. [vig.] (A.D. 168)

praef. Aeg. (A.D. 168-9)

pr. pr. (A.D. 169-77/80), [*c*]onsularibus ornamentis honoratus.

SEX. BAIUS PUDENS

c. A.D. 162

CIL IX 4964 = *ILS* 1363 (Cures). Pflaum, *Carrières* I 422 ff. no. 173 and III 1060 (with further references); Winkler, *Noricum* 59 ff. and *BVBl* 36 (1971) 65 f. Polaschek, *RE* Suppl. vii 583 mistakenly dates the Norican procuratorship to *c.* A.D. 175.

Origin: Cures.

Cursus: (centurion's career)

trib. (eq. sing. Aug.) (A.D. 153)

[*primus pilus II*]

proc. Aug. [...] (at least on one occasion as CC)

item [regni] Norici

Raetiae Vindelic[iae] (CC)

procurator Augustorum Mauretaniae Caesar. (CC) (A.D. 167–9).

[P.A]EL. MAXIM[US]

c. A.D. 165

CIL 11543 = *ES* 8 (1969) 17 f. no. 25 (Virunum). Pflaum, *Carrières* III 1060; Winkler, *Noricum* 61.

Origin: unknown; provincial to judge from nomenclature.

Cursus: [*p*]roc. Augg. n[n.] r(egni) N(orici).

His tenure fell during the joint reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, evidently c. A.D. 165, between Sex. Baius Pudens and Ti. Claudius Priscianus.

TI. CLAUDIUS TI. FIL. FAL. PRISCIANUS

c. A.D. 168

CIL VIII 9363 (p. 974, p. 1983) = *ILS* 1351 (Caesarea in Mauretania); *CIL* VIII 9364 (*ib.*); *JAK* 6 (1912) 210 (Unterthörl, A.D. 168); *CIL* X 3849 (Capua). Pflaum, *Carrières* I 438 ff. no. 175; Winkler, *Noricum* 62 f.

Origin: Capua.

Cursus: (probably a centurion's career, without service in the guard)

proc. provinciae Pannoniae superioris (C)

proc. regni Norici or *proc. Aug. (Norici)*

proc. XX hereditatium (CC)

proc. provinciae (Mauretaniae Caesariensis) (CC) (c. A.D. 175).

APPENDIX VI *Senatorial governors of Noricum*

C. MEMMIUS C. F. QUIR. FIDUS JULIUS ALBIUS probably A.D. 188–91
CIL VIII 12442 = *ILS* 1110 (Henchir-el-M'den); *CIL* VIII 25527 = *ILTun* 1244 (Bulla Regia);
CIL 15208 = *ILS* 9082 (Lauriacum, A.D. 191). Barbieri, *Albo* 88 f. no. 367; Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 170 f. (with further references); Winkler, *Noricum* 75 ff.

Origin: Bulla Regia.

Cursus: *dece[m]vir stlitibus indicandis*

trib. laticl. leg. II Augustae

q. prov. Asiae

aedil. Cerial.

leg. pr. pr. prov. Afric.

praetor

iuridicus per Italiam reg. Transpadanae

leg. Aug. leg. VII Claudiae

procos. provin. Baetic.

praef. Minic.

cur. viae Flam.

leg. Aug. pro pr. prov. Noricae or *leg. Aug. pr. pr. cos. des.* (18 September A.D. 191, Lauriacum)

cos. (suff.) (end of A.D. 191 or 192)

[*leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. . . .*] *ris* (Germ. inf., Germ. sup., Moes. sup. or Pann. sup.)

[*cor*] *rec[tor Italiae?]*

M. JUVENTIUS M. F. FAB. SURUS PROCULUS A.D. ?199/200–?202
CIL V 4360 (Brixia); numerous milestones from Noricum with the name of this governor from A.D. 201: *CIL* 5712; *CIL* 5715 = 11835 = *MZK* 1902, 95 f.; *CIL* 5716; *CIL* 5717 (p. 1847) = *MZK* 1902, 93 f.; *CIL* 5723 = 11837 = *MZK* 1902, 96 f.; *CIL* 5746; *MZK* 1902, 97 f.; *Schlern* 8 (1927) 211 ff. = *NSc* 1928, 129 ff. = *AAnz* 43 (1928) 123 f.; *Schlern* 32 (1958) 223 ff. = *PAR* 8 (1958) 36; his name may also be restored on *CIL* 5703 (p. 2328, 200); *CIL* 5747 = 11842; *CIL* 5750 = 11843 = *IBR* 478 and probably also *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 267 ff. A milestone from Aguntum belongs at earliest to A.D. 202: *PAR* 15 (1965) 4 f. with *cos. III* for Severus; but perhaps really *cos. II p. [p.]*? Finally, a building-inscription from Lauriacum mentions this governor: [*curante*] *Iuventio Pr[oculo leg. Augg. pro pr.] cos. d[esig.]*, *JÖAI* 9 (1906) 317 f. = *RLÖ* 8 (1907) 221 ff. = *RLÖ* 9 (1908) 129 ff. See E. Groag, *RE* x 1369 f.; Barbieri, *Albo* 78 no. 320; *PIR*² IV 367 f. no. 889; Alföldy, *Historia* 15 (1966) 438; E. Weber, *Historia* 17 (1968) 106 ff.; Winkler, *Noricum* 83 ff.

Origin: Brixia.

Cursus: *sevir eq. Rom.*

(further unknown posts)

leg. (Augg.) pr. pr. (Noric)

cos. (suff.) (probably A.D. 201 or 202).

The building-inscription from Lauriacum was dated to A.D. 205 by E. Bormann, and a similar view is taken by E. Weber *op. cit.* (who also wishes to restore this governor's name in the

Appendix VI

rescript from Solva); cf. for another view Groag *op. cit.* and Alföldy *op. cit.* The surviving fragments of the imperial titulature are insufficient to allow an exact dating. Whether or not Severus bore the title *procos.* in an inscription is no assistance for dating purposes (cf. for example *ILS* 416, 417 and 432 without *procos.*, although the emperor was not in Italy). In my view Juventius Surus was governor up till A.D. 201 or 202, with an unknown successor from about A.D. 202–5, followed by Pollienus Sebennus A.D. 205–6. Cf. now Winkler, *JOM* 116 (1971) 134 ff.

POLLIENUS SEBENNUS

A.D. ? 205–6

Dio lxxvi 9, 2 f.; *CIL* 5537 = *JZK* 1906, 149 f. (Juvavum, A.D. 206). The governor's name may also apparently be restored in the rescript from Solva (A.D. 205), see p. 160. Kubitschek, *JZK* 1906, 149 ff.; Polaschek, *RE Suppl.* vii 584; Barbieri, *Albo* 99 no. 414; Alföldy, *Historia* 15 (1966) 438 and *BJ* 168 (1968) 150; Winkler, *Noricum* 89 ff.

Origin: apparently Italian.

Cursus: governor in Noricum.

The correct form of the *nomen* is *Pollienus* and not *Pollenius*, see esp. A. R. Birley, *ES* 4 (1967) 81. Sebennus was successfully prosecuted by the Noricans in A.D. 206, see p. 102. He is probably the governor given instructions by Severus in A.D. 205 in the rescript from Solva. It was certainly not the name of Sebennus that was erased in the inscriptions of the Moosham Mithraeum, see *ES* 8 (1969) 27 f. no. 38, against Egger, *WSI* 79 (1966) 613 ff.; cf. E. Weber, *JÖAI(B)* 47 (1964–5) 187 ff.

P. CATIUS SABINUS

A.D. 206–?208

CIL VI 313 = *ILS* 3402; *CIL* VI 864 = 31128 (Rome); *AE* 1956, 204 (Apulum); *CIL* 5727 = *JZK* 1906, 145 ff. = *MGS* 107 (1967) 67 ff. (Juvavum); Dio lxxvi 9, 2. Groag, *PIR*² II 130 f. no. 571; Barbieri, *Albo* 35 no. 126; Alföldy, *BJ* 168 (1968) 137 f.; Winkler, *Noricum* 93 ff.

Origin: probably northern Italy (see Alföldy *op. cit.*).

Cursus: *trib. mil. leg. XIII g.*

(further posts)

praetor urbanus

(further unknown posts)

[*le*]g. *Augg. pr. pr.* (*Norici*)

cos. (suff.) (c. A.D. 209)

[*curator aedium*] *sacr. operumq. publ[icorum]* (A.D. 210)

cos. II ord. (A.D. 216).

The praetor and consular P. Catus Sabinus is identical with the Sabinus who replaced the governor Pollienus Sebennus in Noricum and whose *cognomen* is preserved on the building-inscription from Juvavum.

M. MUNATIUS SULLA CERIALIS

A.D. ?211–?214

CIL 11743 = Modrijan–Weber 25 f. (Kugelstein). Groag, *RE* xvi 555 f.; Barbieri, *Albo* 90 no. 377; Winkler, *Noricum* 95 ff.

Origin: probably Italian.

Cursus: *pr(a)es(es)* (*Norici*)

cos. ord. (A.D. 215)

governor in Cappadocia (A.D. 219).

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The inscription from Kugelstein (see the text in n. 7, p. 333) mentions Noricans who still lacked full citizenship. Cerialis would thus seem to have taken up his post in Noricum before the Edict of Caracalla.

P. COSINIUS FELIX

c. A.D. 250

CIL 15208, 1 = *MZK* 1903, 269 f. (Lauriacum); *CIL* 3421 and *Arch. Ért.* 78 (1951) 48 (from Lower Pannonia, the second inscription from A.D. 252). See Fitz, *RE* Suppl. ix 23 f.; Winkler, *Noricum* 97 f.

Origin: apparently Italian, as the *nomen* Cos(s)inius is scarcely found elsewhere.

Cursus: [leg.] Aug. p[r. pr.] (*Norici*)

cos. (suff.)

leg. Augg. pr. pr. (*Pannoniae inferioris*) (A.D. 252).

C. MACRINIUS DECIANUS

c. A.D. 255

CIL VIII 2615 = *ILS* 1194 (Lambaesis); *CIL* VIII 9047 = *ILS* 2767 (Auzia). Barbieri, *Albo* 291 no. 1639; E. Birley, *JRS* 40 (1950) 65; Thomasson, *Statthalter* II 221 ff.; Winkler, *Noricum* 98 ff.

Origin: perhaps Gaul, as the *nomen* is scarcely recorded anywhere else.

Cursus: legat. Augg. pr. pr. prov. *Numidiae*

et *Norici*.

?VA[...] SULPICIANUS

late second or third cent.

CIL 5072 = *MZK* 1904, 166 = *ES* 8 (1969) 16 f. no. 24 (Globasnitz). The inscription appears to mention a *Volcarius Martialis* bf. cos. Va[. . .] *Sulpician*[i].

APPENDIX VII *Agentes vices praesidis in Noricum*

AEL. RESTUTUS

between A.D. 260–300

RLÖ II (1910) 150 ff. (Lauriacum). A. Stein, *PIR*² I 40 no. 242; Winkler, *Noricum* 100 f.

Origin: probably Norican, for the *cognomen* is one of the commonest names in the province.

A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand* 160, takes a different view.

Cursus: *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices) p(raesidis)*.

M. AURELIUS MARINUS

between A.D. 260–300

RLÖ II (1910) 152 ff. (Lauriacum). A. Stein, *PIR*² I 318 no. 1554; Winkler, *Noricum* 102.

Origin: unknown.

Cursus: *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) (agens vices praesidis)*.

The dedicatory inscription of Marinus was set up in the same place as that of Aelius Restutus; the former was certainly governor as well.

[M. ?] AUR. [IU ?] LIUS

c. A.D. 276?

CIL 259* = *JÖAI(B)* 41 (1954) 96 ff. (Cetium). Saria, *JÖAI(B) loc. cit.*; Winkler, *Noricum* 101 f.

Origin: unknown.

Cursus: [*v(ir) p(erf.)*] *a(gens) v(ices) p(raesidis)*.

Probably identical with Aurelius Julius *a.v.p.* in Baetica c. A.D. 276 (*CIL* II 1115 = *ILS* 593 and *CIL* II 1116).

APPENDIX VIII *Beneficarii posts in Noricum*

Hoischbügel near Unterthörl (on the Larix–Virunum road)

JAK 6 (1912) 209 ff. (A.D. 168): *bf. Cl. Priscian. proc. Aug.*; JZK 1905, 129 f. (A.D. 200): *bf. cos.*; CIL 11482 (A.D. 215): *bf. cos. leg. II Ita. Antoninian.* The dedication CIL 13518 = JZK 1905, 13 = *Car.* 144 (1954) 140 was apparently likewise made by a *beneficiarius*. Cf. esp. Kubitschek, JAK 6 (1912) 209 f.; Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 97 f.

Near Arnoldstein (on the Larix–Virunum road)

Car. 145 (1955) 96 ff. (carried to Seltschach, after A.D. 170): *bf. cos.*

St Leonhard near Sigmontitsch (on the Larix–Virunum road)

CIL 14361 (A.D. 209): *bf. cos. leg. II Ital. p.f.*

Near Landskron (on the Larix–Virunum road)

CIL 4776 (p. 1046) (after A.D. 170): *bf. cos.* Slaves of the same man are perhaps mentioned on CIL 4763 (likewise carried to Landskron castle).

Töschling on the Wörthersee (on the Larix–Virunum road)

CIL 4771 = 11496 (after A.D. 170): reading probably [...] *D.O.M. [In]victo [Au]r. Surus bf. [cos.]*.

Virunum

CIL 4820 = *FbÖ* 2 (1935–8) 72 = *Car.* 125 (1935) 274 (A.D. 238): *bf. c[os. leg.] II Ital. p.f.* Cf. also CIL 4833, 4842 = 11508; 4852 (p. 1813) and 4860: tombstones of *beneficarii* who either served at Virunum or were natives of the place.

Windischgarsten (on the Virunum–Ovilava road)

Numerous tile-stamps of II Italica and auxiliary units have been found here (CIL 5751, 1, f-i and x; 11854; 5766; 5767; 11872 a–f). Tiles stamped with the names of military units, i.e. made in military kilns, are found in Noricum only in forts, other military buildings and in public buildings (Ovilava). At Windischgarsten, lying below the Pyhrn Pass, they probably indicate the presence of a *beneficiarius*-post.

Ovilava

Cf. CIL 5631 and 11787: tombstones of *beneficarii* who either served here or were natives of the place.

Lauriacum

CIL 11826 (c. A.D. 158) and CIL 5671 = 11814 (after A.D. 170): tombstones of *beneficarii* who served here, or were perhaps natives of the place; the second is *bf. praef.*

Atrans (on the Emona–Poetovio road, Norican section)

CIL 11676 (after A.D. 170): *bf. cos. leg. II Ital.*

Celeia

CIL 5165 (probably late first or early second cent.): *bf. G. Rasini Silonis proc. Aug.*; CIL 5179 (c. A.D. 110): *bf. Memmi Apoll(inaris) proc. Aug.*; CIL 5163 (c. A.D. 115): *bf. Q. Caecili Redditi proc. Aug.*; CIL 5174 and 5181 (c. A.D. 120–30): *bf. C. Censori Nigri proc. Aug.*; CIL 5177 (c. A.D. 140): *bf. Plauti Caesiani proc. Aug.*; CIL 5173 (A.D. 100–160): *benef. C. Antisti Auspici proc. Aug.*;

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CIL 5170 (A.D. 100–160): *bf. Drusi Procu[li] proc. Aug.*; CIL 5167 = AIJ 43, CIL 5168, 5175 and 5176 (A.D. 100–160): *bf. Q. Lisini Sabini proc. Aug.*; CIL 5182 (p. 1830) (A.D. 138–60): [*bf. C]aecili [Lu]ventiani proc. Aug.*; CIL 5164 and 5172 (c. A.D. 153): *bf. Flavi Titiani proc. Aug.*; CIL 5161 and 5169 (c. A.D. 156): *bf. Ulpi Victoris proc. Aug.*; CIL 5162 (p. 2285) and 5166 (A.D. 158): *bf. Useni Secundi proc. Aug.*; CIL 5171 (c. A.D. 160): [*bf. M. B]assaei Rufi [proc. Au]g.*; CIL 5178 (A.D. 192): *bf. cos. leg. II Ita.*; CIL 5187 (p. 2285) (A.D. 211): *bf. leg. II Ital. p.f.*; CIL 5154 (A.D. 213): *bf. cos.*; CIL 5185 (A.D. 215): *bf. cos. leg. II Ital. p.f. Antoninian(a)e*; CIL 5189 (A.D. 217): *bf. cos. leg. II Ital. p.f.*; CIL 5160 (after A.D. 170): *bf.*; CIL 5180 (after A.D. 170): *bf. cos. leg. II Ital.*; CIL 5188 (after A.D. 170): *bf. cos.* Cf. also CIL 5221 (p. 2285) = AIJ 47 (after A.D. 170): tombstone of the family of a *bf.*, who either served here or was a native of the place. On the post, see p. 163. The tile-stamps of II Italica from Celeia (CIL 11849c and p. 2328,50) come from it.

Črešnjevec (on the Emona–Poetovio road, Norican section)

CIL 5300 = ES 8 (1969) 3 no. 6 (c. A.D. 210): apparently [*bf.*] *l(eg.) II Ital[l.] p.[f.]*.

Juenna (on the Celeia–Virunum road)

CIL 5072 = MZK 1904, 166 = ES 8 (1969) 16 f. no. 24 (cf. p. 250).

Near St. Margarethen in the Lavant valley (?) (on the Virunum–Solva road?)

Egger, *Römische Antike* I 102 no. 3 (after A.D. 170): dedication for the *salus* of a [*bf.*] *cos.* and his wife from St Margarethen. The *beneficiarius* may have been a native of this place, or have served near here, perhaps along a road going from Virunum to Solva.

Grödig near Salzburg (on the Teurnia–Juvavum road)

PAR 5 (1955) 14 (A.D. 202): [*bf.*] *cos. leg. [II It.] p.f.*

Juvavum

CIL 11759 (A.D. 100–160): *bf. Egnati Prisci proc. Aug.*

Bedaum (on the Juvavum–Pons Aeni road)

CIL 5575 = IBR 20 (A.D. 226): *bf. cos. leg. II Ital. p.f. Sever.*; CIL 5580 = IBR 25 (A.D. 219): *bf. cos. leg. II Ital. Antoninian.* Both inscriptions were found at Stöttham or Pittenhart and had probably been carried there from Bedaum (Seebuck), see Kellner–Ulbert, *BVBl* 23 (1958) 50.

Lentia (limes road)

CIL 5689 (before A.D. 170): funerary inscription of an [*e*]x *bf. proc.*, who either served here or was a native of the place.

Wernstein (on the Pons Aeni–Boiodurum road)

CIL 5690 = IBR 440 (in A.D. 230): *bf. cos. leg. II Ital. p.f. Severianae.* The inscription can scarcely have been carried there from Boiodurum.

For tombstones of *beneficarii* which are definitely not from their place of service see also CIL 5517; 5661 = 11811 (p. 2200); etc. No *beneficarii* are recorded at Hohenstein and Tiffen (pp. 244, 334 n. 34); and it is unlikely that there were any at Deinsberg either (CIL 14366, 1).

APPENDIX IX *Offices of the Illyrian customs-zone (portorium publicum Illyrici) in Noricum*

HEAD OFFICE: VIRUNUM. *CIL* 4875 = *Car.* 145 (1955) 202 (mid-second cent.): *Albanus Q. Sab(inii) Ver(ani) s(ervus)*; *Car.* 121 (1931) 9 = *FbÖ* 1 (1930-4) 103 (mid-second cent.): *Bellicus Sabini Verani (servus)*. On the lease-holder Q. Sabinus Veranus see p. 116 f. The following probably refer to freedmen of his: *CIL* 4967 = 11525 = *ES* 8 (1969) 21 ff. no. 31: *Q. Sab[inius] Call[istus?]* (Karlsberg); etc.; cf. *ES loc. cit.* Cf. De Laet, *Portorium* 187; Leber, *Car.* 145 (1955) 201 ff.; Vittinghoff, *RE* xxii 364; Panciera, *Aquileia* 64 ff.

FRONTIER CUSTOMS-POSTS

Boiodurum with the *statio Boiodurensis* (Passau-Innstadt). *CIL* 5691 = *IBR* 441: *Faustinianus vect(igalis) Illyr(ici) vil(icus)*, *Felix (contra)sc(ri)ptor ex vik(ario) eius*; *CIL* 5121 (p. 2198) = *ILS* 1857 (Atrans, see below for text). Cf. De Laet *op. cit.* 194; Vittinghoff *op. cit.* 365; Schönberger, *SJ* 15 (1966) 75; Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 28.

Pons Aeni with the *statio Enensis* (Pfaffenhofen near Rosenheim). *CIL* 15184, 7 = *AIJ* 304 (from Poetovio, c. A.D. 244, cf. *CIL* 15184, 5 = *AIJ* 300): *Charidemus Aug. n. vil(icus) sta(tionis) Enensis*. For the identification of the site of Pons Aeni see Reinecke, *BVF* 4 (1924) 39; *Kleine Schriften* 50 f.; F. Wagner, *Die Römer in Bayern*⁴ 70; Torbrügge, *Rosenheim* 51 f.; more recently Christlein and Kellner, *BVBl* 37 (1969) 76 ff. The customs-post almost certainly lay in the settlement of Pons Aeni on the west side of the Inn, cf. Torbrügge *op. cit.* 51 f. As the inscription cited comes from a Mithraeum at Poetovio, where numerous employees of the Illyrican customs-zone are recorded, Charidemus was an official of this zone at the *statio Enensis*, and not of Raetia, which belonged to the Gallic customs-zone (for a different view, De Laet *op. cit.* 220). He dedicated his inscription at Poetovio either on the occasion of his transfer to Pfaffenhofen or on his return from there. Cf. also pp. 58, 116.

Unknown post in the area of Brixen (Bressanone). Near *Sabiona* (Säben, Subsabione), in the vicinity of Klausen (Chiusa), there was a post of the Illyrican customs-zone, see *CIL* V 5079 = *IBR* 57 (mid-second cent.); *CIL* 5080 = *IBR* 58 = *ILS* 1859 (mid-second cent.); *CIL* V 5081 = *IBR* 59 (after M. Aurelius); cf. also *CIL* V 5082 = *IBR* 60 (probably third cent.). Cf. Patsch, *WMBH* 6 (1899) 269 ff.; Heuberger, *Rätien* 92 ff., 318 ff.; *Schlern* 27 (1953) 517 ff., 28 (1954) 319 ff.; Polaschek, *RE* xvii 983 f.; Nierhaus, in *Festschrift E. Wable* 177 ff.; De Laet *op. cit.* 182 f.; Vittinghoff *op. cit.* 362. From Patsch's time onwards it has been supposed that this customs-post was situated in what was still Norican territory. However, it is more likely that Noricum did not extend into the Eisack valley (Val d' Isarco) in the south-west, but only to the western end of the Pustertal (see p. 58 f.). In this case, Sabiona will have been the branch-post in Italy of the Illyrican customs-zone, on the far side of the Norican frontier, just as, for example, Timau south of the Plöcken pass or Resiutta below the Saifnitzer Sattel (see below). A corresponding customs-post on the Norican side may be postulated between Brixen and Ehrenburg.

Loncium (near Mauthen in the upper Gail valley). *CIL* 4720 = Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 87 = *ES* 8 (1969) 29 no. 40 (Reisach, carried there from Mauthen, mid-second cent.): *Amandus T. Iul. Saturnini ser(vus) (contra)sc(ri)ptor, Maturus et Mercator vilici*. Cf. De Laet *op. cit.* 185 f.; Vittinghoff *op. cit.* 362. Corresponding branch-post on the Italian side of the Plöcken Pass: *statio Timaviensis*

(Timau, north of Julium Carnicum), see *CIL* V 1864 = Egger, *Römische Antike* I 198 f. with new reading.

Larix with the *statio Bilachiniensis* (Saifnitz = Camporosso near Tarvis on the Saifnitzer Sattel). *CIL* 4712 = 11470 (probably second half of second cent.): *Aquilinus* *Caes. n. (servus), Iulia Stratonice coniux* (in my opinion perhaps a *liberta* of the lease-holder T. Julius Saturninus); *CIL* 4716, cf. *ES* 8 (1969) 22 (mid-second cent.?): text probably [...] *c(ontra)sc(ri)ptor ex pr[ae]p[ro] salute [sua et] suorum [et] Q. Sabini [Verani c.p.p. ?]*; Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 95 (probably c. A.D. 200): *D.M. (H)ermianus Augustorum n. (servus) scrutator st(ationis) Bilachinie(n)s(is) et Leontia con. f[ecer.] Apr(a)e fil. karissim.*, etc. (Egger's reading differs in some respects). Cf. also *CIL* 4713 = 11471 (second cent.): *Iul. Venusta*; *CIL* 4717 (second cent.): *Iul. Hermes, Iul. [Eu]tychia [co]niux* (in my view perhaps *liberti* of the lease-holder T. Julius Saturninus). According to Egger *op. cit.* and others the *statio Bilachiniensis* is to be connected with the name of Villach and to be located at, for example, Warmbad Villach. However, in view of the place where the inscription that mentions the *statio* was found (Saifnitz), a location in the area of the ancient settlement there, *Larix*, is more likely, cf. esp. Deringer, *Car.* 140 (1950) 175 ff.; Polaschek, *AAW* 9 (1956) 41; cf. also Görlich, *Car.* 148 (1958) 227 ff. Winkler, *Noricum* 155 is mistaken. The corresponding branch-post on the Italian side of the 'Norican main highway': *statio Plurucensis* near Resiutta, see *CIL* V 8650; *AE* 1923, 46.

Atrans with the *statio Atrantina* (on the Trojana Pass between Emona and Celeia). *CIL* 5117, cf. *ILIng* 380 (mid-second cent.): *Fortunatus C. Antoni Rufi proc. Aug. ser(vus) vil(icus)*; *CIL* 5120 (p. 2198) (after M. Aurelius): *C. Antonius Iulianus proc. p(ortorii) p(ublici) X*; *CIL* 5121 (p. 2198) = *ILS* 1857 = *ES* 8 (1969) 1 f. no. 1 (mid-second cent.): *Eutyches Iulior. c(onductorum) p(ortorii) p(ublici) ser(vus) (contra)sc(ri)ptor stationis Boiod(urensis) ex vik(ario) Benigni vil(ici) stat(ionis) Atrantin(ae)* (promoted from *Atrans* to *Boiodurum*); *CIL* 5122 (p. 1827) (mid-second cent.): *Abascantus Antoni Rufi s(ervus) scrut(ator)*; *CIL* 5123 = *ILS* 1858 (second cent.): ... *honori stat(ionis) Atrant(inae) Bellicus et Eutyches (contra)sc(ri)ptores stat(ionis) eiusdem* (Bellicus is probably a slave of Q. Sabinius Veranus, see under *Virunum*); *CIL* 5124, cf. *ILIng* 381 (second cent.): *[S]ecundianus [(contra)sc(ri)ptor]*; *CIL* 11673 (c. A.D. 200?): *Chresimus Augg. [nn. vil(icus?)]*; *CIL* 11674 = 13522 (c. A.D. 200?): *Primigenius Augg. nn. vil(icus) stat(ionis) Atranti(nae)*; cf. also *CIL* 5119 = *ILS* 3273 (early third cent.?): *Aurelii Asclepiodotus et Lucius*; *CIL* 11677 (early third cent.?): *Aurel. Asclepiodotus* (perhaps imperial freedmen, former slaves belonging to the customs-administration). See also *CIL* 5146 (Rimske Toplice, mid-second cent.): *Fructus Q. Sabini Verani c(onductoris) p(ortorii) p(ublici) ser(vus) vilic(us)*; *CIL* 5184 (Celeia, probably mid-second cent.): *C. Calcin[us] Tertian[us] cond(uctor) p(ortorii) p(ublici)* (the post where this official worked was in my view the neighbouring *Atrans*; for a different view, De Laet *op. cit.* 190; Vittinghoff *op. cit.* 364). See further, in addition, *CIL* 15184, 4 = *AIJ* 299 (Poetovio, from the period A.D. 197–209): *Salvianus (Augg.) ser(vus) c(ontra)sc(ri)ptor stationis Atrantinae*. Cf. Šašel, *ŽA* 4 (1954) 200 ff. The corresponding station on the Pannonian side of the frontier in the Emona direction was *Ad Publicanos* (Gradišče near Podpeč), cf. *CIL* 13396 = *AIJ* 214 and on this De Laet *op. cit.* 189 n. 2.

INTERNAL POSTS

Statio Esc(ensis) (probably Bad Ischl). *CIL* 5620 (from Bad Ischl?): *Secundinus Aug. n. vil(icus) stat(ionis) Esc(ensis)*; *IBR* 20a (unknown findspot, perhaps at the Chiemsee): *[Olym]piu[s] A[u]g. n. v[il.] stat(ionis) Esc(ensis)*. These two third-century inscriptions are difficult as their

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provenance is unknown, cf. esp. Reinecke, *BVF* 4 (1924) 30; De Laet *op. cit.* 220; Vittinghoff *op. cit.* 364; Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 26. One may postulate the *statio* was at Bad Ischl (cf. the medieval evidence for the name of Ischl quoted by Noll *op. cit.* 27). According to Polaschek, *JOM* 91 (1944) 346 f. it is conceivable that a customs-post here had some connection with salt-mining. See p. 100 f.

Post in the area of the Lamprechtskogel (somewhere near Völkermarkt). *CIL* 11549 (third cent.): [...]*cu*[...]*A**ug. n. v[il(icus)] actor [s]tat(ionis) E[...]* *pro [se et suis?]*. This inscription has hitherto been mistakenly ascribed to Virunum, e.g. by De Laet *op. cit.* 187 n. 5. It comes from an as yet unknown settlement in the area of Trixen-Gattersdorf (cf. on this Dolenz, *Fundstätten* 42 f.).

APPENDIX X *The auxiliary units in Noricum*

1. *Alae*

Ala Auriana (recorded outside Noricum with the full title *ala I Hispanorum Auriana*). Whether the unit was stationed on the Rhine at the beginning of the imperial period (Wagner, *Auxiliarformationen* 15 f.; Kraft, *Rekrutierung* 151 f.) is completely uncertain. It was based for a time at Aquincum in Pannonia (CIL 14349, 8)—either before its stay in Noricum, in the pre-Flavian period, or later, under the Flavians (Mócsy, *RE* Suppl. ix 619). In A.D. 69 it was part of the Norican army (Tac., *Hist.* iii 5). One *Candidianus mil. al. Aur.*, buried at his home in the Solva area (Semriach), probably served in the unit during its stay in Noricum (CIL 11749 = *MZK* 1905, 289); he died at twenty, shortly after enrolment. At latest from A.D. 107 the ala was based in Raetia (E. Stein–E. Ritterling, *Truppenkörper* 123 ff.).

Ala Celerum. Attested by an inscription from Virunum: *Aggaeo hexarcho alae Celerum viro sagittandi peritissimo vi militum interem(p)to* (CIL 4832 = 11506 = *ILS* 2528). Aggaeus was probably an easterner; the unit may have been an eastern cavalry regiment, which came to Noricum during the Marcomannic Wars (Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 33 f.; Wagner *op. cit.* 25 f.; Kraft *op. cit.* 144). In the third century it was perhaps stationed in Arabia (cf. Wagner *op. cit.*).

Ala I Commagenorum. Probably formed in A.D. 72 (Wagner *op. cit.* 29 f.; Kraft *op. cit.* 145 f.). It was based in Noricum from A.D. 106 at latest (CIL XVI 52). Its fort was Commagena (Tulln), which took its name from the unit (E. Katschthaler, *MZK* 1906, 311 f.; Polaschek, *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 69 ff.). Tile-stamps of the regiment have been found here (Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1002) and from near by comes the dedication *D.I.M. Verus pro salute Comaci(a)e et Com(magenorum) v.s.l.m.* (CIL 5650 = Polaschek, *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 69 ff.). In the third century a vexillation of the ala was perhaps stationed in the Melk area, cf. the funerary inscription of one *Aur. Quartinus mil. al. p(rimae) Co(m)m.* from Pielach (*MZK* 1906, 309 ff.). There is also record of an eastern *vet. ex dec. alae I Com.* from Celeia in the second century (CIL 5224), and of two troopers recruited in Noricum (CIL 5091 = *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 319 no. 396, Wolfsberg, second cent.; CIL 14368, 24 = *SchvSt* 7 (1957) 21 = Modrijan-Weber 35 f., Seiz, third cent.).

Ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana victrix. After various earlier moves the unit came to Noricum from Britain some time after A.D. 122 (Wagner, *Festschr. RGZM* 3 (1953) 97 ff.), and is already attested in the province in the period A.D. 128–38 (CIL XVI 174). It was based at Lentia (Linz) probably c. A.D. 200; an inscription of a prefect is known from here: *Genio C. Domiti Montani Septian(ii) Romani praef. alae I Pannoniorum Tampian. victr. Castricius Sabinus duplicar. alae eiusdem* (HJSL 1951, 85 ff. = *ib.* 1956, 252 ff. = *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 95 ff. = *ib.* 42 (1955) 103 ff. [with E. Birley's restoration, correct in my view, of the second *nomen* of the prefect] = *LAf* 1 (1962) 98 ff.). Two discharged decurions are known, one each from Juvavum (CIL 5531 with p. 1048, second or third cent.) and Kremsmünster (CIL 5632, third cent.).

Ala I Augusta Thracum. The regiment was based in Raetia in A.D. 107 and was in Noricum at latest by A.D. 140–4, specifically at Augustiana (Traismauer), which took its name from the unit (Wagner, *Auxiliarformationen* 72 f.; Polaschek, *JÖAI(B)* 37 (1948) 202 ff.). It had probably already come to Noricum under Hadrian; on the diploma from Mautern dating to A.D. 128–38 (CIL XVI 174) one could restore, before *et (ala) I Pann. Tam[pian.]* either [*I Aug. Thracu*]*m* or

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[*I Commagenoru*]*m* (cf. the photograph in *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 89). The general opinion is that this ala should be distinguished from another *ala Aug.* in Noricum (Polaschek *RE* xvii 1002; Wagner *op. cit.* 14; Thaller, *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 94). This view is based on the supposition that the Ala Augusta was already in Noricum c. A.D. 100, at a time when the Ala I Augusta Thracum was still in Raetia; the inscription *JAK* 2 (1908) 30 from Ovilava is generally assigned to this period: *D. M. Chartius Pagaduni (f.) eques al. Aug. singi(laris) (sic) natione Tunger an. XXXXV Valens Iannari (f.) b.f.c.* However, the inscription should in fact be dated to the period c. A.D. 170–200, when part of the governor's staff was transferred to Ovilava (see p. 161). Besides, the Ala Augusta is still recorded, with that name, in a funerary inscription of a veteran at Virunum c. A.D. 200 (*CIL* 4834 = *MZK* 1904, 163). There is no difficulty in identifying the unit with the Ala I Augusta Thracum. The regiment rebuilt the Traismauer fort in stone in the years 140–4 (*CIL* 5654 = 11795). From the second century we also know of an *eques* of the ala from Traismauer, with twenty-six years of service (*JÖAI(B)* 37 (1948) 204) and two veterans from there (*CIL* 5655 = 11796). Two decurions are recorded of second-century date, one each at Virunum (*CIL* 4839) and Hohenstein (*CIL* 4806 = *ILS* 4863); the officers in question had been seconded, in the first case to the governor's staff, in the second case to the administration of the imperial mines.

Ala I Thracum victrix (?). A fragmentary second- or third-century inscription from Lentia reads: [...]*Sabin*[...] *I Thrac. v[ictr].?* [...] (*HJSL* 1956, 251). It may refer to the Ala I Thracum victrix, which was based in upper Pannonia in the first and second centuries (Wagner, *Auxiliarformationen* 71 f.; Mócsy, *RE* Suppl. ix 620). It seems to have spent some time in Noricum too, on a temporary basis, or else to have sent a vexillation here.

Ala Augusta II Thracum (?). Among the military personnel seconded to the administration of the imperial iron-mines in Carinthia there is record, at Feldkirchen, from the second or third centuries, of one *C. M(. .) Peregr[inus dec. ?] al(a)e Aug. II T[hracum]* (*Car.* 129 (1939) 209 = *Car.* 144 (1954) 151 f.; the figure II is certain). An Ala Augusta II Thracum was stationed in Mauretania, and this possibly refers to another unit of the same name. Cf. also *CIL* 5332 (Solva, second cent.), which mentions a man perhaps from the [*ala I*]I (?) *Aug. Thr.*; but this might equally be the [*ala II*]I *Aug. Thr.* (as in *CIL* 5332, also from Solva), which was based in Pannonia.

2. Cohorts

Cohors I Asturum. This is attested in Noricum from A.D. 106 (*CIL* XVI 52) and was stationed at Astura (Zeiselmauer), which took its name from the unit (Wagner, *Auxiliarformationen* 88 ff.). See also an *eq. coh. I Ast. ?* from here c. A.D. 100 (*JAK* 4 (1910) 113). In the second and third centuries we know of several soldiers and veterans from the unit in the Norican interior, at Šmartno (*CIL* 5292 = 11708 = *AIJ* 101), Solva (*CIL* 5330 = *JAK* 1 (1907) 47 = *Car.* 143 (1953) 729 no. 64b), Virunum (*CIL* 4839; 4842 = 11508; *PAR* 13 (1963) 1 = *Car.* 155 (1965) 265 ff.) and Juvavum (*CIL* 5539; cf. also *CIL* VI 3588).

Cohors II Batavorum milliaria. The unit was still in Pannonia in A.D. 98 (Wagner *op. cit.* 94 f.). The Mautern diploma from A.D. 128–38 was issued to a soldier of the unit (*CIL* XVI 174); it undoubtedly belonged to the Norican army at that time (Thaller, *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 94). A second-century *mil. coh. II Bat.* is recorded, who came from Wiesenau in the Lavant valley (*Car.* 149 (1959) 776).

Cohors V Breucorum civium Romanorum equitata. Though still in Pannonia in A.D. 80, the unit probably came to Noricum not long after this (Wagner *op. cit.*; Kraft, *Rekrutierung* 170 f.). In the second century it was based at Zwentendorf, where one of its tile-stamps has been found; later it was probably split up in several forts in north-western Noricum. The inscription of a commanding officer from the reign of Philip has been found at Weihmörting on the lower Inn, and had probably been carried there from Boiodurum (*CIL* 5613 = 11781 = *IBR* 434). A tile-stamp of the cohort is known from the neighbouring Joviacum (Schlößen) (Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 39). A number of soldiers and veterans of the unit of second- and third-century date are attested in the interior of the province, where their homes were, at Preims (*CIL* 5086), St Lambrecht (*PAR* 17 (1967) 19) and Knittelfeld (*CIL* 5472). On the unit see now Bogaers, *Ber. v.d. Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 19 (1969) 41 f.

Cohors I Flavia Brittonum milliaria. The unit came to Noricum under Trajan or shortly after at latest, from Dalmatia (Wagner, *Auxiliarformationen* 109; Alföldy, *ArchH* 14 (1962) 267). The funerary inscription of a *miles chor. I Fl. B(ri)t.* from the early second century comes from Melk and was probably carried there from somewhere in the immediate vicinity. The unit was perhaps stationed at Arelape (Pöchlarn), west of Melk (Wagner *op. cit.*), although the fort there appears to have been too small for a *cohortis milliariae* (p. 148). The cohort was still in Noricum in A.D. 267 (*CIL* 4811 with p. 1813, Virunum). A *mil. chor[ti]s I Brit.* from Pfannberg in the Solva area in the second century (*CIL* 5455) was serving either in this cohort or in the *Cohors I Aelia Brittonum*.

Cohors I Aelia Brittonum milliaria. Formed under Hadrian, or under Antoninus Pius at latest, the unit was sent to Faviana (Mautern) (Wagner *op. cit.* 107 f.). A number of tile-stamps of the cohort have been found there, some of them with the title *Ant(oiniana)* (*CIL* 13539 a-b [with incorrect reading], *FbÖ* 1 (1932-5) 233; *AE* 1949, 1; also, carried from here to Göttweig Abbey, *FbÖ* 4 (1952) 55). Tile-stamps from Wallsee, supposedly with the text *COH I 'AVG' BRITT*, and *CIAB*, probably derive from this unit (*FbÖ* 1 (1932-5) 61; Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1001). The cohort was still part of the Norican army in A.D. 238 (*CIL* 4812 with p. 1813 = *ILS* 2524, Virunum).

Cohors Maurorum (?). One should perhaps postulate that a *cohortis Maurorum* was based at the fort Ad Mauros (Eferding); cf. J. Ansbach, *Über die römischen Militärstationen im Ufer-Noricum* (Vienna 1860) 11, who first had this idea (I owe this reference to E. Birley). Several Norican forts acquired their names from their unit of garrison, Astura (*Cohors I Asturum*), Commagena (Ala I Commagenorum), and Augustiana (Ala I Augusta Thracum). A *Cohors milliaria Maurorum equitata* and a *Cohors quingenaria Maurorum equitata* belonged to the lower Pannonian army from the time of the Marcomannic Wars onwards (Wagner, *Auxiliarformationen* 167 f.; Mócsy, *RE* Suppl. ix 623). Possibly a Moorish unit was also sent to Eferding during or after the Marcomannic Wars.

Cohors Montanorum prima. The unit was formed from Noricans at the beginning of the imperial period (see n. 19 on p. 303). In the Julio-Claudian period part of it was stationed on the Magdalensberg, part in the Zollfeld (p. 65). The following soldiers are known:

CIL 4844 = 11509 (St Georgen am Längssee, probably carried there from the Zollfeld): *Ti. Iulius Adgelei f. Buccio mil. coh. Mont. prim. stip. XL*

CIL 4846 = *Car.* 121 (1931) 16 (St Veit an der Glan, carried there from the Zollfeld): *Ti.*

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Iulius Condolli f. Capatius mil. coh. Mont. pri. stip. XXX, with his heirs *Ti. [Iu]lius Crigalo* and *Ti. Iulius Buccio* (see also *CIL* 4844)

Car. 143 (1953) 928 f. (Magdalensberg): *Ti. Iulius Venimari f. Fronto miles cortis* (sic) *Mont. prima(e) ann. L. st. XX[V]*

CIL 11554 (St Georgen am Längssee, cf. above): *Ti. Iulius Giamilli f. Sextus miles coh. Montan. stip. XL*

CIL 4847 (Magdalensberg): *Ti. Iulius Adsedi f. Taulus mil. coh. Mon. pri. stip. XXXVI*

CIL 4849 (Schloss Tanzenberg, carried there from the Zollfeld): *Marius Ructicni f. miles cohortis Montanorum primae stipendiorum XXV* and his heir *Montanus* (also a soldier).

On the men's citizenship, cf. p. 76; on the high *stipendia*, Alföldy, *Historia* 17 (1968) 215 ff. At latest by A.D. 85 the unit was already in Pannonia and from A.D. 100 in Moesia superior (Wagner *op. cit.* 169).

Cohors I Thracum. One *Ulp]ius Moderatus dec. coh. I Thrac.* dedicated an inscription probably c. A.D. 200 at Virunum (*CIL* 4851 = 11541). His unit is apparently the same as the homonymous cohort stationed in Pannonia (Wagner *op. cit.* 188). It was presumably only in Noricum on a temporary basis, or had sent a vexillation there.

Cohors IIII Tungrorum. An inscription dating probably from the end of the first century, from Virunum, refers to one *Iomatus Velsonis f. mil. chor. IIII Tun. stip. XXXIII* (*Car.* 151 (1961) 469 ff.). In the second century this cohort was based in Raetia (A. Radnóti, *Germania* 39 (1961) 103). In view of his father's name the man was certainly no Tungrian, but apparently Norican; it is possible that he was not serving in Noricum but rather that he was buried at Virunum because it was his home. On the other hand, the unit could have been stationed in Noricum before it went to Raetia.

There is no evidence that the *Cohors VI Raetorum* was part of the Norican army (for a different view, Wagner, *Auxiliarformationen* 181; Thaller, *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 95). Likewise, a *cohors Noricorum* should be deleted from the roster of infantry units in Noricum (see *CIL* XVI 174, contra Thaller *op. cit.* 93).

3. Cohort-vexillations

During the last years of Hadrian a *vex(illatio)* of a Tungrian cohort also formed part of the Norican army, taken either from *Cohors I* or *Cohors [I]I Tungr. (milliaria)* (*CIL* XVI 174; Thaller *op. cit.* 93; Saxer, *Vexillationen* 28). The detachment was drawn—probably only temporarily—from one of the two cohorts of Tungrians stationed in Britain, see R. W. Davies, *ES* 4 (1967) 108 ff.

APPENDIX XI *Noricans in the Roman army*

Area	legionary centurions C1 C2 C3	legionaries C1 C2 C3	praetorians C1 C2 C3	<i>urbanitiani</i> C1 C2 C3	<i>equites singulares</i> C1 C2 C3	auxiliaries C1 C2 C3	unknown units C1 C2 C3
Celeia	2 1	5 6 7	1 20 8			2 3	2 2
Solva	2 3 1	1 14 6	9 5	2		1 5 1	3
Virunum	1 2	12 8 7	3 9 2	1	5	12 11	1 2
Teurnia		1 1	1 1			1 1	
Aguntum			4				
Juvavum	2	4 3	4 1	1	1	1 2	
Ovilava			2		1	1	
Cetium			1 1			2	1 1
<i>limes</i> -area		1					1
central Noricum		2 3	4			1 2	1
‘Noric’		1	1 4		15	3 1	
Noricans, origin not specified	1	3 33				1 24 3	2 1
Total	5 7 3	24 37 57	4 53 24	1 2 1	22	22 48 8	11 6
	15	118	81	4	22	78	17

APPENDIX XII *Distribution of imperial gentilicia among the native population of Noricum*

<i>Area</i>	<i>Subdivision</i>	Julii	Ti. Julii	Claudii	Flavii	Coccei	Ulpii	Aelii	T. Aelii	Aurelii before A.D. 212	Septimii	Aurelii after A.D. 212
Celeia	southern part of <i>territorium</i>	1							2			
	town and immediate vicinity	13	4	5	1		2	7		10	1	20
	western part of <i>territorium</i>			1								1
	northern part of <i>territorium</i>	7	1	1			1	2			2	6
Solva	southern part of <i>territorium</i>	2			1		6			1		3
	town and immediate vicinity	20		9	5		2	4		2		12
	eastern part of <i>territorium</i>	7	2	4	2							2
	Mur valley north of Solva	4						1				3
	western part of <i>territorium</i>							3		2		1
Virunum	Lavant valley	5		1				1				2
	Jauntal	2										
	southern part of <i>territorium</i>	1					2					
	western part of <i>territorium</i>	3	1					1				
	town and immediate vicinity	47	22	18	7	3	11	17	1	5	2	14
Teurnia	town and <i>territorium</i>	2										
Aguntum	town and <i>territorium</i>	5		1						2		
Juvavum	town and immediate vicinity	9				2				1		
	northern and eastern part of <i>territorium</i>	3		2								
	western part of <i>territorium</i>	6		1							2	

<i>Area</i>	<i>Subdivision</i>	Julii	Ti. Julii	Claudii	Flavii	Coccei	Ulpii	Aelii	T. Aelii	Aurelii before A.D. 212	Septimii	Aurelii after A.D. 212
Central	Feldkirchen area				2							5
Noricum	Friesach area	4		4			5	1				4
	upper Mur valley			3				5				2
Ovilava	town and <i>territorium</i>	3		1	4		4	4			1	
Cetium	town and <i>territorium</i>						7	4				
<i>Limes</i>				7	3		5	4				8
Origin not specified		8	1		5		5	9			2	18
Total		152	31	58	30	5	50	63	3	23	10	101

APPENDIX XIII *Town officials, councillors and collegia*

VIRUNUM

Magistrates and decurions, ordo, res publica

CIL 4865 = 11510 = FbÖ 1 (1931-4) 101 = Car. 122 (1932) 30 (Portendorf, second-third cent.):

C. Ca[...] *Ilvir* [*i. d. Cl. Viruni*].

CIL 11637 (Eberdorf, probably between A.D. 50 and 200):

Ti. Cla[ud.] Rufin[us] *Ilvi[r]*.

CIL 4813 and 4814 (p. 1046 and p. 1813) (Virunum, second-third cent.):

L. Lydaci *Ingenuus Ilvir i. d., adlect. sacerdotis et flamen.*

Car. 124 (1934) 13 f. = FbÖ 2 (1935-8) 11 (St Georgen am Weinberg, second cent.):

C. Mar(ius) Lucanius Priscus dec. et Ilvir iur. dic. Cl. Vir.

CIL 4866 (Hollenburg, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

T. Taponius T.f. Secundus Ilvir i. d. The family is also recorded at Unterloibl: CIL 4773 = ILS 4865 and Car. 93 (1903) 19 = MZK 1903, 348 f. = Car. 136-8 (1948) 277.

CIL 4859 (Timenitz, third cent.):

C. Viato[r]ius ...] *Ilvir iur. dic. C(landi)* [*Vir. ...]* *praefec. coh. I[...]* *trib. leg. V Mace[d.]*.

JV 1 (1964) 33 (Villach, second cent.):

[*C. Restitutus ...]* *Ilvir* [*iu*] *re* [*di*] *cundi Cla[u]dio Viruno.*

CIL 6494 = 11529 = Car. 117 (1927) 8 (Virunum, second-third cent.):

[...] *nus* [*ponti*] *fex* [*sac. urbis R]omae* [*Ilvir iu*] *r. dic.*

JV 1 (1964) 35 (Villach, second cent.):

C. [...] *du* [*umvir* ? ...], *C. [...]* *aed.*

CIL 5073 (St Stefan im Jauntal, second cent.):

L. Barbis Vercanis aedilicius; the son was *mil. coh. I praetoriae*.

CIL 4864 = Car. 117 (1927) 7 (Grossbuch, second cent.):

C. Bottius Mercator (a)edilicius. Cf. also CIL 11566 (Tentschach).

CIL 4838 (Liebenfels [previously Feistritz], probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

C. Cantonius Ucc[us] *aed.* (this reading is certainly correct); two of his sons were praetorian guardsmen.

CIL 5074 (Juenna, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

C. Crispinius Rufus aedilicius.

CIL 5092 = 11654 (St Johann near Wolfsberg, c. A.D. 100):

M. Longinius Verus quaestorius.

Car. 125 (1935) 136 f. = FbÖ 2 (1935-8) 11 = Car. 140 (1950) 140 ff. (Warmbad Villach, second cent.):

C. Dec. Successianus aed. p. Cl. Vir.

Car. 147 (1957) 172 ff. (Bodensdorf, second cent.):

Ripanius Flavianus aed. pot. Cla. Vir.

CIL 4867 = MZK 1904, 164 (Virunum, second cent.):

C. Tertinius Statutus aedilic.

JV 1 (1964) 32 (Villach, A.D. 217):

[...] *ae*] *dil. p[ot. Cl. Vir.]*.

Car. 119 (1929) 8 ff. (Virunum, second half of first cent.?):

[Se]x. Af[nius ...] *dec.*

CIL 5031 = *ILS* 7115 (Micheldorf near Friesach, second cent.):

C. Maximinus C. fil. Iunianus decurio Viruniensium defunctus Romae in legatione ann. XXX.

CIL 11555 (Tauchendorf, second cent.):

C. Mogian[cius ...] decu. Cla[udi Viruni].

JV 1 (1964) 30 (Villach, second cent.):

M. [...dins Lm[...nus d[ec. m.] Cl. Vir.

CIL 11667 = *Car.* 123 (1933) 175 ff. (Allersdorf, second cent.):

C. Iul. [...] Viruni.

MZK 1903, 348 (Eiersdorf, second-third cent.):

[... Ro]mannus [...] *Cl. Vir.*

CIL 4868 (Virunum, second cent.):

res public. Virunens.

Freedmen and slaves of the municipality

CIL 4870 (Virunum, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

C. Publicius Viruniensium lib. Asiaticus.

CIL 4952 (Virunum, second cent.):

Ti. Publicius Atunus and his wife Pub. Vinda (conliberti).

CIL 4953 (Virunum, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

C. Public. Optatus.

CIL 4954 (Virunum, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

[P]ubl. Quartus and his wife [Pu]blic. Cupita (conliberti).

CIL 4872 (Virunum):

Adintus publicus s(ervus).

CIL 15205 (Virunum):

Ianuari[us] Virunen[s. (servus)].

Collegia

Collegium iuventutis.

CIL 4777 = *JÖAI* 18 (1915) 125 (Virunum, c. A.D. 200): [i]uven(tus) [col(legii) M(anliensium)] and [iu]v. col. M.

CIL 4778 + 4785 (p. 2328, 44) = *MZK* 1904, 162 = *JÖAI loc. cit.* 123 ff. (Virunum, c. A.D. 200): col. Man[liensium] with list of members.

CIL 4779 = *ILS* 7305 (Virunum, second-third cent.): *iuventutis Manliensium gentiles qui consistunt in Manlia*. The dedications *JZK* 1905, 240 ff. = *JÖAI loc. cit.* 125 ff. and *JZK loc. cit.* 243 f. = *JÖAI loc. cit.* 127 from the Grazer Kogel north of Virunum probably refer to the same *collegium*. A relief from Virunum depicts a *lusus iuvenalis*. See, for a detailed discussion, Egger, *JÖAI* 18 (1915) 115 ff.; Keil, *Car.* 143 (1953) 715 ff.

Collegium Larum.

CIL 4792 (Virunum, probably between A.D. 50 and 150): *Coll[egio] Larum*, etc.

Collegium Liberi.

According to Egger, *Car.* 139 (1949) 178 ff. the Dionysus mosaic from the baths-quarter at Virunum (Praschniker-Kenner, *Bäderbezirk* 50 ff.) is perhaps evidence for a *collegium Liberi*.

Appendix XIII

Unknown *collegia*.

Several inscriptions from Virunum containing lists of names apparently are connected with *collegia*: *CIL* 4784 = *ILS* 4835 (under Caracalla); *CIL* 4816 = *MZK* 1904, 163 (second–third cent.); *CIL* 4817; 4818; 4819 (second–third cent.); *Car.* 139 (1949) 177 f. (c. A.D. 200) *FbÖ* 9 (1969) 196 (second cent.); *ibid.* (A.D. 218–22).

CELEIA

Magistrates and decurions, ordo

AIJ 9 (Stari Trg, second cent.):

L. Appuleiu[s ... (centurio)] leg. X g. [p.] fid. Iiv[ir] iur. d[ic. Cl. Cel.].

CIL 5183 (Celeia, early third cent.):

C. Bellicius Ingenuus Iivir Cl. Cel. The *Iivir* was probably related to the *C. Bellicii* of Waldstein (*CIL* 5452).

CIL 5302 (Črešnjevec):

M. Mess(ius) [...] Iivir. i. [d. Cl. Cel.]. On the family cf. *CIL* 5218 = 11691 = *AIJ* 45 = *ILS* 2309 (Celeia).

CIL 5111 (Št Janž, third cent.):

Metil. Maximinus vir egr[egius] omnibus muneribus fun[ctus]. One of his sons bore the *cognomen* *Du(u)mviranu[s]*; he was probably born during his father's year of office.

CIL 5194 (Celeia, probably second cent.):

Cn. Pomp(eius) Iustinus dec. et Iivir Cl. Cel. The family is one of the most frequently attested at Celeia, p. 127.

ILJug 372 (Šempeter, c. A.D. 100):

C. Spectatius Finitus [Iivir] i. d. Cl. Cel. and his son *C. Spectatius C. fil. Priscianus Iivir i. d.* On the family see p. 126.

CIL 5237 (Celeia, third cent.):

[T]erentius Procul[us] Iivir Cl. Celeia. The family is frequently attested at Celeia.

CIL 5233 (Celeia, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

[...] Maximus Iivir iur. d.

AIJ 8 = *JÖAI* 36 (1946) 103 f. (Stari Trg, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

[...] Iivir Clau]dia Celeia. A lictor is depicted on the tombstone, which is certainly that of a *Iivir*.

CIL 5116 = 13525 (Žalec, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

[...] f. Cl. Cel. [...] us Iivir. i. d.

CIL 5143 = *AIJ* 22 (Trbovlje, second cent.):

P. Albinus Antonius aed. Cl. Cel. and his son *P. Albinus Finitus q. Cl. Cel.* and grandson *P. Albin. Marcellinus q. an. XXX*. The family is also recorded at Fraudental, *CIL* 5407.

CIL 5225 (Celeia, second cent.):

C. Atilius Secundianus aed. Cl. Cel. His grand-daughter was a *fil(ia) stolat(a)*.

CIL 5079 (p. 1825) = Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 74 (Jaunstein, second cent.):

G. [S]ecundiniu[s S]ecundus aed. Cl. Cel.

ILJug 375 (Šempeter, mid-first cent.):

C. Vindonius Successus aed. Cl. Cel.

CIL 5226 (p. 1830) (Celeia, second cent.):

D. Castricius Verus Antonius Avitus dec. Cl. Cel. an. XXVII. The *Castricii* were a wealthy family in south-eastern Noricum, p. 323, n. 150.

CIL 15205, 3 = AIJ 82 (Slov. Konjice, mid-first cent.):

T. Iulius Bellicus dec. alae Asturum II dec. municipi Cla. Celeia. The man's father *Fronto* still lacked full citizenship.

CIL 5127 = AIJ 31 (Vranje, second–third cent.):

Maronius Marcellinus dec. Cel.

CIL 5145 = ILS 4626 (Bukovca, second–third cent.):

Serandius Verinus dec. Cel.

CIL 5236 (Celeia, second–third cent.):

[*Terentius?* ...] *dec. Cl. Cel.*

CIL 4754 (Paternion near Teurnia):

[... *dec.?*] *Teur. et Ce[leia]e?*

CIL 5229 (Celeia, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

decret. decurion.

JÖAI 36 (1946) 97 ff. with fig. 27 (Celeia):

tombstone with representation of *sella curulis* of a town official.

CIL 5205 (Celeia, A.D. 282):

ordo Cel.

CIL 5159 (p. 1830) (Celeia, probably fourth cent.):

ordo Celeiens.

CIL 5197 (Celeia, third cent.):

Celeiani publice.

Freedmen and slaves of the municipality

CIL 5227 = AIJ 48 (Celeia, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

Ti. Claudiu[s] municipii Celeia[e] lib. Favor.

CIL 5228 (p. 1830) (Celeia, second half of first cent.):

Cupitus Celeian. ser. Rufianus and his wife *Claudia Secunda contubernal(is)*. Cf. p. 274.

CIL 5191 (Celeia, c. A.D. 200):

Publicius Callistu[s].

CIL 5235 (Celeia, second half of first cent.):

Sex. Publicius Fronto, Batro Celeian., Servatus Celeian., Insequens Celeian.

CIL 5264 (Celeia, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

Q. Publicius Lucifer.

CIL 5282 (Zavrhn pri Galiciji):

[—] *Celeian. I(ibertus)*.

Collegia and Cultores of various deities

CIL 5157 (Celeia): *Genio Anigemio cultores eius.*

ILInug 386 (*ibid.* probably between A.D. 50 and 150): *Iano Gem(ino) Aug. [c]ult(or) eius.*

CIL 5191 (*ibid.* c. A.D. 200): dedication to *I.[O.M.] et cu[n]ctis dis deabusq[ue]* with list of names, probably of a *collegium*.

CIL 5196 (*ibid.* probably between A.D. 50 and 150): *Mercurio Aug. et cultor(ibus) eius*, with list of names.

ILInug 387 (*ibid.* third cent.): *Sedato Aug. et cultor(ibus) eius.*

CIL 11699 = ILS 3301 (*ibid.* c. A.D. 200): *Volkano Aug. et cult(oribus) eius* with list of names (the *collegium* was probably the same as that of Sedatus).

Appendix XIII

SOLVA

Magistrates and decurions, ordo, populus, res publica

CIL 5324 (Solva, A.D. 212 or 213):

G. Castius Avitus d[ec.] et Ilvir Sol. ob hon[orem] decurionat. ita ut[]promis. ple]ne obtulit (dedication of a statue of Caracalla).

CIL 5336 = JAK 1 (1907) 47 (Solva, probably between A.D. 70 and 150):

[T]i. *Claudianus Ti. f. Secundinus Ilvir i.d.* One of his sons went through a career in the centurionate.

CIL 5516 = PAR 14 (1964) 28 (Grafendorf, second cent.):

C. Sacretius Spectatinus Ilvir i.d. F(laviae) S(olvae). There are numerous records of the family in the Solva area.

CIL 5457 = MZK 1905, 283 (Adriach, second cent.):

M. [...] f. Incundus Ilvi[r. iur. d]ic. Fl. Sol.

JÖAI 36 (1946) 97 ff. with fig. 26 (Solva):

tombstone of a *Ilvir* with representation of two lictors and a *scriba*.

JÖAI *loc. cit.* with fig. 24 (Waltersdorf):

tombstone of a *Ilvir* with representation of two lictors.

CIL 5343 (Solva, second cent.):

Crispin[us] Crispini f. aed. [F]l. Solva an. XXV. See p. 309, n. 26.

CIL 5430 = Modrijan-Weber 79 f. (Dürrnau, second cent.):

C. Firminius Castricius aed. Sol. His father was a *vet. leg. II adi.*

CIL 5344 (Solva, second cent.):

L. Gantius Finitus aed. Sol.

CIL 5345 (Solva, second cent.):

[.] *Iulius [S]abinus aed. Sol.*

CIL 5309 (Selnica, probably between A.D. 70 and 150):

C. Iust[us] Pro[cul]us aedilis [mun. Fl.] Solv.

CIL 11718 = AIJ 108 (Hompoš):

[...] *aed.*

CIL 5331 (Solva, mid-second cent.):

T. Attius C. fil. Tutor praef. coh. IB(a)etas. c.R., trib. mil. leg. II ad., praef. alae I Tung. Frontonian., praef. alae I Batavor. miliar., dec. Fl. Solva. See pp. 124, 275.

CIL 11829 (unknown provenance, second cent.?):

L. Gra[cilius?] Amb[...] dec. [Fl. Solv.].

CIL 5435 (Strassgang, end of second cent.):

G. Sempronius Secundinus d. Sol.

CIL 5323 (Solva, c. A.D. 200):

M. Tullius Maximus ob honorem decurionatus (dedication of a statue of Caracalla in reign of Severus).

CIL 11714 (Slivnice, third cent.):

[...] *Fl.] Sol. [... (centurio)? leg. III A]ug. p.v.*

CIL 5334 = JAK 1 (1907) 47 (Solva, probably c. A.D. 100):

d(ecretum) d(ecurionum).

CIL 5327 (Solva, third cent.):

ord. Sol.

PAR 16 (1966) 21 f. = *SchvSt* 13 (1966–7) 21 ff. (carried from Solva, A.D. 268–70):

ordo [S]ol.

CIL 5325 = *ILS* 661 (Solva, A.D. 311):

ordo Sol.

CIL 5346 (Solva):

ord. Sol.

See also the rescript on the *centonarii*, below.

Slaves of the municipality

CIL 5347 (Solva):

Pollybius Solvens(ium servus).

CIL 5349 (Solva):

[...] *sis Solv. summ(arum servus).*

Collegia

Collegium centonariorum. The evidence for this is the rescript of Septimius Severus, preserved on an inscription at Solva, which also contains a list of the members and a concluding part. The inscription dates to A.D. 205. See Cuntz, *JÖAI* 18 (1915) 98 ff.; Alföldy, *Historia* 15 (1966) 433 ff. (with bibliography of other previous discussions) = *AE* 1966, 277; E. Weber, *Historia* 17 (1968) 106 ff. and more recently *Inscripfen*, no. 149; cf. Egger, *ÄÖAW* 1965, 29 ff. The text is as follows:

[Imp. Caes. L. Sept. Severus] Pert. P. [Aug. et i]mp. Caes. M. Aur. Antoninus Pius Aug. / [Pollieno Sebenno leg.]. Beneficia, quae amplissimo ordine vel aliquo princi[pe iubente collegis c]entonar. concessa sunt, temere convelli non oportet. / [Sed quod legibus eoru]m sanxum (sic) est custodiat, et ii, quos dicis diviti(i)s suis sine onere [s] [uti, publica subire m]unera compellantur, neque enim collegiorum privilegium pro[fit] aut iis, qui artem non exercent aut iis, qui maiores facultates prae[fi]ni to modo possident. Adver[us] divites dum leg[is] ad(h)ibendum est remedium, non propter hos minue(n) dus numerus. / Alioquin / [tenuiores perfr]uantur vacatione, quae non competit beneficiis coll. derogari.

In l. 1, after a new examination of the stone, I would propose as an alternative possible reading Pert[i]n. (with TI ligatured) [et i]mp., although the absence of Aug. would be striking. On the governor see Appendix VI, p. 249. In l. 4 [quod autem legibus] would also be possible, cf. E. Weber *op. cit.* In l. 7 Weber restores [hos igitur] instead of [divites dum] and in l. 8 [omnes alii] instead of [tenuiores], following an earlier suggestion of my own (still different in Modrijaan-Weber 38 ff.). However, this is not very plausible, as the disposition only affects the ‘rich’—quos dicis diviti(i)s suis sine onere [uti]; the two groups of members of the *collegium* who do not qualify for the privileges of a society of this kind are only mentioned in the emperor’s general declaration—neque enim, etc. On the list of names, see the corrections in *Historia* 15 (1966) 442 f. The concluding part:

[Ordo et popu]lus in honor. M. Secundi Secundini patris tabulam / [pos. ex pec.] coll. centonarior. d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) r(ei) (publicae) Sol. pr. id. Oct. imp. An[t]onino II [[et] G[e]t(a)] cos. / [curam] ag[en]te Ursino [...].

I give here the exact reading of the consular date after repeated checking of the stone (et is ligatured). Weber *op. cit.* restores [coll. popu]lus and [posuit l(ocus) d(atus)], but this is not certain and not of major importance.

Appendix XIII

TEURNIA

Magistrates and decurions, ordo

CIL 5568 = IBR 8 (Bernau on the Chiemsee, second cent.):

L. *Terentius Verus Ilvir Teurn. pr(aef.) iur. dic.*

PAR 19 (1969) 16 (Rosenheim near Spittal):

[... *Ilvi*]r et praef. i.d.

CIL 4727 = Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 67 f. = ES 8 (1969) 28 f. no. 39 (Greifenburg, probably between A.D. 50 and 100):

C. *Antestius Ambudsuilus aed. [T]eurn.* His father was still a non-citizen.

CIL 5569 (p. 1839) = IBR 9 (Frauenchiemsee, probably carried there from Bernau (Kellner, *BVBl* 24 (1959) 153, second cent.):

L. *Attonius Adnamatus aedilic. Teurn.*

CIL 5462 (p. 1837) (St Dionysen near Bruck an der Mur, second cent.):

C. *Atilius Emeritu[s] d(ec.) m(un.) C(laud.) T(eurniae).* The *cognomen* perhaps indicates that the man was the son of a veteran.

CIL 4726 = Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 69 (Obervellach, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

C. *Rhesius Dexter q(uaestor).*

CIL 4754 (Paternion):

[... *dec.?*] *Teur. et Ce[leia?]e*.

Car. 138 (1948) 272 f. (Teurnia, A.D. 217–18):

ordo Teurnensium.

CIL 4741 (*ibid.* A.D. 252–4):

ordo Teur.

AGUNTUM

Magistrates and decurions, ordo

CIL V 708 = *Inscr. It.* X 4, no. 325 (near Castel Duino in the Tergeste area, second–third cent.): [T]auconius *Optatus eq. R. dec. et Ilvir Cl. Ag.* His son of the same names was also an *eques*. The name may be T. Auconius.

CIL 5583 = IBR 28 (Wasserburg, probably between A.D. 50 and 100):

C. *Trebonius Faustus Ilvirum (sic) et praef. i.d. civitatis Agunt. (sic)*

JÖAI(B) 40 (1953) 18 (Lavant-Kirchbichl, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

[...] M.f. [...] *Ilvir iur. dic.*

Osttiroler Heimatbl. 4 (1927) 35 ff. = ES 8 (1969) 29 f. no. 41 (Oberdrum near Lienz, probably second cent.):

[... *Ilvir iure*] *dicund.*

JÖAI(B) 43 (1956–8) 98 f. (Lavant-Kirchbichl, third cent.):

ordo A[gu]nt.

JÖAI(B) 40 (1953) 89 ff. (*ibid.*, A.D. 252):

Agunte[n]ses d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Collegia

Cultores Geni(i) municip. Agunt. CIL 11485 = ILS 7114 (Aguntum, second cent.): inscription with *locus sepulturae* of the *collegium*. Cf. on this Völkl, *AÖAW* 3 (1950) 253 ff. See also a bronze tablet from a tomb at Aguntum, on the inscription of which the dead man is addressed by [*gen*]tium *numerus*, Egger, JÖAI(B) 17 (1914) 10 ff.

JUVAVUM

Magistrates and decurions, plebs

CIL 5589 = IBR 34 (Trostberg, probably between A.D. 100 and 150):

L. Bellicius L.f. *Quartio decurio Iuvavensium IIvir iuris dicundi.*

CIL 11778 = IBR 15 (Chieming, probably A.D. 225):

L. Cassius Lucullus et C. Vind(ius?) *Constans [II]vir(i).*

CIL 5578 = IBR 23 (Kornberg, A.D. 204):

[...] et L. Cass(ius) *Potentinus IIvir(i).*

CIL 5581 = IBR 26 = ILS 4858 (Seeon, A.D. 219):

C. Catius *Secundianus IIvir.*

CIL 5625 (Mondsee, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

L. Cotinius L.f. *Martialis dec. Iuvave. II(vir) i. d.*

CIL 11777 = IBR 14 = ILS 4854 (Chieming, A.D. 209):

P. Domitius *Flaccus et Q. Lucret. Optatus IIvir(i).*

JÖAI 43 (1956–8) 52 ff. (Juvavum, probably between A.D. 50 and 150):

M. Haterius *Luci fil. Claud. Summus dec. municipi Iu(v)avi IIvir iur. d. — plebes (sic) oppidan. optimo civi ob annonam relevatam.*

CIL 5551 (Juvavum, second cent.):

[C. Iu?]ius C. filius [Cla. Re]stitutus [omnib. honor]ib. in patria [sua per]functus.

CIL 5587 = 11773 = IBR 32 (Rabenden, A.D. 229):

L. Pomponius *Constans et M. Ursinius V[e]rus IIvir(i).* The L. Pomponii had estates at Kellau near Salzburg, see the inscription MGS L 65 (1925) 95 ff.

CIL 5597 = IBR 42 (Laufen, second cent.):

M. Procul(eius) *Martial(is) dec. et IIvir.*

CIL 5572 = IBR 12 = ILS 4857 (Chieming, A.D. 237):

Setonius *Maximianus et Fir(minius?) Firminianus IIvir(i).*

CIL 5574 = 11772 = IBR 13 (Neuchieming, A.D. 153 or 217 or 246):

Sex[ti]us? ...]onma [...] et Iu[li]us? V[ale]ntinus *IIvir(i).*

CIL 5591 = IBR 36 (Titlmoos, second cent.):

L. Vir(ius) *Maximianus dec. et IIvir civ. Iuv.*

CIL 5607 = IBR 51 (Schönberg, second–third cent.):

[... S]atur[us] de[c]urio [Iu]vavo *IIvir.*

CIL 11780 = IBR 17 (Chieming, A.D. 152):

[...] *IIviri.*

CIL 5527 (Bischofshofen, third cent.):

[...]nius *Victor (a)edi[lici]us civit. Iuvave(n)s.*

MZK 1906, 24 ff., 64 and 312 ff. (Zell am Wallersee, third cent.):

Cupit(ius) *Cupitianus d(ec)u. or d(ecurio) c(ivitatis).*

CIL 5566 = IBR 6 (Endorf, probably second cent.):

[... decu]rio [civ. ?] *Iuvavo.*

CIL 5536 (p. 1048) (Juvavum, A.D. 198–209):

Iuvav(enses) *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

Slaves of the municipality, collegia

CIL 5532 (Juvavum, second–third cent.):

Venustinus *summ(arum servus).* He presented a *signum I(ovis) Arub(iani) cultorib(us) cum base.*

Appendix XIII

OVILAVA

Magistrates and decurions

CIL 5630 = ILS 7112 (Lambach, under Caracalla):

P. Aelius Flavius dec. et Ilvir et flamen Ael. Cetiensium item dec. et Ilvir e(t) pontifex colonia Aurelia Antoniniana Ovil. trib. leg. III Aug. His mother had the Celtic name *Orgetia Sisia*.

CIL 5652 = ES 8 (1969) 32 f. no. 44 (Tulln, third cent.):

P. Aelii Sabinianus et Germanus dec(c)(uriones) i(n) colonia{ea}(O)vil(av)ensi, a militiis. A further brother was *P. Ae(li)us Rufin(i)us dec. et Ilvir(i). d. A(e)l. Cetiens(ium)*. The father was a *veter. ex dec.* (of an auxiliary unit), and the sister an *e(g)(regiae) m(emoriae) p(uella)*.

CIL 5606 (p. 2328, 200) = JAK 2 (1908) 37 (Köppach, third cent.):

L. Saplius Agrippa dec. e(t) Ilvir] col. Ovil. and his brother *L. Saplius Opta[tus] aed. col. s.s.*, and his son *L. Saplius Optatus d(ecur.) col. s.s.* One *Saplia Belatumara*, wife of a *Ilvir* of Juvavum, was probably from the same family (CIL 5589 = IBR 34, Trostberg, probably between A.D. 100 and 150).

PAR 18 (1968) 3 f. (Ovilava, third cent.):

[...] *pus [II]vir i. d. colon.*

JMVW 4 (1957) 187 f. = HJSL 1957, 341 ff. (Lentia, second cent.):

[...] *f. Fro[ntinus] qu(a)est[or Ovil.].*

CIL 11785 (Gunskirchen, c. A.D. 200):

[...] *Ael. Ovilavi[s].*

CIL 14109 (p. 2328, 49) = MZK 1903, 261 (Ovilava, second-third cent.):

[...] *ius Maro [...] Ovil.*

CETIUM

Magistrates and decurions

CIL 5630 = ILS 7112:

See under Ovilava.

CIL 5652 = ES 8 (1969) 32 f. no. 44:

See under Ovilava.

CIL 5658 = 11799 (p. 2286) = ILS 7113 (Karlstetten, second cent.):

M. Ulp. Spectatus [I]vir i. d. augur m(unicipii) A(elii) C(etii).

CIL 5663 = 11806 (p. 2286) = ES 8 (1969) 30 f. no. 43 (St Leonhard am Forst, end of second cent.):

M. Sextius Vettonianus aed. m. Ael. Cet. His wife, one *Vinda Terti f.*, still lacked full citizenship. A son of this marriage was a praetorian guardsman. Vettonianus' second wife *Avva Maxsimi f.* was also a non-citizen: a son of this marriage was *M. S(extius) Sext(ianus) qu(a)estor[i]us [m.] Ael. Ce(t).*, whose wife *Potta Croti (f.)* was likewise a non-citizen. See *ES loc. cit.* for the family.

See also under *Collegia*.

Collegia

Collegium fabrum. CIL 5659 = 11800 (p. 2286) (Cetium, under Caracalla or Elagabalus):

Pro s[alute d.n. imp.] Caes. M. [Aureli Ant]onini Au[g. collegium] fabr. aed[em impend]io suo res[tituit loco] publice co[n]cesso decreto de[curionum].

Collegia Herculis et Dianae. CIL 5657 = 11798 = ILS 7301 (Göttweig, carried there from Mautern, see Pascher, RLÖ 19 (1949) 40): the two *collegia* set up a funerary inscription to the slave of a *trib. laticlavus*. Cf. p. 277.

LAURIACUM

'Lex Lauriacensis'

See on this pp. 101 and 313 n. 109. One portion of the *lex* which can be restored to a considerable extent (following Bormann, *RLÖ* 11 (1910) 138 ff.) runs as follows: [*Ex Ilviris qui in eo municipio i.d. pr(aest) uter postea municipes incolasque . . . educe]t aliave qua causa et [necessitate ex eo municipio proficisceretur neque eo die in id municipium esse se rediturum] arbitrabatur, quem p[raefectum municipi ex decurionibus conscriptisque relinquere volet, non minorem quam] annorum XXXV, praesen[tibus decurionibus conscriptisque non minus . . . facito, ut is ... sicut hac lege cautum com]prehensumque est, in[ret per Iovem et Divum Aug. ceterosque Divos omnes et genium imp. Caesaris M. Aureli Antonini] Pii Aug. Part. max. Brit. [max. deosque Penates . . .]. Another fragment includes mention of the [lim]ocincti (slaves of the municipality) and the [mu]nicipium (Betz, *JÖAI* 39 (1952) 133 ff.). But see now B. and H. Galsterer, *BJ* 171 (1971) 334 ff., for the view that the fragments do not relate to a *lex* for Lauriacum; contra: E. Weber, *JOM* 117 (1972) 181 ff. In my view it is still probable that Lauriacum was a *municipium*, despite the arguments offered by B. and H. Galsterer. The *lex* seems to refer to a *municipium* founded by Caracalla, and this cannot have been one of the other Norican towns because it is certain that all other *municipia* in the province received their charters from earlier emperors.*

Seviri Augustales

LAF 1 (1962) 69 with n. 244 on p. 211 (Lentia, third cent.):

Aur. Eutices sexvir Aug. His wife was called *Aur. Alexandria*. They were perhaps *conliberti*.

Collegia

Collegium invenum. *CIL* 5678 (Lauriacum, third cent.):

Mal(lius) Vicarius et Val. Crisp[i]nus aed(iles) [c]ol(legii) invenu[m].

Unknown *collegium*. *RLÖ* 11 (1910) 144 ff. (Lauriacum, third cent.):

List of names, perhaps the members of a *collegium*.

APPENDIX XIV Equites Romani from Noricum

C. Rufius Moderatus Junianus Juncinus. *CIL* 5202 (Celeia). *Praef. coh. VI Raet., trib. mil. leg. VII Cl. p.f.* In the latter capacity he had a statue to Trajan erected at Celeia by *codicil(lum)* between A.D. 103 and 111. On the family at Celeia see also *CIL* 5191, 5199, 5268, also 5281 (Zavrň pri Galiciji)—mostly mentioning *liberti* of the family. A *Rufia Crispin[a]* was married to a *duumvir* of Celeia (*AIJ* 9, Colatio). One *Cupitus Celeian. ser. Rufianus* (*CIL* 5228, p. 1830) was probably presented to the municipality by the *Rufii*. Two *Rufiae* were married to officials of Virunum (*CIL* 4813, Virunum, and *Car.* 147 (1957) 172 ff., Bodensdorf). There are isolated examples of *Rufii* elsewhere in Noricum also.

L. Cammius Maximus, L. Cammius Secundinus. Apparently brothers. Maximus was prefect of the Cohors I Hispanorum equitata in Britain, then *tri(b). XVIII coh. volu(ntariorum)* in Pannonia (*RIB* 827–9), and also *dec. Aquileiae* (*CIL* V 961). Secundinus served as a legionary in X Gemina at Vindobona shortly before A.D. 101 (*CIL* 4660, 5), then after a centurion's career became *p.p., praef. leg. X[g.]* and *proc. Aug.* with sexagenary rank in an unknown post (*CIL* 5328 = *ES* 8 (1969) 7 f. no. 9). His higher positions are known from his inscription at Solva, which he set up in A.D. 138 to his friend the praetorian prefect M. Gavius Maximus. Solva was undoubtedly his home, see esp. Pflaum, *Carrières* I 259 ff. no. 108; he returned there after his public service c. A.D. 130. *CIL* 5341 = *ES* 8 (1969) 8 f. no. 10 was perhaps his tombstone. His brother's decurionate at Aquileia may probably be explained by trading links between Solva and Aquileia. The family name was of Celtic origin (also attested at Augustodunum, *CIL* XIII 2700). The family perhaps owned land at Gleisdorf, as a *Cupitus Cam(mii?) Sabini ser.* is attested there (*JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 76 f.). See most recently Alföldy, *ES* 8 (1969) 7 f., with bibliography; cf. E. Weber, *Inschriften*, no. 175.

C. Censorius Niger. See above, p. 244 in Appendix V.

T. Varius T. fil. Cla. Clemens. *CIL* 5211 = *ILS* 1362, *CIL* 5212 = *ILS* 1362a, *CIL* 5213, 5214, 5215 = *ILS* 1362b, *CIL* 5216 = 11690, 15205, 1 = *AIJ* 44 (Celeia), also *CIL* VIII 2728 (18122) = *ILS* 5795, *CIL* XVI 117, 183. The tribus is attested by the Tabula Banasitana of A.D. 177 (*Comptes-Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* 1971, 472). *Praef. coh. II Gallorum Macedonicae* (probably c. A.D. 135), *trib. leg. XXX U(lpiae) v(ictricis)*, *praef. equit. al(ae) II Pannoniorum*, *praef. equit. al(ae) Britannicae miliar.*, *praef. auxiliorum in Mauret. Tingitan.* (in A.D. 145), *proc. Aug. provinciarum Ciliciae, Lusitaniae, Mauretaniae Caesar(i)ensis* (c. A.D. 151–2), *Raetiae* (c. A.D. 156–7), *Belgicae et utriusq. Germ., ab epistulis Augustor.* (c. A.D. 163). See esp. Pflaum, *Carrières* I 368 ff. no. 156 with bibliography. He later perhaps became a senator, because his name is mentioned in the Tabula Banasitana before that of M. Bassaeus Rufus, who between 169 and 180 received the *ornamenta consularia* (cf. Appendix V, p. 246). From *CIL* 5211 it is clear that Clemens was a citizen of Celeia. For *Varii* in this town see also *CIL* 5267 (11695), 11699 = *ILS* 3301, *CIL* 14368, 6 (also slaves and probably freedmen of the family). They are also attested at Virunum (*CIL* 4778 + 4785, p. 2328, 44 = *JÖAI* 18 (1915) 123 ff.). They were perhaps descendants of an Italian merchant family which had a branch on the Magdalensberg (cf. *Car.* 153 (1963) 108 no. 97 and Egger, *Grosshandelsplatz* no. 291 with *Varii*).

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P. Aelius Crispinus. *AE* 1942-3, 69 (according to which he was *domo Flavia Solva*), *CIL* VIII 21826 = *AE* 1941, 115. *P(rimus) p(ilus) bis, proc. Hispaniae Tarraconensis, procurat. Mauretaniae Tingitanae* between A.D. 169 and 175, *proc. XX her., proc. hereditatium, proc. Augustorum prov. Mauretaniae Caesariensis* between A.D. 177 and 180. See esp. Pflaum, *Carrières* I 494 f. no. 182.

T. Attius C. fil. Tutor. *CIL* 5331 = *ILS* 2734 = Modrijan-Weber 66 ff. (Solva), see also *CIL* VII 386 = *RIB* 830, *CIL* VII 390 = *RIB* 837, *CIL* VII 394 = *RIB* 842. *Praef. coh. I Betas. c.R., trib. mil. leg. II ad. p.f., praef. alae I Tung. Frontonian., praef. alae I Batavor. miliar.,* and in addition (not necessarily before his military posts) *dec. Fl. Solva*. See esp. E. Birley, *Car.* 143 (1953) 249 no. 22, according to whom the career started at earliest in A.D. 161. The Attii owned the most expensive house in second-century Solva, opposite the forum buildings, see the inscription *JÖAI(B)* 19/20 (1919) 145; on the Solva family cf. *CIL* 5319 = *ES* 8 (1969) 4 ff. no. 8 with one of the *honestiores*. The Attii, Tutor himself in particular, will have owned land in the Solva area, see esp. *CIL* 5310 = *AIJ* 102 (Hoče) with one *Primigenius T. Atti lib.* and *CIL* 5445 = *ES* 8 (1969) 15 no. 20 (Gratwein) with one [*Acceptus Atti [Tut?]oris servus*]. Cf. also *CIL* 5447 (Kleinstübing) and 5520 (Friedberg) with further Attii around Solva. The family is also known at Celeia (*CIL* 5156 with p. 1830, 5243 and 5271 = 11696), Juenna (*CIL* 14366, 3 = Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 75) and there are isolated cases elsewhere too. Cf. E. Weber, *Inscripfen* no. 178.

Tauconius Optatus and his son of the same names. *CIL* V 708 = *Inscr. It.* X 4, no. 325 (near Castel Duino in the Tergeste area). The father was *eq. R. dec. et IIvir Cl. Ag(unti)*, and his son was also an *eques*. The family appears to derive from Aguntum. Period: probably the end of the second or first half of the third century. According to *Inscr. It. loc. cit.* the name was T. Auconius.

M. Vindius Verianus. *AE* 1937, 178 (near Marengo in Liguria), *AE* 1919, 14 (Histria). *A militiis III, praef. clas. Fl. Moes.* between A.D. 198 and 201. Pflaum, *Carrières* II 689 no. 255 regards him as a citizen of Dertona, on account of the dedication to Fortuna near Marengo in the *territorium* of that town. *Vindii* are infrequently attested, at Verona (*CIL* V 3228), Ticinum (*CIL* V 6457) and Firmum Picenum (*CIL* IX 5412—perhaps a Norican woman?), in Spain (*CIL* II 2612), southern Gaul (*CIL* XII 330, 2853, 4019) and Upper Germany (*CIL* XIII 7294), and once in Raetia (*CIL* 12008). But note in Noricum a *Vind[ius] Verinus (urbanicianus)* and his father, from Wagnerberg in the Solva area (*CIL* 5503), a *Vindia Vera* from Kugelstein (*CIL* 11744) and a *Vind(ius) Verus bf. cos.* under Severus Alexander (*CIL* 5575 = *IBR* 20, Stöttham), also *C. Vind(ius?) Constans [II]vir* of Juvavum in A.D. 225 (*CIL* 11778 = *IBR* 15 = *ILS* 4855). *M. Vindius Verianus* was probably related to these Noricans and possibly came from the *territorium* of Solva. *M. Vindius Verus, cos. suff.* in A.D. 138 (*CIL* XVI 84), also, perhaps rose to senatorial rank from a Solva family, see p. 277.

P. Aelius Flavius. *CIL* 5630 = *ILS* 7112 (Lambach near Ovilava). *Dec. et IIvir et flamen Ael. Cetiensium item dec. et IIvir e(t) pontifex colonia Aurelia Antoniniana Ovil., trib. leg. III Aug.* Period: under Caracalla at earliest, but in view of the mention of the title Aurelia Antoniniana hardly later than Caracalla or Elagabalus either. His mother, *Orgetia Sisia*, still bore a purely Celtic name. Cf. p. 272.

P. Aelius Sabinianus, P. Aelius Germanus. *CIL* 5652 = *ES* 8 (1969) 32 f. no. 44 (Tulln). Both men, sons of a *veter. ex dec.*, were decurions in the *colonia* of Ovilava and *a militiis*. Their sister, Aelia Valentina, was *e<g>(regiae) m(emoriae) p(uella)*. Period: third cent., after Caracalla.

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C. Viato[r]ius [...]. *CIL* 4839 (Timenitz near Virunum). *IIvir iur. dic. C(laudi) [Vir(uni), ...], praefec. coh. II [...], trib. leg. V Mace[d.]* The family, certainly from Virunum, is not known elsewhere. Period: third century. Cf. p. 264.

L. Tapurius (. . .). *CIL* 5702 = 11828 (Arnoldstein in the Kanaltal): *D.M. L. Tapurio Vestali et Mercusenae coinugi eius L. Tapurius filius X leg. trib. parentib. pientiss.* (sic). The stone, undoubtedly erroneously inscribed by the mason, was dedicated by L. Tapurius, tribune of X Gemina, to his parents. The name is of Celtic derivation (as also Cammius, Tauconius, Vindius), cf. e.g. *Taparu* (*CIL* 5469, St Margarethen near Knittelfeld). Period: third century.

[...]ianiu[s ...]us. *CIL* 4829 (carried to Viktring from Virunum). *Eq. pub[lico], ... L]aur(ens) Lavin[us]*. Period: apparently third century.

Aurelius Valentinus. *CIL* 5283 (Višnja Vas). *V(ir) e(gregius)*; his wife was a *st(olata) f(emina) natione Dardana*; Valentinus perhaps met her as an equestrian officer in Moesia superior. Period: third century.

Q. Marcus Julianus. *CIL* 5254 (Celeia) of the third century mentions two slaves of this *e(gregius) v(ir)*.

Metilius Maximinus. *CIL* 5111 (Št Janž in the upper Savinja valley, where Maximinus may have had estates, like for example Aurelius Valentinus at Višnja Vas). *Vir egr[egius], omnibus muneribus fun[ctus]* (at Celeia). Period: third century. A dedicator in the Mithraeum at Zgornja Pohanca (Pannonia?) may also have belonged to this family, *AIJ* 258.

M. Bellicius Saturninus. *CIL* 4811 (p. 1813) (carried to St Veit an der Glan from Virunum). As *trib. chor. I Fl. Brit.* he dedicated, with his family, an inscription to Victoria in A.D. 267. He apparently came from Virunum, cf. also *CIL* 4839 and 4929 there, and *Car.* 139 (1949) 177 f. for the family. At Celeia (*CIL* 5183) and Juvavum (*CIL* 5589 = *IBR* 34) also Bellicii belonged to the *honestiores*, and they are recorded in the Solva area too (*CIL* 5452, 5493).

Valerius Claudius Quintus. *CIL* 4855 = *ILS* 2772 (Hörzendorf; hardly carried there from Virunum, rather deriving from a villa). *P(rimus) p(ilus) leg. II Ital., dux leg. III Ital., dux et praep. leg. III Aug.* Second half of third century; Quintus perhaps took his first *nomen* under Diocletian.

Aelius Restutus. See above, Appendix VII, p. 251.

In my view the inscription *CIL* 5044 = E. Weber, *Inscripfen*, no. 264 (Einöd) does not mention an *eques*; see *ES* 8 (1969) 26 f. no. 37. The man in *CIL* 5184, *C. Calcin[ius] Tertian[us] cond. p.p. tr[ib. mil.] leg. XX V.v.*, at Celeia, may equally well have been either a native of Celeia of equestrian rank, or a lease-holder of the Norican customs-revenues, of foreign origin (his *nomen* is nowhere else recorded in the province).

APPENDIX XV *Senators from Noricum*

No single senator is known with certainty to come from Noricum. *L. Stertinius Noricus*, *cos. suff.* 133 (cf. Degrassi, *I fasti consolari* (Rome 1952) 33) was certainly not a Norican; possibly he was the son born in Noricum of a *procurator provinciae Noricae* (for cases of name-giving of this kind cf. e.g. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 138). The *cognomen* Noricus occurs only once in Noricum (*CIL* 5548, Juvavum), but is much commoner elsewhere, e.g. in Africa.

The following senators may be considered with some degree of probability to have been Noricans:

M. Vindius Verus. Cos. suff. in A.D. 138 (*CIL* XVI 84), jurist under Antoninus Pius (*SHA, AP* 12, 1). He perhaps came from Noricum, possibly from Solva, cf. the later *eques* *M. Vindius Verianus*, Appendix XIV, p. 275.

T. Varius T. f. Cla. Clemens. This *eques Romanus* from Celeia was perhaps promoted by Marcus Aurelius into the senate, see Appendix XIV, p. 274.

P. Petronius Priscus. See *CIL* 5657 = 11798 = *ILS* 7301 (Göttweig Abbey, probably carried there from Mautern, cf. Pascher, *RLÖ* 19 (1949) 40): *D.M. Aracinto Petroni Prisci trib. laticlavi servo collegia Herculis et Dianae fecerunt*. Priscus was by no means necessarily tribune of II Italica; rather he may have owned land in the Cetium area. He perhaps came from Celeia where a *P. Petron[ius] P.f. Vel. Pris[cus]* is recorded in the first century (*CIL* 5259 = 11693). He is probably identical with *P. Petronius Priscus, frater Arvalis* in the years 183, 184 and 193 (*CIL* VI 2099b, 28, etc.). See Groag, *RE* XIX 1221; Pflaum, *Carrières* II 558 f.; Barbieri, *Albo* 96 no. 407.

Ignotus. See *CIL* VI 1551 (Rome): [...] *leg. Aug. p[r. pr. prov. ...], leg. Aug. pr.[pr. prov. ..., leg. Aug.] pr. pr. pro[v. ...], duci vex[illationum leg. ... et] XI Claud[iae p.f. et ..., leg. leg.] XXII Pri[migeniae p.f., ... i]uridico [...], curat[ori Sol. [...]]*. The first post of this senator, who apparently ended up with two consular governorships, was evidently the curatorship of Solva. The fact that this small town had a senatorial curator would be explained best if the senator himself came from there, or at least from somewhere in Noricum. As *dux* he perhaps commanded, c. A.D. 235, Moesian vexillations in the German campaigns of Severus Alexander and Maximinus Thrax. See Alföldy, *Die Legionslegaten der Rheinarmeen* (*Epigr. Studien* 3, 1967) 58 f. no. 75.

APPENDIX XVI *Dated milestones in Noricum*

(The numbers refer to milestones that have survived.)

Period	Roads									
	Tarvis- Virunum- Ovilava	Atrans- Celeia- Poetovio	Celeia- Nevio- dunum	Celeia- Virunum	Poetovio- Solva- Mur valley	Virunum- Teurnia- Aguntum	Aguntum- Pustertal	Teurnia- Juvavum	Juvavum- Pons Aeni	Boiodu- rum- Cetium- Vindobona
Claudius	I									
Trajan		3								
Hadrian		I			I					
Antoninus Pius		2								
M. Aurelius										
A.D. 195-201 and 213-14	I	I					2	I	I	I
A.D. 201	2					4	8	I	I	2
Caracalla								I	I	I
Macrinus	I	2			I	I	I			I
Elagabalus		2								
Severus										
Alexander					I					
Maximinus Thrax	I	2	I							I
Gordian III						I	I			
Philip	I					2	4			
Decius						I	I			
Trebonianus Gallus	I									
Claudius II		I								
Carus						I				
1st Tetrarchy			I			I(?)				
Maximinus Daia			I						I	
Licinius	I									
Constantine I	2						2		I	
Constantius II		2								
Julian										
Valentinian I		I							I	

APPENDIX XVII *Evidence for Christianity in Noricum (individual sites)*

For general accounts see esp. Egger, *Kirchenbauten* (1916) and *Actes de V^e Congr. Internat. d' Arch. Chrét.* 1954, 73 ff.; Noll, *ibid.* 261 ff.; Egger, *Atti del VI Congr. Internaz. di Arch. Crist.* 1962, 35 ff., and Noll, *Christentum* 71 ff.

Celeia

Fifth-century basilica with mosaics (and many inscriptions); see esp. Schön, *JÖAI(B)* 1 (1899) 29 ff.; *CIL* 14368, 8–20 = *AIJ* 63 ff.; Klemenc, *AV* 18 (1967) 111 ff.; esp. 125 ff. Bishop's seat by sixth century at latest. Funerary verse inscription of Bishop Gaudentius from sixth century: *AIJ* 16 (Št Pavel) cf. Egger, *MVKIPh* 4 (1927) 3 ff. At the end of the sixth century Johannes was bishop of Celeia, see Saria, *AIJ* p. 2 with further references.

Solva

Lamps with Chi-Ro, dated by Noll, *Christentum* 112 to fifth century: *CIL* 12012, 104 b and 13551, 10. *CIL* 11737 is perhaps a Christian funerary inscription.

Hemmaberg near Juenna (Fig. 41, p. 221)

In the late Roman *Fliebburg*, two churches and an octagonal baptistery (with mosaics), from the first half of the fifth century. Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 76 ff.; Noll, *Christentum* 108 ff. Perhaps a bishop's seat in the fifth century, Egger *op. cit.* 137 f.

Virunum

Tombstone of Herodiana from the fourth century with representation of the Good Shepherd: *CIL* 4921 (p. 1813), Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 32 with fig. 11. Late Roman capitals from c. A.D. 400 at earliest, walled into the Monumentum Prunnerianum in the Zollfeld, may have belonged to a Christian building, see Egger, *Car.* 139 (1949) 181 f., Noll, *Christentum* 105 and Vetters, *RE* ix A 296 ff. (also for places in the surrounding area). In A.D. 591 there was an *ecclesia Beronensis*, i.e. a bishopric of Virunum; however, the bishop did not himself necessarily reside at Virunum, which had by then fallen, but rather at one of the *Fliebburgen* in the surrounding area.

Grazer Kogel (Fig. 45, p. 225)

Two churches in the *Fliebburg* north of Virunum, fifth century at earliest. Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 106 ff., Noll, *Christentum* 105 f.

Ulrichsberg (Fig. 36, p. 215)

Church of the *Almdorf* on the summit of the mountain, which probably came into being at the end of the fifth century in place of the temple of Isis Noreia, probably destroyed at that time. Egger, *Car.* 125 (1935) 129 ff., 126 (1936) 1 ff., 127 (1937) 3 ff., 128 (1938) 18 ff., 136–8 (1948) 198 ff., 140 (1950) 29 ff.; Noll, *Christentum* 106 f. and Vetters, *RE* ix A 282 ff., 297.

Kanzianiberg

Ivory box from the *Fliebburg*, which had been a reliquary in a church there. L. Franz-W. Görlich, *Germania* 13 (1929) 143 ff.; Noll, *Christentum* 104.

Hoischbügel (Fig. 44, p. 224)

Church with nave and no side-aisles in the *Fliebburg* near Maglern-Thör (Meclaria). Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 103 ff.; Noll, *Christentum* 102 f.

Appendix XVII

Tscheltschinkogel (Kadischen)

In the *Fliehbürg* near Warmbad Villach, apsidal burial-chapel, fifth or sixth century, see Dolenz-Görlich, *Car.* 125 (1935) 133 ff.; Dolenz, *Car.* 128 (1938) 120 f. and esp. 130 (1940) 289 ff.; Noll, *Christentum* 103.

Duel (Fig. 39, p. 219)

Church with nave and side-aisles, priest's house with baptistery, both fifth century, in the late Roman fort at Feistritz a.d. Drau. Jantsch, *Car.* 119 (1929) 7 f.; Egger, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 159 ff. and *Atti del III Congr. Internaz. di Arch. Crist.* 1932, 290 ff.; Noll, *Christentum* 100 ff.

Teurnia (Fig. 37, p. 216; Pl. 58)

Already bishop's seat by the time of St Severinus at latest, see *Vita S. Sev.* 21, 1 f. and 25, 1. The bishop's church was probably on the Holzerberg; the large Friedhofskirche north of the mountain came into being at the beginning of the fifth century. From the sixth century onwards Teurnia is often mentioned as the seat of a bishop. See Egger, *MZK* 1910, 530 ff., *JÖAI(B)* 13 (1910) 161 ff. and 15 (1912) 17 ff., *Kirchenbauten* 12 ff. and *Teurnia*⁵ 30 ff., 88 f.; Noll, *Christentum* 95 ff.; on the mosaics see also esp. Hagenauer, *Car.* 153 (1963) 304 ff. and Schulte, *Car.* 157 (1967) 211 ff. *CIL* 4749 (carried to Spittal) is a Christian funerary inscription.

Laubendorf (Fig. 43, p. 223)

Apsidal church, sixth century. Dolenz, *PAR* 7 (1957) 33 f., *Österr. Zeitschr. f. Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 12 (1958) 105 f., *PAR* 12 (1962) 28 ff. and esp. *Car.* 152 (1962) Beigabe 38 ff.

Aguntum (Fig. 40, p. 219)

Attested as bishop's seat in sixth century (although the bishop may have resided at Lavant). Church near the town probably from the end of the fourth century, burial-chapel in the cemetery. Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 61 ff.; Swoboda, *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 81 ff.; Noll, *Christentum* 91 f.

Lavant-Kirchbichl (Fig. 42, p. 222; Pl. 57)

Bishop's church 41 metres long, fifth century, in the late Roman *Fliehbürg*. Noll, *Christentum* 92 f.; Miltner, *JÖAI(B)* 38 (1950) 37 ff., 40 (1953) 15 ff., 41 (1954) 43 ff., 43 (1956–8) 89 ff., *FuF* 27 (1953) 153 ff., *Österr. Zeitschr. f. Kunst u. Denkmalpflege* 10 (1956) 1 ff. and *Akten zum III Internat. Kongr. f. Frühmittelalterforschung* 1954, 17 ff.; also esp. Alzinger, *Österr. Arch. Inst. Grabungen* 1966 (Vienna 1967) 54 ff., cf. also Alzinger, *Festschrift Barb* 38 ff. Cf. further Menghin, *Fundstätten* 168, arguing against the existence of the supposed earlier Gallo-Roman temple on the site.

Lienz

Recently discovered early Christian church: L. Plank, *PAR* 18 (1968) 18 f.

Cucullae (Kuchl)

According to *Vita S. Sev.* 12, 3 there was a church here; see also above, p. 212. It was presumably in the *Fliehbürg* (*castellum* according to *Vita S. Sev.* 11, 2) which must be assumed to have lain on the protected plateau of Kuchl. Cf. now Vettors, *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 500 with references.

Juvavum

According to *Vita S. Sev.* 13, 1 ff. there was a *basilica* here, also *spiritalis*; Noll, *Eugippius* 129 and *Christentum* 86, interprets this as referring to a monastic church. An early Christian basilica with

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nave and side-aisles has recently been found on the right bank of the Salzach: Hell, *MGSL* 107 (1967) 71 ff.

Ovilava

Funerary inscription of *Ursa Crestiana fidelis*, fourth century: *CIL* 13529, Noll, *Christentum* 85 f. A late Roman capital (late fourth century?) probably belonged to a church, see Vetters, *JMVW* 8 (1961–2) 44 ff.

Georgenberg near Micheldorf

Apsidal church, built after destruction of the earlier Gallo-Roman temple, in the late Roman *Fliehbürg*, hardly earlier than fifth century. Vetters, *PAR* 13 (1953) 2 f. and *JÖAI(B)* 43 (1956–8) 123 ff.; cf. Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 56.

Boiodurum (Passau-Innstadt)

There was a *monasterium* here in the time of St Severinus; *Vita S. Sev.* 36, 1; cf. also 22, 1 f.

Joviacum (Schlögen)

There was a church here according to *Vita S. Sev.* 24, 1.

Lauriacum

Bishop's church in the Laurenzikirche (northern edge of the civil town), built at latest in the second half of the fourth century on the site of a Gallo-Roman temple; restored after destruction in fifth century. Eckhart, *JOM* 107 (1962) 116 ff., 108 (1963) 145 ff., 109 (1964) 172 ff., 110 (1965) 228 ff.; *PAR* 14 (1964) 14 ff., 19 ff.; *JOM* 112 (1967) 33 f. *Christl. Kunstblätter* 1967, 62 ff. Smaller church in the former hospital of the legionary fortress, built c. A.D. 400 at the earliest: Swoboda, *JÖAI(B)* 30 (1937) 253 ff. and *JOM* 87 (1937) 439 ff. Christian burial-ground south of the legionary fortress from the second half of the fourth century onwards: Schicker, *RLÖ* 17 (1933) 117 ff. Lamps with Chi-Rho; Noll, *Christentum* 82 ff. Lauriacum was the seat of a bishop at the time of St Severinus (*Vita S. Sev.* 31, 1) and had several Christian buildings (*ibid.* 28, 2).

St Florian

Funerary inscription of *Valeria vidua*: *CIL* 13532.

Faviana (Mautern)

The *monasterium* of St Severinus was here: *Vita S. Sev.* 4,6; 9,3; 23,1; 31,6. On the remains of an early Christian church, Stiglitz-Thaller, *PAR* 9 (1959) 31 f.

Commagena (Tulln)

Church: *Vita S. Sev.* 1, 4.

Astura (Zeiselmauer)

Christian community and church: *Vita S. Sev.* 1, 2. This passage hardly to be connected with Klosterneuburg (p. 200).

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Notes

CHAPTER I

- 1 For the works here mentioned see the bibliography, pp. 352 ff.
- 2 For a useful collection of the sources see Holder II 762 ff.
- 3 Completely meaningless fragments, and stamps on pottery and tiles, are not included in this figure.
- 4 We know approximately 0.1 per cent of the total population of Dalmatia, see Alföldy, *Dalmatien* 24.
- 5 Cf. for example Deringer, *Car.* 140 (1950) 196; Leber, *Car.* 155 (1965) 265; Dolenz, *Fundstätten* 59. Most of the inscriptions from the Zollfeld are regarded in the present work as belonging to Virunum, although the possibility must not be excluded that some of them—e.g. those from Karnburg—stood originally in small settlements or villas in the area and not at Virunum itself.
- 6 Cf. Saria, *AIJ* p. 15; Diez, *Solva*² 20 f.; Kellner-Ulbert, *BVBl* 23 (1958) 50.
- 7 The major detailed studies are: Falkner, *Frühgesch. und Sprachwissenschaft* 38 ff.; Thaller, *Car.* 140 (1950) 145 ff.; Vetters, *Car.* 144 (1954) 32 ff.; Katičić, *AV* 17 (1966) 145 ff. Thaller, 'Die Bevölkerung von Noricum' (thesis Vienna 1945) is still unpublished.
- 8 Pichler, *Geographisches Lexikon* I–II is out of date. Detailed studies are Schwarz, *WPZ* 19 (1932) 286 ff.; Steinhäuser, *Actes et Mém. du Premier Congr. Internat. de Toponymie et d'Anthroponymie* (1938) 3 ff.; Kranzmayer, *Schlern-Schriften* 98 (1952) 199 ff.; *Car.* 144 (1954) 180 ff.; *Ortsnamenbuch von Kärnten* I–II (see p. 358); Hörburger, *MGSL* 107 (1967) 1 ff.; etc.
- 9 Cf. for example the etymology of *Ambilici* in Kranzmayer, *Car.* 144 (1954) 191 f. and *Ortsnamenbuch* I 20 f.—surely mistaken, as the name of this *civitas* was *Ambilini*, as the Magdalensberg inscriptions show, p. 67 f. Cf. further p. 290, n. 66.
- 10 See the bibliography, p. 372 f. However, new finds have already made a new study desirable; cf. Bruck, *Car.* 151 (1961) 168 ff. and 153 (1963) 91 ff.
- 11 The major investigations are Noll, *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 59 ff. and *AA* 14 (1954) 43 ff.; Kellner, *BVBl* 25 (1960) 132 ff. and 30 (1965) 154 ff.; more recently Göbl, *NZ* 83 (1969) 7 ff.

Notes to pages 6–9

12 Unfortunately there is a great variation between the particular provinces (*Bundesländer*) of Austria in this respect—whereas, e.g. the section on Carinthia, by H. Dolenz, is very detailed and a model of its kind, the sections on Styria or East Tirol (where for example the monument of Popaius Senator is not included) give only a selection.

13 See the bibliography, p. 354. Apart from *TIR* other cartographic works are W. Heyden-dorff, *Österreich zur Römerzeit. Karte 1:500,000* (Vienna 1952); F. Wotke and W. Wagner, *Österreich zur Römerzeit. Handkarte 1:1,200,000* (Vienna 1953). The maps in *CIL* III are now out of date.

14 Cf. the works of W. Torbrügge, W. Modrijan, A. Egger and P. Petru, cited on p. 352 f.

15 Cf. Heuberger, *Schlern-Schriften* 52 (1947) 69 ff. and *Zeitschr. f. Schweizerische Gesch.* 30 (1950) 337 ff.; Saria, *Jahrb. d. Ostdeutschen Kulturates* 5 (1958) 89 ff.; for the eastern border areas, A. Graf, *Übersicht der antiken Geographie von Pannonien* (*Diss. Pann.* I 5, Budapest 1936) and St. Borzsák, *Die Kenntnisse des Altertums über das Karpathenbecken* (*Diss. Pann.* I 6, Budapest 1936).

16 P. 32. It has recently been supposed that the *Neuroi* in Herodotus (iv 17, 51, 100, 102, 105, 119) have something to do with the Noricans or may even be identical with them, cf. the works cited by Polaschek, *RE* xvii 971, and more recently P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 32 (1953) 1 ff.; Vettters, *VuF* 10 (1965) 29 f.; *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 482. However, the *Neuroi* were a large people in Wolhynia and Podolia in the sixth century B.C. (A. Herrmann, *RE* xvii 158 ff.), whereas the *Norici* were still only a small single tribe centuries later. The Greeks of the fifth century B.C. could scarcely have known about them. The fact that Hydatius (*Fasti* 93 *ad a.* 429 and 95 *ad a.* 430, etc.) gives the Noricans the name *Nori* likewise does not give any support to this identification. Kretschmer's idea that the word *νῶρος* in Homer ('shining', adjective for *χαλκός*) already refers to the Noricans is more daring still. Steph. Byz., s.v. *Νώρακος—πόλις Παννονίας* is not an argument in favour of this, but for metal from Paionia, which here, as so often in ancient literature, is equated with Pannonia. Cf. Capovilla, *Studi* 14 ff.

17 Cf. Kahrstedt, *Studien* 1 ff.

18 Strabo v 1, 8 (214). On Noricum see also esp. iv 6, 8 f. (206) and iv 6, 12 (208). See p. 48.

19 Pliny, *N.H.* 4, 98. Cf. A. Klotz, *Klio* 24 (1931) 38 ff. and 386 ff. The Noricans already found a mention in Polybius (p. 34); the first use of the adjective *Noricus* in Latin literature comes in Caesar, *BG* i 6, 4 and *BC* i 18, 5. The place *Noreia* was already known to Sempronius Asellio, cf. pp. 48 and 288, n. 32.

20 Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 133 and 146 f.; 21, 43; 34, 145.

21 Ptol., *Geogr.* ii 13, 1 ff. Cf. esp. O. Cuntz, *Die Geographie des Ptolemaeus. Galliae Germania Raetia Noricum Pannoniae Illyricum Italia* (Berlin 1923); Polaschek, *Car.* 143 (1953) 701 ff. and *RE* Suppl. x 680 ff. with fig. 1. For ancient maps of sections of Noricum cf. M. Wutte, *Kärnten im Kartenbild der Zeiten* (Klagenfurt 1931); Bernleithner, *MGSJL* 105 (1965) 1 ff.

22 On the question of sources, cf. p. 294, n. 59.

23 On the Antonine Itinerary for Noricum cf. esp. Polaschek, *JLNO* 26 (1936) 39 ff.

24 *Not. Dign. Occ.* xxxiv 31 ff. Cf. esp. Stiglitz, *JÖAI(B)* 46 (1961–3) 143 ff.

25 See the passages cited by Partsch, *RE* i 1599 ff.

26 Priscian, *Perieg.* 314: *Norici . . . bellaces*.

27 *PAR* 15 (1965) 25 f. = *Car.* 157 (1967) 517 ff. = *ES* 8 (1969) 15, no. 21.

28 *Vita S. Sev.* 4, 10; see also 29, 1.

29 Isid., *Or.* xiv 4, 5: *Noricus ager frigidus, et parcius fructuosus*. Cf. Strabo iv 6, 9 (206 f.) and see p. 106 f.

- 30 Tac., *Germ.* 5; Pliny, *N.H.* 21, 43. Appian, *Celt.* 13 gives an accurate description of a heavy summer thunder-storm.
- 31 Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 121; 3, 147 (cf. also *Geogr. Rav.* iv 37); Ptol., *Geogr.* ii 13, 1; ii 14, 1; viii 8, 2 (cf. Polaschek, *RE* Suppl. x 712).
- 32 This is already found in Polybius iii 54, 2; Cato *apud* Serv., *Aen.* x 13; Livy xxi 35, 8.
- 33 Byrrus: Venant. Fort., *Vita Mart.* iv 648 (on which see Polaschek, *RE* xvii 983 f.); Dravus: Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 147. The ancient names of the tributaries of the Drau are not recorded (modern reconstructions: Kranzmayer, *Car.* 144 (1954) 180 ff.), nor those of the Carinthian lakes.
- 34 *Tab. Peut.*; *Vita S. Sev.* 29, 1.
- 35 The Peutinger Table shows two mountain ranges in the west, completely inaccurately, then two further mountain ridges in the south, divided by the 'Norican main highway' (thus on the one side the Carnic Alps may be recognised without difficulty, and on the other the Karawanken, Steiner Alps and Julian Alps, amalgamated together), then a mountain in the north-east in which the Drau rises (hardly the Hohe Tauern, rather the central Norican mountain-country as a whole) and still another mountain range between the Inn and Ovilava (hardly the Hausruck or the Sauwald, but, again, the west Norican mountains in a general way).
- 36 On the double name see Reinecke, *BVF* 4 (1924) 33 f.; most recently Hörburger, *MGSL* 107 (1967) 24 f.
- 37 On the name of the Mur cf. the station *In Murio* (*Tab. Peut.*) = Moosham in the Lungau, cf. Fleischer, *JÖAI(B)* 47 (1964–5) 106 ff., *ibid.* 48 (1966–7) 165 ff., and *RE* Suppl. xi 845 ff. (who unjustifiably assumes that the settlement was called *Immurium*). The river was hardly called *Marus* (thus M. Schilcher, *ZHVS* 33 (1939) 82) and certainly not *Noaros* (see on this Alföldy, *AAntH* 12 (1964) 110 f.). On the Anisus see Ihm, *RE* i 2218.
- 38 Aenus: Reinecke, *BVF* 4 (1924) 24. Arlape: Ihm, *RE* ii 1174. Tragisamus: Polaschek, *RE* vii A 132 ff. and *CIL* 259* = *JÖAI(B)* 41 (1954) 96 ff. (Cetium) with the text [*ob i*]nductum [*in*] *Tragisa(mum) [rivu]m*, etc. On the Danube in Noricum see esp. Tac., *Ann.* ii 63 and Zosimus iii 10, 2. A number of other river-names have been reconstructed from the later ones, see Egger, *JOM* 95 (1950) 134. The Chiemsee may perhaps have been called *lacus Bedaius*, see Reinecke *op. cit.* 42.
- 39 Ptol., *Geogr.* ii 13, 1 and ii 14, 1, who however means by this the whole mountain-country of eastern Noricum (for a slightly different view, Polaschek, *RE* vii A 133).
- 40 It can hardly have been called *Adsalluta* (thus Ihm, *RE* i 421 f.).
- 41 On the Save in Noricum: Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 147.
- 42 For general surveys: Hyde, *Roman Alpine Routes*; Bulle, *Geleisestrassen des Altertums* (see p. 354). Milestones: Deringer, *Car.* 143 (1953) 736 ff.; cf. Appendix XVI (p. 278).
- 43 On pre-Roman roads and communications: Saria, *Historia* 1 (1950) 460 f.; Paschinger, *Car.* 143 (1953) 353 ff.; Modrijan, *BHK* 35 (1961) 101 ff. On the Plöcken Pass road see p. 17.
- 44 On road-building techniques see esp. M. Groller, *RLÖ* 7 (1906) 39 ff.; Nowotny, *JÖAI(B)* 26 (1930) 220 ff.; Jantsch, *Car.* 127 (1937) 15 ff.; Eckhart, *PAR* 8 (1958) 4; Hell, *PAR* 12 (1962) 31 f. and 13 (1963) 33 f. Bridges: see esp. Holter, *JMVW* 2 (1955) 124 ff.; Cüppers, *BJ* 165 (1965) 97 ff. The posting-station of Noreia at Einöd has been excavated: Schmid, *BHK* 9 (1931) 56 ff. and *JÖAI(B)* 27 (1932) 193 ff.; Deringer, *Car.* 140 (1950) 207 f.; etc.
- 45 See esp. Deringer, *Car.* 139 (1949) 193 ff. and 140 (1950) 171 ff.; further Tremel, *ZHVS* 42 (1951) 159 f.; Görlich, *Car.* 144 (1954) 132 ff.; Dolenz, *Car.* 145 (1955) 96 ff.; Leber, *ibid.*

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- 210 ff.; Modrijan, *Murau* 14 ff. and *BHK* 35 (1961) 104 ff.; Vettors, *RE* ix A 246; Viertler, *Cat.* 159 (1969) 423 ff.
- 46 Cartellieri, *Die römischen Alpenstrassen über den Brenner* (see p. 354); Rohrer, *Schlern* 1928, 370 ff. and *Schlern* 1934, 305 ff.; Maurano, *La strada romana in Val Pusteria* (see p. 355); Wiesflecker, *Jahresber. d. Bundesgymnasiums Wien IX, Schuljahr 1945/46* (Vienna 1946) 12 ff.; cf. Franz, *Car.* 146 (1956) 465 ff.
- 47 Klose, *JAK* 4 (1910) 124 ff.; Cartellieri *op. cit.*; Bulle, *Geleisestrassen des Altertums*; Koban, *Car.* 136–8 (1948) 247 ff.; 144 (1954) 126 ff.; 147 (1957) 159 ff.; 155 (1965) 262 ff.
- 48 Schmid, *Carniola* 2 (1909) 156 ff.; Egger, *Car.* 136–8 (1948) 276 f.; Premmerstein–Rutar, *Römische Strassen und Befestigungen in Krain* (see p. 355); Saria, *AIJ* pp. 8 and 35; and esp. Pahič, *Razprave* 6 (1968) 309 ff.
- 49 Cf. the milestones from Oberwollanig west of Villach (*Car.* 136–8 (1948) 273 ff. = *FbÖ* 4 (1952) 52) and from St Leonhard near Möllbrücken, west of Teurnia (*Car. loc. cit.* 271 = *FbÖ loc. cit.*)
- 50 Saria, *AIJ* pp. 3 and 6 f.; Leber, *Car.* 140 (1950) 642 ff.
- 51 Serpp, *BHK* 6 (1928) 81 ff.; Saria, *AIJ* p. 44.
- 52 Deringer, *Car.* 139 (1949) 217 f.; Vettors, *RE* ix A 246 ff.
- 53 Silber, *JÖAI(B)* 31 (1939) 5 ff.
- 54 Most recently: Narobe, *MGS* 100 (1960) 15 ff.; Hell, *PAR* 3 (1953) 32, *PAR* 13 (1963) 4 f. and *AA* 51 (1972) 97 ff.
- 55 Cuntz, *JZK* 1905, 93 ff.; Modrijan, *BHK* 35 (1961) 108 ff.
- 56 On the road-system in northern Noricum see esp. Groller, *RLÖ* 9 (1908) 117 ff.; Reinecke, *Kleine Schriften* 9 ff., 20 ff., 25 ff.; Nischer, *MGGW* 62 (1919) 104 ff. and *MGGW* 65 (1923) 3 ff.; Polaschek, *JLNÖ* 21 (1928) 6 ff. and *JLNÖ* 26 (1936) 39 ff.; Stroh, *JOM* 94 (1949) 135 ff.; Jandaurek, *OÖHBl* 3 (1949) 1 ff.; *OÖHBl* 5 (1951) 13 ff.; *MOLA* 3 (1954) 104 ff.; *id.*, *Oberösterreichische Altstrassen* (see p. 354); Hell, *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 35 ff.; Pascher, *RLÖ* 19 (1949) 189 ff.; Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 92 ff.; Pfeffer, *OÖHBl* 14 (1960) 65 ff. and 169 ff.; Kellner, *BVBl* 25 (1960) 133; Torbrügge, *Rosenheim* 52 ff.; Joppich-Kainz, *UH* 40 (1969) 88 ff. Cf. now also Winkler, *OÖHBl* 25 (1971) 3 ff.
- 57 Celtic and Roman horseshoes (some from roads): Nowotny, *JÖAI(B)* 26 (1930) 217 ff.; Hell, *JÖAI(B)* 28 (1933) 125 ff.; *AA* 40 (1966) 143 ff. and *AA* 46 (1969) 53 ff.; Morton, *JÖAI(B)* 38 (1950) 107 ff.; etc. The *Vita S. Sev.* mentions several types of Norican wagon: *plaustra* (4, 10), *vehiculum* (6, 1), *carpentum* (44, 7). A fine representation of a *pilentum* (enclosed four-wheeled wagon) is preserved on a relief in the church of Maria Saal (carried from Virunum): Bulle, *JÖAI(B)* 35 (1943) 138 ff.
- 58 29, 1; on this, Noll, *Engippius* 138.
- 59 On the river-passage see p. 58 and p. 60.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 Fundamental are the studies by Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 535 ff.; Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 143 (1953) 171 ff. and *RGF* 22 (1959) 99 ff.; Modrijan, *Car.* 147 (1957) 3 ff.; G. Kossack, *RGF* 24 (1959) 41 ff.; K. Kromer, *Das Gräberfeld von Hallstatt* (1951) and *Von frühem Eisen und reichen Salzherren. Die Hallstattkultur in Österreich* (1964); Gabrovec, *AV* 17 (1966) 19 ff. and *Germania* 44 (1966) 1 ff. (= *AV* 15/16 (1964–5) 35 ff.); Frey, *Germania* 44 (1966) 48 ff.
- 2 On the chronology see esp. Reinecke, *Festschrift RGZM* 53 ff.; Filip, *Keltové* 36 ff., 249 ff.;

- W. Krämer, *Germania* 40 (1962) 304 ff.; Dehn-Frey, *Atti del VI Congr. Intern. delle Sc. Preist. e Protost.* 204 f.; H.P. Uenze, *BVBl* 29 (1964) 77 ff.; Gabrovec, *Situla* 17 (1966) 190 ff.
- 3 See esp. Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 646 ff. The table showing the development of the prehistoric cultures of the late Iron Age on p. 16 is based mainly on Pittioni 791.
- 4 Cf. for example Schmid, *BRGK* 15 (1923–4) 189 ff.; Polaschek, *RE* xvii 971 ff.; Reinecke, *WPZ* 27 (1940) 33 ff.; Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 140 (1950) 125 ff. and 141 (1951) 632.
- 5 On the problem of the Illyrii cf. now H. Kronasser, *LB* 4 (1962) 5 ff.; *ABSch* (1963) 18 ff.; Katičić, *ŽA* 12 (1962) 95 ff. and *ŽA* 12 (1963) 255 ff.; *Die Sprache* 10 (1964) 23 ff.; *Centar za balkanološkoga ispitivanja* 1 (1964) 9 ff.; Alföldy, *BNF* 15 (1964) 55 ff.; *Dalmatien* 40 ff.; *Personennamen* 12 ff.
- 6 H. Krahe, *Das Venetische* (*Sitz-ber. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Jg. 1953, 3. Abb.*); J. Untermann, *Die venetischen Personennamen* (Wiesbaden 1961); cf. more recently Katičić *op. cit.* and Alföldy *op. cit.*
- 7 Cf. for example Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 532; Kohla, *Car.* 151 (1961) 399 ff.
- 8 Cf. esp. Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 141 (1951) 594 ff.; Willvonseder, *Car.* 143 (1953) 568 ff.; Modrijan, *Beitr. Österreichs* 65 ff.; *BHK* 35 (1961) 35 ff. and *SchvSt* 9 (1959–61) 24; Gabrovec, *Germania* 44 (1966) 43 ff.
- 9 On the method, cf. esp. Alföldy, *BNF* 15 (1964) 57 f. and *Personennamen* 12 ff.; Katičić, *AV* 17 (1966) 145 ff.; I. Kajanto, *Supernomina* (Helsinki 1966) 26.
- 10 R. S. Conway, *The Pre-Italic Dialects of Italy I. The Venetic Inscriptions* (London 1933) nos. 180 ff.; F. Altheim–E. Trautmann-Nehring, *Kimbern und Runen*² (Berlin 1942) 25 ff.; Bulle, *Geleisestrassen* 88 ff., 98 ff.; Saria, *Historia* 1 (1950) 438 ff.; Vetter, *Car.* 140 (1950) 130 ff. and 143 (1953) 628 ff.; Capovilla, *Studi* 30 ff. The new Venetic inscription from the Carnic Alps: Pellegrini, *JV* 7 (1970) 7 ff. A ‘Venetic’ inscription from the Maria Saaler Berg (*Car.* 117 (1927) 1 f.) proves to be a forgery: Egger, *Car.* 126 (1936) 88 f. There are no Norican coins with Venetic script, see Pink, *Münzkunde*² 44 f., refuting R. Paulsen, *Die Münzprägung der Boier* (Vienna 1933) 26 f.
- 11 Cf. Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 140 (1950) 125 ff.; Capovilla, *Studi* 30 ff.; Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 764; Dinklage, *Car.* 145 (1955) 226 ff.; Dolenz, *Car.* 147 (1957) 43 ff.
- 12 Meyer, *Gurina im oberen Gailtal* (see p. 357); Hoernes, *MAG* 18 (1888) 53 ff.; Jaksch, *Car.* 92 (1902) 41 ff.; Reinecke, *WPZ* 15 (1928) 27 ff. On the representations of deities see Fleischer, *Bronzen* 4 ff.
- 13 *Clevvo*, *Veitor*, *Voltisema* (Lavant), *Vitorius* (Lavant and Pockhorn), *Velsonia* (Oberdrum). See Appendix I (p. 229); cf. there also the latinised name *Volusius*.
- 14 Cf. Kranzmayer, *Schlern-Schriften* 98 (1952) 199 ff.
- 15 Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 725 ff.; Kohla, *Car.* 151 (1961) 399 ff.; cf. A. Egger, *Prähistorische und römische Siedlungen im Rienz- und Eisacktal* (see p. 354).
- 16 Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 763; Willvonseder, *Schlern-Schriften* 70 (1950) 61 ff.; cf. Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 141 (1951) 666.
- 17 *Patalus* (Rieding in the Lavanttal), *Vitorius* (Greith on the Neumarkter Sattel), see Appendix I. It is important that Illyrian personal names are also found in the same areas, p. 20.
- 18 On the Carni, cf. Ihm, *RE* iii 598 f. According to Egger, *Kärnten* 7, the Carni also lived in the Kanaltal and in the Gail valley in southern Noricum; cf. also Kenner, *Car.* 141 (1951) 567.
- 19 Mócsy, *Bevölkerung* 16 f.; Lochner-Hüttenbach, *Situla* 8 (1965) 15 ff. and esp. Katičić, *Godišnjak* 6 (1968) 61 ff.

Notes to pages 19–22

- 20 *CIL* 3915 = *ILS* 1976 (Neviodunum); on this Kahrstedt, *Studien* 4; Degrassi, *Confine* 111 n. 60.
- 21 Petru, *AV* 15/16 (1964–5) 66 ff.; Gabrovec, *AV* 17 (1966) 195 ff.
- 22 Cf. *Dim. prov.* (Riese, *GLM* p. 12, 18): *deserta in quibus habitabant Boi et Carni*, on which see Mócsy *op. cit.* 33 and Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 21 f., 227.
- 23 Egger, *Car.* 136–8 (1948) 198 ff.
- 24 Of the native personal names of the imperial period not a single one can be proved to be Illyrian (despite modern attempts), see Appendix II. Supposedly Illyrian river-names such as *Aenus* = Inn are not much help either, as their linguistic attribution remains problematical. Even if, for example, the Erlauf is recorded under two variant names, *Erlape* and *Arlape*, it does not follow that the first is Illyrian and the second Celtic (thus Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 780).
- 25 The ‘East Norican culture’ has always been regarded as ‘Illyrian’, see esp. Modrijan, *Beitr. Österreichs* 65 ff. and *BHK* 35 (1961) 35 ff.
- 26 See Appendix II, p. 230 f.
- 27 Thus perhaps the river-name *Lavant*, and very probably the place-name *Candalicae* = Micheldorf, north of Virunum (*Itin. Ant.* 276, 6; on the place, Vettors, *RE* ix A 268). Cf. the personal name *Candala* (Appendix II). A probably Illyrian personal name (*Bateia*) is even recorded at Micheldorf.
- 28 *Dasto* and *Binbdo* are Illyrian women’s names in -o, like the characteristic women’s names of the Delmatae. The names *Batilis*, *Candala*, *Epantia*, *Lavus* and *Panes* have parallels, direct or indirect, only among the Delmatae; the others (see Appendix II) are attested elsewhere as well, but also among the Delmatae.
- 29 The Greek sources give a description of the peoples of the Adriatic as early as the sixth century B.C., but in all cases mention the Manii and Nestoi in what was later the land of the Delmatae (Alföldy, *Dalmatien* 33 ff.). We first hear of the Delmatae in the year 158 B.C. (Polybius xxxii 23, 1 ff.)—from then onwards the Manii and Nestoi are not mentioned any more as tribes still in existence.
- 30 P. 230.
- 31 Cf. esp. Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 655 ff.; Polaschek, *RE* xvii 971 ff.; Willvonseder, *Car.* 143 (1953) 586 ff.
- 32 P. 32. Cf. also Sempronius Asellio, *lib.* 5 fr. 9 = *Schol. ad Verg.*, Georg. 3, 474: *Norica castella dixit ab urbe Noreia, quae est in Gallia, ut Asellio . . . docet.*
- 33 Origin: W. Kimmig, *Hommages à A. Grenier* (Brussels 1962) 884 ff. Migration into Noricum: Reinecke, *WPZ* 27 (1940) 33 ff.; Willvonseder, *Car.* 143 (1953) 590 ff.; Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 647 ff. The small number of La Tène A finds on the Dürrenberg probably came with the Celts from their original home.
- 34 See esp. F. Weber, *Die vorgeschichtlichen Denkmale des Königreiches Bayern I. Oberbayern* (Munich 1909); A. Mahr, *MPK* 2 (1915) 307 ff.; Kyrle, *Urgeschichte des Kronlandes Salzburg*; Pittioni, *La Tène in Niederösterreich* (see p. 358); Birkner, *Ur- und Vorzeit Bayerns* 167 ff.; Hell, *WPZ* 29 (1942) 57 ff. and in numerous other works; W. Krämer, *Germania* 30 (1952) 330 ff.; Behrens, *Car.* 143 (1953) 191 ff.; etc. Cf. now Windl, *AA* 51 (1972) 58 ff.
- 35 *Oppida*: Dehn, *Celticum* 3 (1962) 329 ff.; in north-western Noricum: Reinecke, *BVF* 9 (1930) 29 ff., cf. Werner, *MGSL* 101 (1961) 159. On the Austrian find-spots see the articles in L. Franz-A. Neumann, *Fundstätten* 127 f., 142, 148 f., etc.; esp. Hell, *MAG* 56 (1926) 320 ff. and 59 (1929) 155 ff. (Dürrenberg); Vettors, *JÖAI(B)* 43 (1956–8) 123 ff. (Georgenberg); of more

- recent work esp. Moosleitner and Penninger, *MGSL* 105 (1965) 47 ff. (Dürrenberg); Aspernig, *HJSL* 1967, 24 ff. (Linz). La Tène period at Hallstatt: *Fundstätten* 124 f.; on this see also esp. Morton, *AA* 24 (1958) 35 ff.
- 36 See Appendix IV, p. 239 ff.
- 37 Polaschek, *Car.* 132 (1942) 53 ff.; cf. Egger, *JÖAI* 43 (1956–8) 44 f.
- 38 Gabrovec, *AV* 17 (1966) 190 ff. (north-eastern Slovenia); Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 141 (1951) 594 ff.; Kenner, *ibid.* 567; Willvonseder, *Car.* 143 (1953) 586 ff. (esp. 605); Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 685 (Carinthia); Modrijan, *BHK* 35 (1961) 35 ff. (Styria).
- 39 Schmid, *MPK* 1915, 23 ff. and *BRGK* 15 (1923–4) 178 ff.; complete material is now published by Gabrovec, *AV* 17 (1966) 169 ff.; Pahič, *ibid.* 271 ff.; Bolta, *ibid.* 375 ff. On the fringe areas see Gabrovec, *ibid.* 243 ff. and Pahič, *ibid.* 103 ff. The finds belong to the ‘Mokronog Group’ of Slovenian La Tène C, the representatives of which were definitely Celts, according to Gabrovec *op. cit.* 195 ff.
- 40 Magdalensberg: p. 44 f. The *oppidum* ‘Stadt Görz’ at Feistritz on the Drau: Egger, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 159 ff., Bersu, *ibid.* 169 ff.; cf. also Jantsch, *Car.* 119 (1929) 5 f.
- 41 See now esp. Dolenz, *Fundstätten* 26 ff., also Dolenz, *WPZ* 28 (1941) 145 ff. and *Car.* 147 (1957) 43 ff.; Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 140 (1950) 125 ff. and *Car.* 141 (1951) 594 ff. (with a number of topographical errors); Dinklage, *Car.* 145 (1955) 226 ff.; cf. also Kenner, *Car.* 141 (1951) 566 ff. and *Ogam* 8 (1956) 21 ff.
- 42 Celtic finds: Grubinger, *Joanneum* 6 (1943) 272 ff.; Modrijan, *SchvSt* 8 (1958) 7 ff., 10 (1962) 57 ff. and *BHK* 35 (1961) 35 ff.; and esp. Zeilinger, *SchvSt* 2 (1953) 63 ff. East Norican culture: Modrijan, *Aus der Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Steiermark* 80 ff. and *Beitr. Österreichs* 65 ff.; *Weiz* 9 ff.
- 43 Cf. also *Noreia*, p. 290, n. 66.
- 44 On Celtic names in Slovenia: Katičić, *AV* 17 (1966) 145 ff.
- 45 See Appendix IV, p. 239 ff.
- 46 Minting: p. 42. Basin with three heads: Kenner, *Car.* 144 (1954) 11 ff. Celtic sculpture of the imperial period in Noricum: Leber, *Car.* 146 (1956) 77 ff. and Kenner, *Car.* 147 (1957) 60 ff. A possibly pre-Roman Celtic head comes from Salzburg: Willvonseder, *SMCA Jahresschr.* 5 (1959) 37 ff.
- 47 See Appendix III with the typically southern Norican names *Adnamatus-Adnamus*, *Banona*, *Boniatius*, *Buccio*, *Cattus*, *Counerthus*, *Iantullus*, *Iantumarus*, *Litugena*, *Redsomarus*, *Sammus*, *Uccus*, *Vercains*, *Vercilla*, *Vibenus* (p. 232 ff.).
- 48 See the roots *Ad-* and *At(t)-*, *Bar-*, *Bo(u)n-*, *Bric-* and *Brig-*, *Cat(t)-*, *Cot(t)-*, *Elv-*, *Litu-*, *Mag-*, *Mat(t)-* and especially the formation of women’s names in *-u* (cf. on this Falkner, *Frühgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft* 39 ff.). There are 2 examples of this type in northern Noricum, against 63 in southern Noricum; they are also common in Pannonia.
- 49 26 Celtic names in northern Noricum also appear in southern Noricum, while 37 have no analogies at all there and 38 are variant forms (e.g. *Aevo* for *Aiu*, *Aiuccio* for *Aiucia*). See Appendix III, p. 232 ff.
- 50 Schmid, *BRGK* 15 (1923–4) 192; Reinecke, *WPZ* 27 (1940) 33 ff.; cf. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 972; Schober, *Römerzeit* 11 f.
- 51 According to Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 141 (1951) 602 ff., the Celts entered Carinthia from Hungary; cf. Willvonseder, *Car.* 143 (1953) 605 f.; Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 652. According to Modrijan, *BHK* 35 (1961) 35 ff., they came into Styria via the Mur valley, but the Styrian and

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Carinthian Celts should be distinguished from one another. Gabrovec, *AV* 17 (1966) 194 ff., postulates migration back from the Balkans. Recently Petru has suggested that there was a further migration from the area of the *Hercynia Silva* (Bohemian Erzgebirge), *AV* 17 (1966) 361 ff.

52 Alföldy, *AAntH* 12 (1964) 107 ff.

53 Polaschek, *RE* xvii 973; Willvonseder, *Car.* 143 (1953) 592 ff.; Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 779.

54 Katsch: Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 142 ff.; Gleisdorf: *ibid.* 67 ff.; St Margarethen: p. 50.

55 Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 139 ff.; Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 717 ff.; Modrijan, *BHK* 35 (1961) 35 ff. The typical form of Celtic burials was shallow inhumation, for example in Noricum those at Liebenfels (= Feistritz-Pulst). However, cremation-urns can also be Celtic, as at Förk and Klagenfurt-Untergoritschitz. See Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 141 (1951) 661 ff.

56 On *Atrans* see H. Krahe, *Die Sprache der Illyrier* I 81. The Illyrian ‘earth mother *Matreia*’ is an uncertain hypothesis (Ipsen, *Schlern-Schriften* 84 (1950) 9 ff.). The *Vibes* at Warmbad-Villach are scarcely ‘Illyrian-Venetic’ fountain-deities (Vetters, *Car.* 140 (1950) 140 ff.)—their name is much more likely to be Celtic, as is also the personal name *Vibenus* etc. On *Noreia* see n. 66.

57 Modrijan, *BHK* 35 (1961) 35 ff., argues that there was a more marked distinction between Celts and non-Celts; cf. also Kenner, *Car.* 141 (1951) 567.

58 Polybius xxxiv 10, 10 = Strabo iv 6, 12 (208): ἐν τοῖς Ταυρίσκοις τοῖς Νορικοῖς. Strabo iv 6, 9 (206): τῶν δὲ Νορικῶν εἰσι καὶ οἱ Ταυρίσκοι. Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 133: *quondam Taurisci appellati, nunc Norici*.

59 Zippel, *Illyrien* 116 ff.; cf. Holder II 1767; Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 2; Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 141 (1951) 594 ff.

60 Schmid, *BRGK* 15 (1923–4) 192 f. and *BHK* 4 (1926) 17 ff., 33 ff.; Fluss, *RE* v A 1 ff.; Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 784.

61 Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 1 and *Teurnia*⁵ 10 (but here with positions reversed); Polaschek, *RE* xvii 971 ff.; Miltner, *Car.* 131 (1941) 289 ff.; Schober, *Römerzeit*² 13; Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 205 ff.; cf. now Petru, *AV* 19 (1968) 357 ff.

62 See esp. Alföldy, *Historia* 15 (1966) 224 ff.; cf. Egger, *Car.* 142 (1952) 171; Heuberger, *Amman-Festgabe* 161 ff.; Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 23 f.

63 Cf. Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 2; Fluss, *RE* v A 1; Polaschek, *RE* xvii 972.

64 Southern Noricum: cf. also the name *Teurnia* (and the names *Teuriskoi* or *Teuristai* in Strabo vii 2, 2 (293), from Posidonius, and vii 3, 2 (296)); Polybius *loc. cit.*; Posidonius *ap.* Strabo vii 2, 2 (293); Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 131. Eastern Noricum and north-western Pannonia: Strabo v 1, 6 (213); iv 6, 8 (206); iv 6, 9 (206). South-western Pannonia: Posidonius *ap.* Strabo vii 3, 2 (296); iv 6, 10 (207); vii 5, 2 (314); Appian, *Ill.* 16; Dio xlix 34, 2; Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 148. See for details Alföldy *op. cit.* 228 ff.

65 P. 67.

66 P. 284, n. 16. The name is of Celtic origin according to v. Petrikovits, *RE* XVII 963 ff. Others believe it to be Illyrian (Schmid, *BHK* 8 (1930) 9 ff., cf. Deringer, *Car.* 140 (1950) 206 ff.), and Barb, *Car.* 143 (1953) 204 ff., to be Venetic; Kenner believes it to be either Illyrian or Celtic (*JÖAI* 53 (1956–8) 57 f.). The suffix *-eioleia* may well be Celtic, p. 231. The Suda offers an ancient etymological explanation, s.v. *Βηρούνιον*. According to this, the name Noricum is derived from the meaning of the word *ἀνήρ*, as is the name Virunum from *vir*. The etymological construction built upon this by Kranzmayer, *Ortsnamenbuch* I 21 ff. (and following him Vetters, *RE* IX A 309 and S. Gutenbrunner, *ibid.* 310) seems quite uncertain—the names

Noreia, Virunum and Carantum-Carinthia would then give evidence for the existence of a men's union (*Männerbund*), the patron goddess of which would be Noreia.

67 Southern Noricum: Polybius *loc. cit.*; Appian, *Celt.* 13; Plut., *Marius* 15; Florus i 38 (18); Caes., *BG* i 5, 4; *BC* i 18, 5; etc. Western Noricum: Strabo iv 6, 8 f. (206). Eastern Noricum: Strabo *loc. cit.*; Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 146. See esp. Alföldy *op. cit.* 235 ff. for the details.

68 Alföldy *op. cit.* 239.

CHAPTER 3

1 On what follows cf. esp. Zippel, *Illyrien* 105 ff.; Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 210 ff.; also Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 141 (1951) 597 ff. and Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 22 f. and 227 n. 11.

2 Livy xxxix 22, 6 f. Cf. Degrassi, *Confine* 11 f.

3 Cf. Broughton, *Magistrates* I 370 f., 372, 374.

4 Cf. Livy xxxix 54, 3 f. and 13 on the plundering in 183 B.C.—whereas in 186 B.C. the Celtic settlement had proceeded *sine populatione*, Livy xxxix 22, 6.

5 Livy xxxix 55, 4 f.; Broughton *op. cit.* I 378.

6 Livy xxxix 45, 5 ff.

7 Livy xxxix 54, 1 ff.

8 According to Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 131, *invito senatu*.

9 Livy xxxix 54, 4 ff.

10 Livy xxxix 54, 11 ff. and 55, 1 ff.

11 Livy xxxix 55, 4 ff.; xl 26, 2; xl 34, 2 f. Cf. esp. G. Brusin, *XXI Centenario della fondazione di Aquileia* (1919) 7 ff.

12 Livy xli 17, 8 and 53, 4 ff. Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 206 refers the second passage to Noricum. Cf. against this, rightly, Zippel, *Illyrien* 109 f. As the relationship between Rome and Noricum had been regularised in 183 B.C. and is known to have been friendly in 178 B.C. as well, it is hardly likely to have been disturbed in the intervening period. As the Romans did not know in 182 B.C. which part of Italy was threatened by the expected expansion, the Norici cannot be in question here, since their natural direction of expansion led to north-eastern Italy. At all events, Livy relates the expansion in 179 B.C. in connection with the Ligurian situation, and the consul Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who forced the emigrants to a reckoning, was active in Liguria (Broughton *op. cit.* I 391 f.)—thus what happened affected Liguria.

13 Livy xli 1, 8, cf. also xli 3, 5. Cf. Zippel *op. cit.* 107 and 109 f., who shows that Celts from Noricum are meant here; he proposes to emend the text *pro regulo erat* to *regulus praeerat*. The *tria haut amplium milia armatorum* of Catmelus (Livy xli 1, 8) cannot be the 3,000 Gauls mentioned for 179 B.C., as the latter had already returned home.

14 Livy xliii 1, 4 ff. Cf. Zippel *op. cit.* 109 f., 122 and Vetters *op. cit.* 207 ff.

15 Livy xliii 5, 1 ff. The name of the king is mostly written as Cincibilus (e.g. Vetters *op. cit.* 207 f.) or Cincibilis (Capovilla, *Studi* 72; Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 22). The Celtic parallels support Cincibilis (cf. Bilbilis, Indibilis, Mandubilis, etc.); the text of Livy should be emended to *Cincibili*<*s*> (genitive).

16 Frey, *Festschrift Dehn* 10. The course of the later Norican frontier south of the Save in the Unterkrain shows that the Norican kings extended their power in this direction too (p. 41).

17 P. 292, n. 26.

18 Livy, xliii 5, 5 ff.

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- 19 Livy xlv 14, 1 f.
- 20 Livy xxxix 22, 7 and 55, 2.
- 21 Cf. Livy xxxix 54, 11 and 55, 1; on *populi*, cf. notes 22 and 26.
- 22 Livy xxxix 55, 1 and xliii 5, 8. The fact that Livy speaks of *seniores* of several *populi* hardly proves that there was a league of tribes. The plural *populi* is probably the result of the fact that Livy did not know the name of the tribe with whom the Roman envoys negotiated. I cannot follow Vetters, who would see here evidence for ‘several tribes with equal rights, led by a council of elders’ (JÖAI 46 (1961–3) 205). In fact, *populi* is not necessarily to be regarded as meaning ‘peoples, organised as a state’ (*staatlich geordnete Völkerschaften*, Vetters *op. cit.* 208); as used by Livy the term is far too general for that.
- 23 Livy xliii 5, 1; 5, 5; 5, 7; 5, 8. Cf. Polaschek, RE xvii 974; Vetters *op. cit.* 208 (according to whom Cincibilis ruled over several tribes).
- 24 Livy, xlv 14, 1. In my view Balanos probably took over the royal power in 169 B.C., and for this reason at once sent envoys to Rome—in order to make his philo-Roman attitude quite clear immediately after his accession.
- 25 Livy xxxix 45, 6 and 54, 12.
- 26 Livy xxxix 45, 7; 54, 2 f. and 13; 55, 4; xli 1, 8 and 3, 5; xliii 5, 1; 5, 5; 5, 10; xlv 14, 1 (*Galli*); xxxix 22, 6 and 45, 6 (*Galli Transalpini*); xxxix 54, 11 (*Gallici populi*); xxxix 55, 1, cf. also xlv 14, 1 (*Transalpini populi*) and xliii 5, 2 (*Alpini populi* for the south-eastern *socii*). By contrast the *Carni*, *Istri* and *Iapydes* are described by their individual tribal names.
- 27 Livy xxxix 54, 14 and xliii 5, 7. On the term *Gallia* for Noricum cf. also p. 288, n. 32.
- 28 Livy xliii 14, 1: . . . *Balanos ipsius traditur nomen, gentis ex qua fuerit non traditur*.
- 29 Livy xxxix 54, 11 f.: . . . *denuntient Gallicis populis, multitudinem suam domi contineant. Alpes prope inexcuperabilem finem in medio esse; non utique iis melius fore qui eas primi pervias fecissent*.
- 30 Thus Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 22, aptly.
- 31 Livy xxxix 55, 1 ff.
- 32 L. Furius Purpurio, praetor in 200 B.C., defeated the Gauls and Ligurians at that time and fought against the same peoples again as consul in 196 B.C. (Broughton, *Magistrates* I 323, 335). Q. Minucius Rufus defeated the northern Italian Boii and the Ligurians as consul in 197 B.C. (Broughton I 332 f.). L. Manlius Acidinus had a mission in Spain as praetor in 188 B.C. (Broughton I 365).
- 33 C. Laelius held a command against the Gauls as consul in 190 B.C. (Broughton I 356); M. Aemilius Lepidus was given a command in northern Italy as consul in 187 B.C. and was *cos. II* in 175 B.C. (Broughton I 367 f.). It was ‘an embassy of exceptional dignity’ (Broughton I 421).
- 34 Presents for Cincibilis and his brother in 170 B.C. (Livy xliii 5, 8): two golden torques, five silver vases, two horses with trappings, cavalry weapons and riding cloaks; for Balanos in 169 B.C., probably on his accession (Livy xlv 14, 2): golden torques, four golden *paterae*, horse with trappings, cavalry weapons.
- 35 Livy xxxix 55, 4.
- 36 Livy xxxix 54, 7: *dedisse se prius in fidem quam in potestatem populi Romani*.
- 37 Appian, *Celt.* 13 (see p. 35 f.) and on this Zippel, *Illyrien* 123, who showed rightly that only a *hospitium* was meant here. For the significance of such a relationship see E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (Oxford 1958) 11 f., 154 f. Others have unjustifiably assumed that Noricum had a regular treaty, e.g. Miltner, *Car.* 131 (1941) 290 and *Römerzeit* 18 f.; Schober, *Römerzeit*² 13; Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 23 f.; Vetters, JÖAI 46 (1961–3) 215; Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² 12.

38 Bruck, *Car.* 151 (1961) 168 ff. and 153 (1963) 88 ff. The coin-series in a hoard from the Lampersberg near Baldramsdorf (near Sachsenburg in the Drau valley) also begins with *denarii* of the years 172–151 B.C., Bruck, *Car.* 153 (1963) 297 ff. Completely isolated Greek and Hellenistic coins from the end of the third and beginning of the second centuries B.C. (Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 25 and Pink, *Car.* 148 (1958) 133 ff.) do not prove that regular trading relations with the south had already been established at that time.

39 c. 150 B.C. according to Schober, *Römerzeit*² 13; Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 10; Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 209; Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 227; c. 122–120 according to Kahrstedt, *Studien* 14; Fluss, *RE* v A 6 f.; Heuberger, *Amman-Festgabe* 162.

40 Polyb. xxxiv 10, 10 = Strabo iv 6, 12 (208); the translation is that by H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* (London 1949) II 291 and 293. On the same gold-fields ‘in the area of Noreia’, cf. p. 48.

41 On the *Tauerngold* see esp. A. Kieslinger, *JDAV* 1940, 137 ff. and O. Brunner, *ibid.* 143 ff.; cf. Miltner, *Car.* 131 (1941) 298. On the position of the gold-fields in the Teurnia area see esp. Egger, *Kärnten* 9; Heuberger, *Amman-Festgabe* 162 f.; cf. also Schmid, *BRGK* 15 (1923–4) 195 f. and Pink, *WPZ* 24 (1937) 70. A different view is now taken by Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 10 and Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 209 f. and 218 (where, wrongly in my view, the gold-mines are supposed to have been south of the Karawanken). Apart from in the Tauern, there was also gold in Noricum—in small quantities—in the upper Lavant valley (Dolenz, *Fundstätten* 72), where there was gold-washing.

42 Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 227 f.

43 On the expedition see *CIL* V 8270 = *Inscr. It.* X 4 no. 317 = *ILLRP* 335, discussed by Premerstein, *JÖAI* 10 (1907) 264 ff., Reisch, *JÖAI* 11 (1908) 276 ff. and Broughton, *Magistrates* I 504 with further references. On the direction taken see now esp. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* 32 f.; Zippel, *Illyrien* 260, and, following him, Fluss, *RE* v A 7 f. are completely mistaken. On Roman trade over the Okragebirge cf. esp. Kahrstedt, *Studien* 4 f.; Capovilla, *Studi* 73 ff.; Vetters *op. cit.* 211 ff.; Šašel, *Corolla mem. E. Swoboda dedicata* 198 ff. On the independence of this region from Noricum see p. 41; cf. more recently Petru, *AV* 19 (1968) 357 ff.

44 On the individual tribes see p. 66 ff.

45 Cf. esp. Plut., *Marius* 15 and Florus i 38 (18), who regard south-western Noricum as having been already part of the territory of the Norici in 102 B.C., see p. 292, notes 58 and 59.

46 See p. 30. According to Kenner, *Car.* 141 (1951) 581, the unification of all the Norici within the *regnum Noricum* was already complete by c. 100 B.C., and Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² 12 even says ‘c. 200 B.C.’—but it did not come about until the first century B.C., see p. 41.

47 For a different view, Schober, *Römerzeit*² 13, who himself attributed the emergence of the *regnum Noricum* to strong Roman promotion, cf. also Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 24. However, the origin of the development must be sought in Noricum itself.

48 Zippel, *Illyrien* 140 ff.; Ihm, *RE* iii 2547 ff.; Schulz, *Germania* 13 (1929) 139 ff.; Jahn, *Mannus* 24 (1932) 150 ff.; Heuberger, *SF* 14 (1955) 1 ff.; further references are given by Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 229 f.; Koestermann, *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 310 ff., is not convincing.

49 Strabo v 1, 8 (214). Further sources (of no significance for Noricum) are given by Broughton, *Magistrates* I 535.

50 Cf. also Eutrop. iv 25 and Jul. Obs. 38, who mistakenly speak of a Cimbric invasion of Italy.

51 Broughton *op. cit.* I 535.

Notes to pages 36–40

- 52 On the trial cf. F. Münzer, *RE* xviii 1023.
- 53 Site of battle in the Görtschitz valley: Schmid, *Mannus* 24 (1932) 183 ff., and Hampl, *AAW* 3 (1950) 187 ff.; in the Drau valley near Paternion: Miltner, *Car.* 131 (1941) 289 ff.; in the upper Save valley: Schilcher, *Frühgesch. und Sprachwissenschaft* 9 ff. and Brandenstein, *ibid.* 34 ff., cf. also Capovilla, *Studi* 96 ff. Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 230, is very sceptical.
- 54 Strabo v 1, 8 (214) and iv 6, 12 (208); cf. Koestermann, *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 321. Cf. also p. 49.
- 55 The strictures of Swoboda *op. cit.* against Hampl *op. cit.*, who stresses Carbo's carelessness, are unfounded.
- 56 The possibility that the battle took place in Oberkrain, in the upper Save valley, must be excluded—the sources never mention *Norici* as being here, and, besides, Strabo could have got his bearings here better from Nauportus, the position of which he knew more exactly than that of Noreia.
- 57 F. Stachelin, *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit*³ (Basle 1948) 27 ff.
- 58 Plut., *Marius* 15; cf. Broughton, *Magistrates* I 567.
- 59 Florus i 38 (18): *tertia Tigurinorum manus, quae quasi in subsidia insederat Noricos Alpium tumulos, in diversa lapsi fuga ignobili et latrociniis evanuit*. According to Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 217, the Tigurini were driven out of Noricum by Sulla; according to Heuberger, *TH N.F.* 16 (1952) 5 ff., Sulla even put in his *Memoirs* a list of the Norican tribes he had got to know at that time, and this list must be the source of the list of Norican *civitates* in Ptolemy (p. 67). However, all this cannot be accepted. Sulla served in the wars of 102–101 B.C. in northern Italy under the command of Catulus (Plut., *Sulla* 4; *Marius* 25 f.; *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 12). It is nowhere here mentioned that he defeated the Tigurini. Plut., *Sulla* 4, only says that he defeated 'a great part' of the Alpine peoples. That probably derives from the *Memoirs* of Sulla (cf. Plut., *Mar.* 26) and is certainly very exaggerated (cf. Zippel, *Illyrien* 157). Sulla's principal task at that time was to ensure supplies for the forces of Catulus (Plut., *Sulla* 4); and the supplies certainly did not come from Noricum. If he really did conduct military operations himself, these would have been at most in the Tridentinum area, against the Cimbri, not in Noricum. Besides, Florus indicates that the Tigurini withdrew from Noricum without a battle. It is improbable that the later *civitas* of the Elveti had anything to do with any possible remaining elements of the Helvetian Tigurini in Noricum, see p. 68 f.

CHAPTER 4

- 1 Filip, *AArchH* 9 (1958) 353 ff. and Keltovė 86 ff.; G. Mildenerger, *Handbuch der Geschichte der böhmischen Länder* I (Stuttgart 1966) 84 ff.
- 2 Cf. Strabo v 1, 6 (213); vii 2, 2 (293); vii 3, 2 (296); see most recently Mócsy, *RE Suppl.* ix 529; Alföldy, *Historia* 15 (1966) 231.
- 3 Cf. Strabo v 1, 6 (213); vii 3, 11 (304); vii 5, 2 (313).
- 4 Cf. esp. Patsch, *Beiträge* V/1, 44 f.; A. Alföldy, *Zur Geschichte des Karpatenbeckens* 10 ff.; Mócsy, *RE Suppl.* ix 529 ff.; Alföldy, *Historia* 15 (1966) 231; on the Eravisci, esp. Fitz, *AAntH* 6 (1958) 395 ff.; on Taurisci in north-eastern Hungary, Ptol., *Geogr.* iii 8, 3.
- 5 Legends: GESATORIX RE[X]; Rev.: ECRITVSIRI [R]EGI[S F.], see F. v. Kenner, *MZK* 1905, 159 ff. and Kubitschek, *JÖAI* 9 (1906) 70 ff. Pink, *WPZ* 24 (1937) 74 ff. and *Münzkunde*² 45, doubts the genuineness of the coin. Kritasiros as Norican king; Egger, *Führer*

Klagenfurt 3; against, see Zippel, *Illyrien* 118 ff.; Klose-Silber, *Iuvavum* 3; Fluss, *RE* Suppl. vii 206 f.; Patsch *op. cit.* 44; Mócsy *op. cit.* 533.

6 Strabo vii 3, 11 (304); cf. vii 5, 2 (313).

7 Strabo v 1, 6 (213); vii 3, 11 (304); vii 5, 2 (313). Cf. esp. M. Macrea, *SCIV* 7 (1956) 119 ff.; Mócsy, *RE* Suppl. ix 534; Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 232 f. with further bibliography.

8 About 60 B.C. according to Fluss, *RE* v A 8 f. and Capovilla, *Studi* 77; after 60 B.C. according to A. Točík, *Referaty* II (Nitra 1959) 86; c. 50 B.C. according to Zippel, *Illyrien* 218 ff.; not until after Caesar's death according to A. Alföldi, *Zur Geschichte des Karpatenbeckens* 6 f. and 16 (this date is much too late, cf. Mócsy *op. cit.* 531).

9 Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 214 and Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 27, 227, 233, look for the site of this battle in the territory of the Scordisci in the Sirmian region, as they assume that there were Taurisci there. However, there are in fact no traces of them there (the place-name Taurunum = Zemun does not prove anything). The land of the Boii was particularly affected by these wars, cf. the name *deserta Boiorum*: Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 146; see also Strabo v 1, 6 (213) and vii i, 5 (292). As this country is very fertile, the name can only mean that it had been laid waste. Cf. Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 227 with bibliography.

10 Caes., *BG* I 5, 4: ... *Boiosque, qui trans Rhenum incoluerant et in agrum Noricum transierant Noreiamque oppugnabant, receptos ad se socios sibi adiscunt* (sc. Elvetii). The number of Boii: *BG* i 29, 2.

11 Pink, *WPZ* 23 (1936) 40 and Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 230 ff. regard the passage as an error by Caesar; cf. Mócsy, *RE* Suppl. ix 529. In my view there is no compelling reason for this opinion. *Trans Rhenum* does not cause any difficulty: Caesar is looking at the geographical situation from Gaul, where he later fought against the Boii, and by 'beyond the Rhine' is only emphasising that the Boii did not yet belong to the peoples of Gaul before these battles. *Transierant* does not by any means necessarily indicate the crossing of a river (namely the Danube, from the north), only that the Boii invaded the *regnum Noricum*.

12 See pp. 45, 50.

13 Caes., *BG* i 53, 4. Cf. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 975; Swoboda *op. cit.* 27, 222, is unjustifiably sceptical. On King Voccio's name see now Šašel, *Historia* 19 (1970) 628 ff.

14 This is the view of Vetters, *Car.* 141 (1951) 714.

15 *BC* i 18, 5.

16 Pliny, *N.H.* 4, 80 and on this Mócsy, *RE* Suppl. ix 534.

17 Strabo v 1, 6 (213). Cf. the personal name *Noric(us)* at Scarbantia, *Historia* 15 (1966) 238 n. 90.

18 See p. 57.

19 Polaschek, *RE* xvii 977.

20 Ambisontes: p. 153 ff. It has been unjustifiably held that the Ambisontes and Alauni first became part of Noricum under Roman rule: Heuberger, *Rätien* 36 f., 66, 75; cf. Reinecke, *BVF* 6 (1926) 24; Zibermayr, *Noricum, Bayern und Österreich*² 3. The fact that Ptolemy places Boiodurum in Vindelicia is no argument for this (*Geogr.* ii 12, 4): he is referring not to the Norican auxiliary fort of Passau-Innstadt, but to the Celtic settlement on the left side of the Inn, at Passau.

21 A different view is taken by Saria, *AIJ* p. 1, Schober, *Römerzeit*² 14, also by Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 217 and Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² 12 (who even wish to look for the site of Noreia here); cf. Mócsy, *RE* Suppl. ix 530. There is absolutely no evidence; the Taurisci here were

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never described as 'Norican Taurisci'. Only in the Unterkrain can one reckon with any pronounced Norican influence along the Save.

22 See e.g. Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 10. The Magdalensberg *civitas*-inscriptions (p. 57) do not, however, provide any definite evidence for a federal system.

23 Pink, *WPZ* 24 (1937) 42 ff.; *Münzprägung* 112 f.; *Münzkunde*² 42 ff. On the mints cf. Pink, *Car.* 144 (1954) 29 ff. (forger's coin-mould from the Magdalensberg) and *Car.* 148 (1958) 144. On the individual groups, cf. Alföldy, *Historia* 15 (1966) 229 n. 33.

24 Most recently, in detail, Pink, *Münzkunde*² 44; cf. also J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu, *Ogam* 8 (1956) 83 ff. Royal names: Pink *op. cit.*; Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 25 f., etc.; cf., against this, Mócsy, *RE* Suppl. ix 691. Almost without exception these names recur in the onomastic material of Noricum in the imperial period, cf. Appendix III, p 232 ff.

25 Pp. 53–6.

26 Livy xliii 5, 8.

27 Boian coins and other eastern Celtic coinage in Noricum: Pink, *WPZ* 23 (1936) 8 ff. and *Münzkunde*² 42; cf. now also Penninger, *MGS* 105 (1965) 89 f. Contacts with the west: J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu, *Ogam* 8 (1956) 88 ff.; esp. 93 on a Norican coin from England.

28 Dress decorations and foreign trading links: Werner, *MGS* 101 (1961) 143 ff.; in general on metal trade: Pittioni, *SBW* 244 no. 5 (Vienna 1964); see also pp. 45 ff., 72 ff.

29 Hoard from Dobrna near Trbovlje with 553 coins: Pink, *Münzkunde*² 52 with bibliography. Further Celtic hoards from Noricum: Pink, *WPZ* 24 (1937) 42 ff. (with map on p. 49) and *Münzkunde*² 49 ff.; on this see now also Bruck, *Car.* 151 (1961) 168 ff. (two Romano-Celtic hoards from the Magdalensberg).

30 Praschniker-Egger, *ÖAW* 1938, 14 ff. (cf. *AE* 1940, 4); Egger, *Car.* 143 (1953) 575 ff. and *Römische Antike* I 205 ff.; Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 217; cf. Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 24 f. According to Egger, *Senator* is a *cognomen* (common in Celtic areas), whereas Deggrassi, *ANL* VIII 11 (1963) 143 ff., regards it as a title indicating membership of a town council. In my view one may perhaps read the name as *P(ublius) Opaius* (in spite of the absence of a stop after *P*): *Opaii* are also known on the Magdalensberg (Egger, *Grosshandelsplatz* no. 292 and *Car.* 153 (1963) 105). For the presence of ores around Matrei see Preuschen-Pittioni, *Car.* 143 (1953) 575 ff. But cf. now H. Solin, *Arctos* N.S. 6 (1970) 106 f., according to whom the inscription of *Popaius Senator* is not republican.

31 Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² 7.

32 Excavation results: Praschniker, *Car.* 139 (1949) 145 ff.; from then onwards Egger and his collaborators: *Car.* 140 (1950) 433 ff.; 142 (1952) 81 ff.; 143 (1953) 855 ff.; 145 (1955) 3 ff.; 146 (1956) 1 ff.; 148 (1958) 3 ff.; 149 (1959) 3 ff.; 151 (1961) 3 ff.; 153 (1963) 3 ff.; 156 (1966) 293 ff. Vetters and Piccottini, *Car.* 159 (1969) 283 ff.; Piccottini and Vetters, *PAR* 20 (1970) 26 ff. For a general account: Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² (cf. also earlier editions); *Archeologia* (Warsaw-Wroclaw) 11 (1959) 36 ff.; *Gymnasium* 69 (1962) 550 ff.; Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 219 ff. and *RE* ix A 262 ff. Cf. now A. Obermayr's general survey, *Kelten und Römer am Magdalensberg* (see p. 363).

33 Mossler, *Car.* 139 (1949) 164 ff.; 142 (1952) 120 ff.; 153 (1963) 72 ff.; *Bericht über den V. Internat. Kongr. f. Vor- u. Frühgeschichte* (Hamburg 1958) 557 ff. Celtic coins: p. 42.

34 Praschniker, *Car.* 139 (1949) 146 ff.; Vetters, *Car.* 141 (1951) 714 ff. On defences see also Kohla, *Car.* 140 (1950) 411 ff. For excavations on the summit of the Magdalensberg see now Piccottini and Vetters, *PAR* 20 (1970) 26.

- 35 See on this p. 114.
- 36 Vetters, *Car.* 148 (1958) 50 ff.; Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² 46.
- 37 See esp. Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² 14 ff., also Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 220 ff. and *Car.* 153 (1963) 47 ff., who now argues that the establishment of the trading forum may be connected with the destruction of the Roman trading market on Delos in 88 B.C.
- 38 See esp. Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² 46 ff. and *Grosshandelsplatz* 3 ff.; Vetters, *Car.* 148 (1958) 8 ff.; 151 (1961) 7 ff.; 153 (1963) 9 ff. and 40 ff.
- 39 Kenner, *Car.* 153 (1963) 61 ff.; 156 (1966) 435 ff.; *Gymnasium* 74 (1967) 437 ff. and *Antike Welt* 1 (1970) 42 ff.
- 40 Cf. esp. Egger, *Car.* 148 (1958) 163 ff. and 151 (1961) 207 ff. On the individual families see also p. 306, n. 64.
- 41 *CIL* 4815 (p. 1046, p. 2328, 44), corrected reading after Egger, *Car.* 148 (1958) 168 ff.; *AOAW* 1956, 53 ff. and *Römische Antike* II 231 ff.: *A. Poblicius D. l. Antioc(us), Ti. Barbinius Q. (et) P. l. Tiber(inus)* (on the statue), *M(arti) Gallicinus Vindili f., L. Barbinius L. l. Philetaerus pr(ocurator), Craxsantius Barbi P(ublii) s(ervus)* (on the shield). Philetaerus, a private individual's procurator, was probably manager of the business house of the Barbii on the Magdalensberg. The slave Craxsantus was of Norican origin. On the statue see esp. Noll, *Kunst der Römerzeit* 14 and *Car.* 147 (1957) 112 ff.; Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 229 n. 12 with further bibliography. Cf. now also Noll, *AOAW* 107 (1970) 69 ff. The now lost battle-axe which is supposed to have belonged to the statue was probably a sixteenth-century addition (as G. Piccottini kindly informs me).
- 42 *CIL* V 717 = *CIL* I² 2217 (p. 714) = *ILS* 4889 = *Inscr. It.* X 3, no. 1*: *Veicae Noriceiaae A. Poblicius D. l. A[nt(iocus)], P. Postumius P. l. Pau(lus?) coir(averunt)*. See esp. Egger *op. cit.*
- 43 As already held by Mommsen, in Schneider, *Die Erzstatue vom Helenenberge* 18 ff.; see now esp. Egger *op. cit.*, against Degraßi, who does not take the republican inscriptions of the Magdalensberg into account in *ILLRP*.
- 44 *CIL* 4805 (provenance supposedly Virunum, but Magdalensberg is much likelier): *Nem(esi) Nic(. . .) L. Bar(bius) L. l. Philocl(es) d. d.* Cf. Egger, *Car.* 153 (1963) 111. Only the statue-base survives.
- 45 *CIL* 4915a: *P. Fundanius P. l. Hospes*; *CIL* 11604 = *MZK* 1904, 167: *Vetill[i]a L. l. Philumina*; *CIL* 11585: *P. Postumio P. l. Bromio Postumia P. l. Battu patrono et sibi v. f. et suis*. The lettering on these inscriptions is undoubtedly republican or early Augustan, and differs from that on later inscriptions from the Magdalensberg. On the Postumii cf. also n. 42, above.
- 46 Dalmatia: cf. now A. J. N. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (Manchester–New York 1966) 15, 71; Noricum is completely ignored in this book.
- 47 See esp. Schindler, *Die 'schwarze Sigillata' des Magdalensberges* (see p. 372); on Roman republican items on the mountain see also esp. Kenner, *Car.* 146 (1956) 26 ff., 50 ff. and 153 (1963) 49 ff.; Bruckner, *Car.* 153 (1963) 281 ff.
- 48 On late La Tène wattle and daub houses in Noricum see Beninger, *JOM* 101 (1956) 125 ff.; Felgenhauer, *AA* 25 (1959) 95 ff.; cf. Vetters, *Car.* 153 (1963) 36 f.
- 49 Mommsen, *CIL* III p. 618 (around Neumarkt); K. Hauser, *Car.* 78 (1888) 150 ff. (in or near St Veit); Egger, *Klagenfurt* 13 (probably Hohenstein); *Österreichs Erbe* 3 ('somewhere in central Carinthia'); *JOM* 95 (1950) 136 (in Carinthia); *Car.* 136–8 (1948) 205 ('certainly . . . north of the line Karnburg–Maria-Saal, but not too far distant from the Zollfeld'); *Teurnia*⁵ 10 (in the upper Save valley); Kahrstedt, *Studien* 5 f. (Gurina); Schmid in several places, esp. *BHK* 8 (1930) 5 ff. and *Mannus* 24 (1932) 183 ff. (St Margarethen am Silberberg); Polaschek, *RE* xvii

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967 ff. (Zollfeld or Save valley); Miltner, *Car.* 131 (1941) 289 ff. (= the *oppidum* 'Stadt Görz' near Paternion); Schilcher, *Frühgesch. und Sprachwissenschaft* 9 ff., Brandenstein, *ibid.* 34 ff. and Schilcher, *ZHVS* 33 (1939) 81 ff. (near Kranj in the upper Save valley); Pittioni, *MAG* 79 (1949) 183 ff. and *Urgeschichte* 785 (in the Maribor area); Hampl, *AAW* 3 (1950) 187 ff. (as Schmid); Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 141 (1951) 606 ff. (in the Klagenfurter Becken); Capovilla, *Studi* 96 ff. (near Kranj or near Paternion); Heuberger, *Amman-Festgabe* 165 n. 22 (Magdalensberg); A. Alföldi, in W. Aly, *Strabon von Amaseia* (Bonn 1957) 479 (Magdalensberg); Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 216 (impossible to identify) and 217 (upper Save valley); Alföldy, *Historia* 15 (1966) 239 ff. (Magdalensberg); Koestermann, *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 321 (Einöd or St Margarethen); Ertl, *Topographia Norici* ii 23 ff. (near Sendlach).

50 Cf. esp. Deringer, *Car.* 139 (1949) 214 and 140 (1950) 207 with n. 320; Saria, *Historia* 1 (1950) 439 ff.; Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 230; cf. Vetters, *RE* ix A 269.

51 See p. 288, n. 32.

52 See p. 295, n. 10.

53 Strabo v 1, 8 (214).

54 Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 131: *In hoc situ interiere per oram Irmene, Pellaon, Palsicium, ex Venetis Atinu et Caelina, Carnis Segesta et Odra, Tauriscis Noreia.*

55 *Tab. Pent.*: *Viruno—XIII—Matucaio—XIII—Noreia—XIII—Noreia—XIII—Ad Pontem.*

56 Cf. esp. Deringer *op. cit.* (n. 50, above); Miltner, *Car.* 131 (1941) 290 f.; Modrijan, *BHK* 35 (1961) 104.

57 See p. 285, n. 44.

58 Miltner *op. cit.* 291 f.; Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 141 (1951) 606; Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 216. According to Schilcher (n. 50, above) this river is the Isonzo.

59 See p. 36 f.

60 See p. 27.

61 The geographical order is clear: *ora* (i.e. of the Adriatic around Aquileia)—*Veneti*—*Carni*—*Taurisci*. Cf. also Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 133: *inxtaque Carnos quondam Taurisci appellati, nunc Norici*—here too the Taurisci are the northern neighbours of the Carni. Thus the disputed passage *in hoc situ* by no means necessarily refers *only* to *Regio X* of Italy as Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 216, believes, but to the neighbouring territory to the north as well.

62 Thus Saria, *Historia* 1 (1950) 440 and Vetters *op. cit.* 216. Cf. against this Egger, *Car.* 140 (1950) 70: 'the *regnum Noricum* was founded from here'.

63 Excavation reports: Schmid, *BHK* 7 (1929) 81 ff., etc. till 13 (1935) 107 ff. and a general account in *Mannus* 24 (1932) 183 ff.

64 Virg., *Georg.* iii 474 f. with Schol.; cf. also Florus i 38 (18): *Noricos Alpium tumulos* (on this see p. 37 f.). Southern Norican hill-forts: cf. e.g. Schmid, *MZK* 1915, 229 ff., 365 ff.; Egger-Praschniker, *Car.* 126 (1936) 87 ff.; Schober, *Römerzeit*² 52 ff.

65 *N.H.* 3, 146; see p. 81.

66 Because of the distance from Virunum it seems to me improbable that the Magdalensberg was also called 'Virunum' like the town that succeeded it. A fragmentary inscription from the Magdalensberg does, to be sure, include the letters [...]VIRVN[...], *Car.* 140 (1950) 493. But from the lettering it is post-Claudian (as also a fragment with the name *Succes[sus]*, *Car.* 140 (1950) 241 f.). One may perhaps suggest that a magistrate or the people of Virunum may be in question, as the mountain was certainly frequented subsequently for cult-purposes; or it may be a personal name (cf. a *Viruna* at Celeia, *CIL* 5 223 = 11692).

CHAPTER 5

- 1 See now Wilkes, *Univ. Birmingham Hist. Journ.* 10 (1965) 1 ff.
- 2 17–16 B.C. or not much later: Wilkes *op. cit.* 11. 16 B.C.: Zippel, *Illyrien* 271 ff.; J. W. Eadie, *The Breviarium of Festus* (London 1967) 115; cf. Saxia, *Historia* 1 (1950) 442 f. 16 or 15 B.C.: H. Bengtson, *Grundriss der römischen Geschichte mit Quellenkunde* I (Munich 1967) 269 n. 1. 15 B.C.: Dobiáš, *Studie* 219 f.; A. Alföldi, *Századok* 70 (1936) 4; Schober, *Römerzeit*² 17; Miltner, *Römerzeit* 31 ff.; Egger, *Car.* 142 (1952) 170 and *Magdalensberg*¹² 13; cf. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 977. c. 14 B.C.: Syme, *Roman Revolution* 390. Probably after 16–15 B.C.: Mommsen, *CIL* III p. 588. After 15 B.C.: Willvonseder, *Beiträge Österreichs* 82 f. 14 B.C.: Egger, *JOM* 95 (1950) 137 f. Between 15 B.C. and A.D. 6: Swoboda, *Klio* 28 (1935) 180 ff. 9 B.C.: Swoboda, *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 12 f. c. 8 B.C.: Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 235 f. In the last decade B.C.: Winkler, *Noricum* 17 ff.
- 3 Suet., *Aug.* 21, 1, cf. *Tib.* 16, 2; Livy, *Epit.* 138; Eutrop., vii 9. Cf. Capovilla, *Studi* 80 ff.
- 4 Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 136 f. = *CIL* V 7817. Cf. N. Lamboglia, *Il trofeo di Augusto alla Turbia* (Bordighera 1938).
- 5 Strabo iv 6, 8 f. (206).
- 6 Vell. ii 39, 3: *Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias, ut has armis, ita auctoritate Cappadociam populo Romano fecit stipendiariam.*
- 7 Vell. ii 104, 5. Cf. also ii 95, 2, where also the Noricans, unlike the Raeti and Vindelici, are not mentioned.
- 8 Florus ii 22 (iv 22); whence also Jord., *Rom.* 241.
- 9 App., *Ill.* 29. Cf. Dobiáš, *Studie* 219 f.
- 10 Dio liv 20, 2.
- 11 Festus, *Brev.* 7: *Sub Iulio Octaviano Caesare Augusto per Alpes Iulias iter factum est* (= the Illyrian expedition of 35–33 B.C.), *Alpinis omnibus victis* (= 15 B.C.) *Noricorum provinciae accesserunt. Bathone Pannoniorum rege subacto in dicionem nostram Pannoniae venerunt* (A.D. 9). Oros., *Hist. adv. pag.* vi 21, 14, knows only—from Florus—that the Norici were subjugated under Augustus.
- 12 Cf. W. Schmitthenner, *Historia* 7 (1958) 189 ff. The Taurisci who were subjugated at that time (App., *Ill.* 16 and Dio xlix 34, 2) inhabited the upper Save valley.
- 13 Thus Swoboda, *Klio* 28 (1935) 182. Battles of Silius in the southern Alps: Dio liv 20, 1. For his presence in Illyricum (to which the whole of Istria belonged at that time) cf. *CIL* 2973 = *ILS* 899. See esp. Nagl, *RE* iii A 92 ff.
- 14 Cf. Syme, *CAH* X 348; Polaschek, *RE* xvii 976.
- 15 On this war see Zippel, *Illyrien* 247 ff.; V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* II (Leipzig 1896) 707 ff.; Heuberger, *Rätien* 58 ff., 228 ff. and *RE* ix A 4 ff.; K. Christ, *Historia* 6 (1957) 416 ff.
- 16 See p. 67 f.
- 17 Cf. Pavan, *Athenaeum* 34 (1956) 58 f. Heuberger, *Schlern-Schriften* 150 (1956) 105 ff., and following him Vettters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 227, are too negative.
- 18 Swoboda, *Klio* 28 (1935) 180 ff.; cf. also *Carnuntum*⁴ 235 f. Against this, Polaschek, *RE* xvii 976 f., already took a different view.
- 19 See the passage in n. 11 above. Swoboda builds his late dating on this, esp. in *Klio* 28 (1935) 185 f. I cannot follow Winkler, *Noricum* 19, either, according to whom Festus (like Florus) confused the Noricans with the Raetians.

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- 20 Cf. Miltner, *Römerzeit* 35 f. On the introduction of taxation see, apart from the passage in Strabo, Vell. ii 39, 3 (p. 299, n. 6).
- 21 Cf. Saria, *GMDS* 20 (1939) 150 and *RE* xxi 1170 f.
- 22 Vell. ii 109, 5: *Carnuntum, qui locus Norici regni*; Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 146: *Noricis iunguntur lacus Pelso, deserta Boiorum, iam tamen colonia divi Claudii Savaria et oppido Scarbantia Iulia habitantur*. The first half of this passage probably derives from Agrippa, the second half from Pliny's contemporary information. Cf. esp. Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 236 n. 16 and Mócsy, *Bevölkerung* 31 f.
- 23 Cf. esp. J. Šašel-I. Weiler, *Carn.-Jb.* 1963–4 (1965) 40 ff.
- 24 According to Mócsy, *RE* Suppl. ix 583 at latest under Claudius, when the colony of Savaria was founded.
- 25 Vexillation of veterans at Scarbantia: cf. Mócsy, *Bevölkerung* 43. Ala Pannoniorum at Szakony/Gyalóka: Alföldy, *Epigraphica* 24 (1964) 95 ff.
- 26 On the course of the frontier cf. esp. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 980 ff.; Winkler, *Noricum* 25 ff.
- 27 Tac., *Hist.* iii 5: ... *Aeni fluminis, quod Raetos Noricosque interfluit*; Ptol., *Geogr.* ii 12, 1 and ii 13, 1. See e.g. Reinecke, *BVF* 6 (1926) 24 and *Kleine Schriften* 50 f.; Polaschek, *RE* xvii 984; Torbrügge, *Rosenheim* 48. But see now Ulbert, *BVBl* 36 (1971) 101 ff., with arguments for the frontier lying west of the Inn similar to those used in the present work.
- 28 Arr., *Ind.* iv 16.
- 29 Passau: Reinecke, *Kleine Schriften* 124 ff., 131 ff. Fort at Boiodurum: p. 146 f. On the customs-post—and on other customs-posts mentioned below—see p. 117 and Appendix IX, p. 254 ff.
- 30 *CIL* 5613 = 11781 = *IBR* 434 (Weihmörting): dedication to Noreia by a tribune of the Norican Cohors V Breucorum (cf. p. 259) and *CIL* 5614 = 11782 = *IBR* 435 (*ibid.*): tombstone of a soldier of II Italica; both these inscriptions may however have been carried from Boiodurum. Inscriptions of Juvavum land-owners from Rotthof and Eholting (L. Vedius Optatus, Copponii, Lollii): see p. 173; these inscriptions belong to the rural settlement of Pocking on the left side of the Inn (Kellner, *BVBl* 25 (1960) 135).
- 31 A *duumvir* of Aguntum at Wasserburg (see p. 270) and *duumviri* of Juvavum at Kornberg (p. 271); the Kornberg inscription has however probably been carried there from Bedaium.
- 32 See p. 116. In late antiquity Pons Aeni belonged to Raetia, however, cf. *Not. Dign., Occ.* xxxv 14; but that proves nothing for the earlier period.
- 33 On the road-network in this area cf. Reinecke, *Kleine Schriften* 9 ff., 20 ff. and esp. Kellner, *BVBl* 25 (1960) 133.
- 34 Cf. *Vita S. Sev.* 3, 3 f.
- 35 Kellner, *BVBl* 26 (1961) 165 ff. See p. 176.
- 36 Polaschek, *RE* xvii 984.
- 37 Milestone from Hinterbichl: *Schlern* 8 (1927) 211 ff. = *NSc* 1928, 129 ff. = *AAncz* 43 (1928) 123 ff. = *Car.* 143 (1953) 738 no. 15.
- 38 See esp. Heuberger, *Rätien* 92 ff., 318 ff., *Schlern* 27 (1953) 517 ff. and 28 (1954) 319 ff. The *Norica rura, ubi Byrrus* (= the Rienz) *vertitur undis* (Venant. Fort., *Vita Mart.* iv 648) are however not the Eisacktal (Val d' Isarco) but the Pustertal, see Polaschek, *RE* xvii 983 f.
- 39 P. 254. See esp. Patsch, *WMBH* 6 (1899) 269 ff.
- 40 App., *Ill.* 6, includes Raetia in the Illyrican customs-zone. According to Patsch *op. cit.* that is a mistake, whereas Nierhaus, *Festschrift Wable* 181, regards it as accurate for the early empire—in his view Raetia was only included in the Gallic customs-zone later (thus also Vittinghoff, *RE* xxii 357 f.; De Laet, *Portorium* 157 f., is mistaken).

- 41 *CIL* V 5090 = *IBR* 68 = *ILS* 1561. The date is definitely 13 August A.D. 217 (there is no mention of the name of Caracalla, who was killed on 8 April).
- 42 Bavaria too was called 'Noricum' in the Middle Ages, for the most part being outside the area of the former Roman province, see Klebel, *Car.* 146 (1956) 481 ff.
- 43 Nierhaus, *Festschrift Wable* 177 ff. The construction of the *via Claudia* from Altinum through the Pustertal, Eisacktal and over the Brenner does not imply that the whole of this area belonged to a single province, namely Noricum, at that time. The evidence for the customs-administration also shows only what has been said above; in my view *CIL* XIII 5244 = *ILS* 1562 (Zürich) has no significance for the Raetian customs-administration.
- 44 *Dim. prov.* 19.
- 45 *CIL* V 1863 = *ILS* 5886; *CIL* V 1862 = *ILS* 5885; cf. also *CIL* V 1864; on the reading, Egger, *Römische Antike* I 197 ff. According to Ptol., *Geogr.* ii 13, 3, Julium Carnicum lay 'between Italy and Noricum'; on the interpretation of the passage, cf. Degraffi, *Confine* 40; Polaschek, *RE* Suppl. x 762 f.; Laffi, *Attributio e contributio* 69 f.
- 46 Ptol., *Geogr.* ii 13, 1.
- 47 Doubtful according to Mócsy, *RE* Suppl. ix 584; cf. Saria, *AIJ* p. 52. *AIJ* 218 from Brezje in Oberkrain, however, definitely mentions a *d(ec.) c(ol.) E(monae)* (and not *h.s.e.*, as read by Mócsy, *Bevölkerung* 204).
- 48 On Atrans, see also *Itin. Burdig.* 560: *fines Italiae* (from M. Aurelius onwards) *et Norici*.
- 49 Cf. the Celeian decurions at Bukovca near Rečica and at Vranje (inscription carried there from Sevnica = Lichtenwald), p. 267. According to Polaschek, *RE* xvii 982 and Saria, *AIJ* p. 1, the Save was the southern frontier of Noricum. Cf. also Petru, *AV* 15/16 (1964–5), map.
- 50 *CIL* 11316: *a Ce[leia] m.p. XXXV* (wrongly Saria, *AIJ* p. 1); *CIL* 11318: *a Celeia m. [p. X]XXXV*; cf. also *CIL* 11317. In *CIL* these milestones are put under Pannonia and Deringer, *Car.* 153 (1963) 736 ff., does not include them under Noricum either. But the formula used in *CIL* 11316 from A.D. 236, which accords with that in another milestone from Norican Stranice (*CIL* 5742, also A.D. 236) is further proof that they are Norican.
- 51 River-traffic: Patsch, *JÖAI* 8 (1905) 139 ff.; cf. esp. *AIJ* 26 with *gubernatores*. Temple at Za Savo: Schmid, *BRGK* 15 (1923–24) 183 f., cf. Petru, *Situla* 4 (1961) 38 f. The inscriptions (cf. p. 239) have mostly been carried from the temple. Among the dedicators there are probably Celeians as well, such as the Castricii and C. Cassii who are known at Celeia too, cf. pp. 125, 127.
- 52 Cf. *CIL* 13406 with the personal name *Ambisavus* from Sevnica; parallel: the personal name *Ambidrabus* in the territory of the *Ambidravi*, p. 68.
- 53 Cf. esp. Petru, *AV* 11/12 (1960–1) 27 ff. on the *territorium* of Neviodunum.
- 54 *Beneficarii*-posts: p. 252 f. On Ragando see *Tab. Peut.* and *Itin. Ant.* 129, 5, also *Itin. Burdig.* 561, 2 (on another stretch of road). Cf. *CIL* p. 2328, 47 (inscription from Aquileia): *natus in Nor(ico) Ragand(ione)*. Cf. Pahič, *Razprave* 6 (1968) 309 ff. The Zgornja Pohana Mithraeum (Schmid, *BRGK* 15 (1923–4) 209) apparently lay in Pannonia, likewise the Pannonian *beneficiarius*-post at Mihaljekov Jarek, *AIJ* 452–4.
- 55 *CIL* 5744 = *Car.* 143 (1953) 738 no. 4 (A.D. 132). The distance is not on the stone, but the formula of the text is certainly Norican, cf. *CIL* 5733 from Ivenca (from the same year). On the Maribor area Premmerstein, *JZK* 1904, 185, is mistaken; see Saria, *AIJ* p. 45. Cf. the officials of Solva at Slivnice, Hompoš and Selnice, p. 268.
- 56 Cf. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 982 and Saria, *Historia* 1 (1950) 452. According to Ptol., *Geogr.* ii 13, 1 and ii 14, 1 the Cetius Mons was the frontier (cf. p. 39). Grafendorf was still Norican

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(*duumvir* of Solva: p. 268), whereas Schlaining in Burgenland (*CIL* 4153) and Muthmannsdorf near Wiener Neustadt (*CIL* 4554) were already Pannonian.

57 Polaschek, *RE* xvii 980 f. with bibliography. A *bf. proc.* at Vienna (*CIL* 4559) was however not in the service of a presidial procurator of Noricum, but in that of a financial procurator of Upper Pannonia, and not in the first century A.D. but later.

58 *JÖAI(B)* 12 (1909) 210; cf. Kubitschek, *JAK* 3 (1909) 188 ff.

59 *Vita S. Sev.* 1, 1. Klosterneuburg probably never belonged to Noricum, p. 199. A milestone at Nietzing, south of Zeiselmauer, reckons the distance from Cetium: *CIL* 13534 (p. 2287) = *Car.* 143 (1953) 742 no. 39.

60 Tac., *Ann.* ii 63; cf. *Divisio orbis terr.* 10 and Oros., *Hist. adv. pag.*, I 2, 27, etc. for the same view later on.

61 See on this pp. 103 ff., 143 ff., especially 150, 152.

CHAPTER 6

1 Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*² 113; Egger, *Österreichs Erbe* 7 f.; Vetters, *RE* ix A 275; Winkler, *Noricum* 21; cf. also Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamte*³ 383; Polaschek, *RE* xvii 987 f.; Saria, *Historia* 1 (1950) 442 f.; Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 16 f.; etc. Peaks, *The General Civil and Military Administration of Noricum and Raetia* (p. 360) is now completely out of date for the Norican administration.

2 Vell. ii 39, 3 and ii 109, 5.

3 P. 79.

4 Tac., *Ann.* ii 63. The first epigraphic evidence for the *provincia* of Noricum comes from the Trajanic period, *CIL* IX 4753 = *ILS* 1350 (p. 243). C. Baebius Atticus was procurator *in Norico* under Claudius (p. 242), but a 'province' is certainly already meant here. Agrippa, in Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 98, refers only to *Noricum*—likewise also Pliny, *N.H.* 21, 43, Tac., *Hist.* I 11, 70 and *Germ.* 65.

5 *CIL* IX 3044 = *ILS* 2689 for Raetia; cf. on this Heuberger, *Klio* 34 (1942) 280 ff. and Pflaum, *Carrières* I 14. Pilate: cf. recently H. Volkmann, *Gymnasium* 75 (1968) 124 ff., esp. 131.

6 *CIL* 5156a (p. 1830) = *AIJ* 42 = *ILS* 3712 (Celeia, A.D. 198–209): serving centurion of X Gemina; *CIL* 5460 (Pischk near Bruck an der Mur, A.D. 234): serving soldier of the same legion. Detachments of Pannonian auxiliary units in Noricum: pp. 258, 260.

7 *CIL* V 7231 = *ILS* 94. The homonymous son of this Cottius was however put in as *rex* once more under Claudius (Dio ix 24, 4), whereas Noricum was at that time, without any doubt, already a procuratorial province.

8 For such commands cf. *CIL* V 4910 = *ILS* 847; Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 89 f., 115 f.

9 *CIL* V 3936 = *ILS* 1348. There was already a financial procurator in Raetia immediately after the conquest (*AE* 1902, 189 = *ILS* 9007; Pflaum, *Carrières* I 13 ff. no. 1)—this province being, however, under a senatorial legate at the time (*CIL* V 4910 = *ILS* 847). According to Pflaum, *RE* xxiii 1247, Noricum was already a procuratorial province under Caligula.

10 Cf. esp. Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² 21; Vetters, *RE* ix A 309. Egger explains the enclosed room behind the tribunal as a council chamber away from the public gaze; 'the representative of the imperial power took his place' on the tribunal 'with his adviser, dispensed judgment, proclaimed decrees and taxes, and presided over voting'. See p. 70 ff. on the finds from the excavation.

- 11 Information from H. Dolenz and G. Piccottini.
- 12 CIL 4987: *Tertio Caesaris l(iberto) Causia Occi f. uxor v. f.* The provenance is either Magdalensberg or Virunum; and as the stone dates to the beginning of the imperial period in any case, the Magdalensberg is likelier. For a different view, Winkler, *Noricum* 143.
- 13 On the Roman army in Noricum in general: Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1001 ff.; Pavan, *Athenaeum* 34 (1956) 58 ff. Betz, *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 287 ff., has collected the military inscriptions.
- 14 Vell. ii 109, 5. Cf. esp. Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 234 f. and Dobiáš, *Dějiny* 89 ff. with bibliography.
- 15 Cf. esp. Pavan *op. cit.* 60 ff.; Egger, *Römische Antike* II 292 ff.; Winkler, *Noricum* 23 ff.
- 16 CIL 4858 = ILS 2466: *C. Vettius Q. f. Pol. eq. leg. VIII Aug. ann. XLIX stip. XXVIII idem quaestor veteranorum et Q. Vettius Q. f. Pol. frater eq. leg. VIII Aug. an. XL st. XX b. s. e. M. Metilius eq. leg. VIII Aug. et P. Arrius her(edes) C. Vetti test. posuerunt.* The *dona militaria* depicted on the tombstone were probably won by the Vettii in the Pannonian war of A.D. 6–9, Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² 37 f.
- 17 On the finds, see Kenner, *Car.* 148 (1958) 108 f., 111 f. and 151 (1961) 137 f., 150 f. Cf. also the inscription scratched on a piece of samian with the text *Curen(us) (centuria) Magi*, *Car.* 148 (1958) 154 and 149 (1959) 141.
- 18 The ‘House of Representatives’ and the merchants’ quarters were probably also set on fire at that time, Vettters, *Car.* 151 (1961) 48 f. On the inscriptions see p. 67.
- 19 See esp. Jantsch, *Car.* 123 (1933) 7 ff.; Wagner, *Auxiliarformationen* 168 f.; Egger, *Car.* 143 (1953) 929; Vettters, *RE* ix A 279 f.; Winkler, *Noricum* 24 f. The soldiers’ names point unmistakably to Noricum; they do not derive from the Alpes Maritimae, where Ritterling, *Klio* 21 (1927) 86 f., and Kraft, *Rekrutierung* 181, believe them to have been recruited. See the texts in Appendix X, p. 259 f.
- 20 Jantsch, *Car.* 123 (1933) 11; Vettters, *RE* ix A 279 f.
- 21 CIL 4753, cf. Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 80: *Tinco Redsati f. et Banana Venimari f. uxor vv(ivi) f. Ambidrabo f. equiti auxiliario a. XX h.s. est.*
- 22 Cf. Jantsch *op. cit.* 12; Egger, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 163 ff., *Teurnia*⁵ 82 and *Römische Antike* II 302 f.
- 23 Dolenz, *Fundstätten* 44. In my view it is worth considering whether it could have been to house barracks for iron-miners.
- 24 Cf. on this esp. Egger, *Römische Antike* II 292 ff. and Saxer, *Vexillationen* 6; further bibliography is given by Saria, *Historia* 1 (1950) 441 f. The long-disputed text reads, according to Egger: *Harigasti Tei f(ili) v(ex)illationis a(larum) III Il(lyricarum)*; the last part is still uncertain, in my view. Cf. F. de Tollenaere, *De Harigasti-inscriptie op helm B van Negau* (p. 361).
- 25 Reinecke, *Car.* 131 (1941) 284 ff.
- 26 CIL 5220: *L. Braetius L. f. Publ. Veron. vet. leg. VIII Aug. ann. LXX b. s. e. f(ili) f(ecerunt), Magiona Verulli f. an. LXXV b. s. e. f. f.* The man may have been a veteran who was retained in service, as with the Magdalensberg garrison.
- 27 CIL 5636: *C. Valerius C. f. Ultinia Pilipis miles leg. XV Apol. an(n)o. XXXII stip. XI hic s. e.*
- 28 Cf. CIL 5680 (Lauriacum): *A. Barbio A. f. Grato Vel(ina tribu) ann. LXXV et Cominia T. f. Pupa ann. LXX T. Barbio A. f. Quinto mil. leg. XV Apo. ann. XXV b. s. s., etc.* The date is about mid-first century; the Aquileian family had a small trading-post at Lauriacum. Whether the son of the Aquileian Gratus served at Lauriacum is doubtful.

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- 29 Cf. esp. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 978 ff.; Egger, *Car.* 140 (1950) 494 ff. and *La Nouvelle Clío* 1951, 218 ff.; Capovilla, *Studi* 227 ff.; Heuberger, *TH N.F.* 16 (1952) 5 ff.
- 30 See esp. Šašel, *Historia* 16 (1967) 70 ff. with references to earlier works. Egger, *Car.* 156 (1966) 467, has also recently taken the view that there were three inscriptions; cf. also Winkler, *Noricum* 20 f. The text given above follows Šašel *op. cit.*, except that in my view fragment 7 belongs to inscr. II and not III (it is smooth on the reverse side as II is, whereas III is rough).
- 31 Ptol., *Geogr.* ii 13, 2: κατέχουσι δὲ τὰ μὲν δυσμικώτερα τῆς ἐπαρχείας ἀπ' ἄρκτων ἀρχομένοι Σεούακες καὶ Ἀλαυνοὶ καὶ Ἀμβισόντιοι, τὰ δὲ ἀνατολικώτερα Νώρικοι καὶ Ἀμβίδραυνοι καὶ Ἀμβίλικοι. The Magdalensberg inscriptions justify correcting to Σεούα<τ>ες (see also *CIL* V 1838) and Ἀμβίλι<ν>οι. Vetters, *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 491 (map), wrongly distinguishes 'Saevates' and 'Seouakes'.
- 32 P. 299, n. 4 and *CIL* V 1838 = *ILS* 1349.
- 33 Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² 36; etc.
- 34 Ihm, *RE* i 1798; Holder I 120; Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 100 f. and *Car.* 140 (1950) 494 ff.; Miltner, *Car.* 131 (1941) 296; Kranzmayer, *ibid.* 144 (1954) 191 f.; etc. The main argument was that the name of the 'Ambilici' in Ptolemy derived from a river 'Licus', supposed to be the Gail—the upper Gail valley is still called the Lessachtal. But the real name is 'Ambilini', which has nothing to do with Lessach. Leber's suggestion, *Car.* 146 (1956) 95, that the Ambilini lived in the Gurk valley, is unconvincing—it was inhabited by Norici, including, probably, the upper part of it.
- 35 Ptol., *Geogr.* ii 13, 3; cf. Egger, *Car.* 143 (1953) 927.
- 36 See p. 303, n. 21. Cf. esp. Miltner *op. cit.* 296; Egger, *Car.* 140 (1950) 494 ff. and *Teurnia*⁵ 80.
- 37 Cf. Egger, *Car.* 143 (1953) 927; Saria, *RE* ix A 925.
- 38 Cf. Saria, *AIJ* p. 6 f.; most recently Alföldy, *ES* 8 (1969) 10.
- 39 *CIL* 5390 (p. 1834); corrected in *ES* 8 (1969) 9 f. no. 13.
- 40 *Itin. Ant.* 280, 2. See esp. J. Keune, *RE* i A 1727; M. Schönfeld, *RE* ii A 957; Brusin, *AAItA* 36 (1941) 325 ff.; A. Egger, *Prähistorische und römische Siedlungen* 22; Capovilla, *Studi* 23 f.
- 41 Fluss, *RE* xii 466; Capovilla *op. cit.* 19 f.; Alzinger, *Aguntum* 7; etc. Mommsen wanted to equate Ptolemy's Alaunoi with the Laianci, *CIL* V p. 174. The place-name Loncium in the upper Gail valley can hardly be connected with 'Laianci'; thus Leber, *Car.* 146 (1956) 95. *Civitas*-inscription: cf. n. 32, above.
- 42 See p. 11, with n. 36; on the Ambisontes also Egger, *Car.* 145 (1955) 62; Hell, *JÖAI(B)* 42 (1955) 102; Kellner, *MGS L* 101 (1961) 178; Bernleithner, *MGS L* 105 (1965) 3; etc. See also pp. 41, 53 ff. According to Vetters, *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 484, Juvavum was the capital of the Ambisontes.
- 43 For the inscriptions of these deities see p. 239; on the tribe: F. Wagner, *Die Römer in Bayern*⁴ 12; Reinecke, *BVF* 6 (1926) 24 and *Kleine Schriften* 30 f.; Hell *op. cit.*; Werner, *MGS L* 101 (1961) 143; etc.
- 44 Thus Egger, *Car.* 140 (1950) 495 ff.; following him also Capovilla, *Studi* 19 f.; Vetters, *RE* ix A 263 and *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 217. But against this opinion cf. Šašel, *Historia* 19 (1970) 628. Cf. p. 38.
- 45 Celtic personal names with the root *Elw-* are found in large numbers in Noricum (cf. p. 234), in Lower Styria, at Virunum and in the surrounding area, also at Kobenz in the upper Mur valley (*CIL* 5468) and at Hasenbach at the mouth of the Salzach (*CIL* 5523). They show that the

Norican Celts in general preferred the pronunciation *Elv-* rather than the ‘Helvetian’ form *Helv-*.

46 Cf. Reinecke *BVF* 6 (1926) 36; Heuberger, *TH N.F.* 16 (1952) 5 ff.; Vetters, *Car.* 153 (1963) 48.

47 It is worth considering that these inscriptions were a means of expressing gratitude for grants of Roman citizenship, which Livia and the two Julias may perhaps have helped to obtain for the tribes which are named; Norican new citizens who gained citizenship under Augustus are known above all in southern Noricum and Salzburg, although there are also cases around the Chiemsee and in eastern Noricum (p. 76).

48 Ambisavi: p. 60. Latobici are considered to have lived in the Lavant valley and around Solva; thus Egger, *Kärnten* 7, *Car.* 117 (1927) 3 and *Römische Antike* I 103, 110; Müller-Karpe, *Car.* 141 (1951) 601; Modrijan, *Lavanttal* 8 and *Car.* 144 (1954) 165 f.; Kenner, *JÖAI* 43 (1956–8) 70 f.; Vetters, *RE* ix A 265; etc. The evidence for this is reckoned to be the cult of Mars Latobius in the lower Lavant valley and at Solva (cf. pp. 138, 240). But a *civitas Latobiorum* existed only in south-western Pannonia. The south-east Norican Celts were certainly closely related to these Pannonian Latobici, but there is no proof that they bore their name as well; the cult of Latobius, which may in any case be assumed to have been practised even on the Magdalensberg (p. 46) signifies nothing in this respect. One can, to be sure, reckon on there having been ‘Carni’ in southern Carinthia (p. 19), but on no account on a *civitas Carnorum*.

49 For a different view: Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² 24 ff.; Schober, *Römerzeit*² 18; Alzinger, *Aguntum* 8; Vetters, *RE* ix A 262 f.; Winkler, *Noricum* 22; etc., on Ptol., *Geogr.* ii 13, 3 and the finds in the ‘House of Representatives’. This room in the building under discussion is much more likely to have been an *apodyterium* (as H. v. Petrikovits kindly informs me).

50 Cf. Mócsy, *Historia* 6 (1957) 488 ff. and Alföldy, *Dalmatien* 177.

51 Cf. esp. *CIL* 5583 = *IBR* 28 with a *praef. i. d. ‘civitatis’ Aquont.*; on the use of the term *civitas* in the Norican *municipia* see p. 97. However, at Lauriacum the town-prefecture was of a different type, p. 102.

52 Excavation reports: details are given on p. 296, n. 32.

53 See p. 54. On the finds: Vetters, *Car.* 140 (1950) 435 ff.; 142 (1952) 96 ff.; 143 (1953) 863 ff.; 146 (1956) 2 ff.

54 E.g. *Car.* 140 (1950) 491 ff.: [*Vita*] *Caesari*; [*Augusto nostro* (?) *multos an*]nos, bono orbis n[ato]; *Car.* 145 (1955) 63 ff.: *Cl(audianus) VI Cl(audianus) X[VI]* (according to Egger, in 4 B.C., Tiberius—at that time *trib. pot. VI*—must have received another ten years’ *tribunicia potestas*) and *Caesar, Caes(ar)*; *Car.* 145 (1955) 70 ff.: [*sacrif*]iciu(m) *Cap(r)icorni*, etc. (A.D. 5); *Car.* 145 (1955) 45 ff., 51 ff. and *Car.* 146 (1956) 69 f.: *Cl(audianus) (ludos?) edit* (with a ‘caricature of Tiberius’—but the meaning of this drawing is not certain).

55 The mosaic floor with the symbol of a horse in a boat is perhaps connected with the cult of Latobius; cf. also the terracotta statuette of a helmsman, likewise from the Magdalensberg (hardly an Ancestral Father [Altwater], as interpreted by Egger). The significance is very uncertain; see esp. Egger, *Car.* 143 (1953) 930 ff. and *Magdalensberg*¹² 14, 27; L. Schmidt, *Car.* 141 (1951) 716 ff.; Barb, *Car.* 147 (1957) 90 ff.

56 For the finds: Vetters, *Car.* 140 (1950) 433 ff.; 142 (1952) 96 ff.; 143 (1953) 863 ff.; 146 (1956) 2 ff.; 148 (1958) 8 ff.

57 Vetters, *Car.* 140 (1950) 446 ff.; 142 (1952) 82 ff.; 143 (1953) 863 ff.; 146 (1956) 27 ff.; 149 (1959) 7 ff.; 151 (1961) 49; Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² 17 ff.

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- 58 Vetters, *Car.* 145 (1955) 3 ff. and 156 (1966) 297 ff.; Egger *op. cit.* 53 ff. See also F. Kretschmer, *Car.* 151 (1961) 253 ff.
- 59 Dolenz, *Car.* 139 (1949) 157 ff.; Egger *op. cit.* 14.
- 60 Personal names on monumental inscriptions: Vetters, *Car.* 144 (1954) 32 ff. Wall-graffiti: esp. Egger, *Grosshandelsplatz* 3 ff. Inscriptions on *instrumenta domestica*: esp. Egger, *Car.* 148 (1958) 155 ff., 163 ff.; 149 (1959) 139 ff.; 153 (1963) 107 ff.; *Festschrift Laur-Belart* 269 ff.
- 61 *CIL* 4899a; 4908; 4962a; 11571.
- 62 *CIL* 11577. Similar cases: *CIL* 11585 (republican); *CIL* 4990a (p. 1813); *CIL* 11531 (6500); *CIL* 11563 = *MZK* 1904, 166; etc.
- 63 See p. 76.
- 64 Agents of the following Italian families are definitely attested: *Albii*, *Barbii*, *Kanii*, *Casc(ellii?)*, *Cominii*, *Fabii*, *Fabricii*, *Fundanii*, *Gallii*, *Octavii*, *Opaii*, *Poblicii*, *Pomponii*, *Postumii*, *Sempronii*, *Stlaccii*, *Tillii*, *Titii*, *Turpili*, *Ummidii*, *Vetili*, *Vettidii*, *Veturii* and—to the extent they some of them were not natives—*Julii*. Vetters, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–3) 223 f. differs somewhat. For the individual families cf. esp. Egger, *Car.* 148 (1958) 163 ff. and *Car.* 151 (1961), 207 ff. On the *Barbii* see esp. Šašel, *Eirene* 5 (1966) 117 ff.
- 65 Egger, *Grosshandelsplatz* 27. The inscriptions mentioning the last three towns (Egger *op. cit.* no. 191, 2 and 31) are doubtful. Verula (no. 227) should be deleted from the list; Verulanus is a personal name.
- 66 Wall-inscription from the building south of the ‘House of Representatives’: $\theta(\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma)$ $\chi(\theta\omicron\nu\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma)$ *ex voto suscep[pt]o* *Cadius Primu[s] ...*, *Hora[t]in[u]s* *Antipatrus Pataris scifos* [...], perhaps from 12 B.C. See Egger, *ÄÖAW* 1964, 58 ff. and *Car.* 156 (1966) 472 ff.
- 67 Egger, *Grosshandelsplatz* 27 on nos. 81 and 218.
- 68 E. J. Zirkl, *Car.* 153 (1963) 287 ff.
- 69 Iron: see p. 114. Brooches: Kenner, *Car.* 148 (1958) 124 ff.; Vetters, *REix A* 301. Native pottery (definitely made on the Magdalensberg): Kenner, *Car.* 140 (1950) 470; 143 (1953) 905 ff.; etc.
- 70 Joiners’ tools: cf. Kenner, *Car.* 148 (1958) 115 f. (on which see G. Khevenüller, *ibid.* 145 ff.) and 151 (1961) 146 ff.; etc. Iron mould with inscription of one *Icco ep(h)ippiari(us)*: Egger, *ÄÖAW* 1967, 202 ff. Lead seals frequently mention textile goods, made by, or according to Egger *op. cit.* 197 ff., also improved and cleaned by, a *sutor*. On the individual items of textiles see p. 111.
- 71 See esp. Wiesinger, *Car.* 132 (1942) 76 ff.; Kenner, *Car.* 139 (1949) 170 ff.; 140 (1950) 462 ff.; 142 (1952) 132 ff.; 143 (1953) 892 ff.; 145 (1955) 25 ff.; 146 (1956) 35 ff.; 148 (1958) 64 ff.; 149 (1959) 63 ff.; 151 (1961) 74 ff.; etc.; Bruckner, *Car.* 153 (1963) 281 ff. An Aco-beaker with verse inscription: *CIL* 12013, 3. Medallion-vessels, perhaps from the east: Kenner, *Car.* 152 (1962) Beigabe (*Festschrift G. Moro*) 25 ff.
- 72 Also from workshops in Asia Minor and southern Gaul, see Kenner, *Car.* 140 (1950) 467 and 142 (1952) 145 f.
- 73 Amphora stamps (many with the name of C. Laekanius Bassus, owner of an Aquileian firm) and other inscriptions on amphorae: Egger, *Car.* 140 (1950) 485 ff.; 142 (1952) 164 ff.; 143 (1953) 922 ff.; 145 (1955) 59 ff.; 146 (1956) 71 ff.; 148 (1958) 151 ff.; 149 (1959) 129 ff.; 151 (1961) 178 ff.; 153 (1963) 93 ff.; 156 (1966) 454 ff. Cf. e.g. *Car.* 140 (1950) 487: *Olei Hist(ici) flos p(ondo) V*; *Car.* 153 (1963) 97: *gari flos*. An inscription from one merchant’s shop mentions *[sci]fos vi[n]i XXV* [...], *Car.* 152 (1962) Beigabe 21 ff., *Car.* 153 (1963) 106; cf. *ÄÖAW* 1964, 58 ff.

- 74 Hor., *Carm.* i 16, 9 and *Epod.* xvii 71; Ovid, *Met.* xiv 712; later esp. Petron., *Sat.* 70, 3; Pliny, *N.H.* 34, 145; Martial iv 55, 12; etc. See also pp. 112, 206.
- 75 Egger, *Grosshandelsplatz* 3 ff., esp. 29; cf. also Egger, *Car.* 152 (1962) Beigabe 23 f. and *Car.* 153 (1963) 105. Two *cumbae* have been found in the merchants' quarter: Egger, *Grosshandelsplatz* 29 with plate xxiv 18.
- 76 Cf. Egger, *Grosshandelsplatz* nos. 137, 215, 218, 332.
- 77 Egger *op. cit.* 29 ff. See e.g. no. 189: [...]*ulus anulos DLX*; no. 196: *Procus uncus anulos DXIII*; no. 236: *Orobins uncus DCX*.
- 78 Egger *op. cit.* 34 on records mentioning *aurum*.
- 79 Egger *op. cit.* 34 f. See esp. no. 9: *de fide Ombrionis sec(ures)* [CCC]LV *p(ondo) IIS* = 'Ombrion, 355 axes on credit; each one 2½ pounds'. Payment deadline: e.g. no. 203: *ex K(alendis) Mais p(ecunia) l(ocata) in III K(alendas) Iulias* = 'from 1 May money lent until 29 June', i.e. for 60 days. For the business practice cf. also the calculating tokens and weights: Egger, *Car.* 148 (1958) 155 ff. (also on *CIL* 12027 b-i); 149 (1959) 133 ff.; 153 (1963) 101 f.; *Grosshandelsplatz* 20 f.
- 80 Tombstones with *de suo fecerunt* or similar phrases: *CIL* 11563; *CIL* 11569 = *MZK* 1904, 166; *CIL* 11577, 11592, 11601 and 14364.
- 81 See esp. A. and F. Narobe, *JÖAI(B)* 26 (1930) 189 ff.; Hell, *PAR* 15 (1965) 26 f. and 16 (1966) 2 f.
- 82 *Car.* 151 (1961) 205 ff. = 152 (1962) 59 ff. with the formula *sibi et [sueis]*, probably as early as the Augustan period. Cf. Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 74 ff.
- 83 Alzinger, *Kleinfunde* 13.
- 84 Cf. e.g. Pink, *JLNÖ* 25 (1932) 49 ff.; also F. v. Kenner, *RLÖ* 8 (1907) 173 ff., etc. up till 15 (1925) 61 ff. (Lauriacum); Wiesinger-Morton, *JÖAI(B)* 33 (1941) 116 ff. (Hallstatt); and besides these p. 179 for south-eastern Bavaria and Lentia.
- 85 *CIL* 6507 (p. 1813) (Magdalensberg): [P.] *Veturius P. l. Amphio* and his brother *P. Veturius P. l. Amphioravus*; *MZK* 1903, 80 = *ES* 8 (1969) 19 no. 27 (Virunum): *P. V[e]turius?* *Am[...]*; *CIL* 5060 (p. 1047) (Mariahof): *P. Veturius [Am]phioravus IIIII(vir)* (probably of Aquileia) and his family.
- 86 *CIL* 5055 (Neumarkt—or perhaps in fact from Pannonia): *M. Cornelius M. l. Senno*; *PAR* 17 (1967) 19 (St Lambrecht Abbey): *C. Annaeus C. l[i]b. Spectatus* (both at latest from first century A.D.; the *liberti* are of native origin).
- 87 See p. 303, n. 28.
- 88 Karnitsch, *Lauriacum* 13 f. and Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 50; Karnitsch, *LAF* 1 (1962) 63 ff.; Eckhart, *Linzer Fundkatalog* I–III (see p. 361 f.).
- 89 Cf. the pre-Latin script on a samian dish: Egger, *AV* 19 (1968) 37 ff.
- 90 Baldersdorf: Praschniker, *AÖAW* 1940, 115 ff.; Dolenz, *Car.* 132 (1942) 28 ff. Gleisdorf: Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 67 ff.
- 91 See also pp. 81 ff., 192. On grants of citizenship in Noricum see esp. Polaschek *RE* xvii 996 f.
- 92 *CIL* 5232 = *ILS* 1977, on which Šašel, *ŽA* 4 (1954) 346 ff. Vepo was certainly no Latin, as Winkler, *Noricum* 23 maintains.
- 93 *CIL* 4843 = *ILS* 2015. Cf. p. 100.
- 94 See on this Appendix XII, p. 262. Cf. Fig. 3, p. 83.
- 95 All Norican Ti. Julii were certainly not descendants of auxiliaries, as Egger, *Car.* 143 (1953) 929, reckons.

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- 96 Cf. Alföldy, *Latomus* 24 (1965) 824 ff.
 97 On recruiting in Noricum cf. esp. Betz, *Car.* 143 (1953) 719 ff. (the material there collected may be amplified to some extent, see Appendix XI on p. 261).
 98 See pp. 65, 259 f.
 99 Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 25 ff.; Wagner, *Auxiliarformationen* 172 f. Otherwise, there was also a *cohors II Bono(. . .) Nori(corum)*, attested only on a tile-stamp at Emona (Wagner *op. cit.* 173; Mócsy, *RE Suppl.* ix 621). *Bono(. . .)* may be an adjective formed from the name of a Norican commanding officer, cf. the names Boniatus, etc. in Appendix III.
 100 *CIL* 4843 = *ILS* 2015; on the Velina tribe to which the two brothers belonged see p. 76. *CIL* 4838 = *ILS* 2033 is later than Syme, *Roman Revolution* 457 n. 3, believes.

CHAPTER 7

- 1 Egger, *Magdalensberg*¹² 57; also esp. Vettters, *Car.* 148 (1958) 8 ff.; 149 (1959) 43 ff.; 151 (1961) 43 ff.
- 2 See p. 298, note 66 for sporadic inscriptions.
- 3 Vettters, *Car.* 151 (1961) 44.
- 4 Suggestion by G. Piccottini, based on the find-spot and condition of the statue.
- 5 See on this pp. 114 ff., 159 ff.
- 6 See p. 62 ff. On the Norican procurators see esp. Polaschek, *RE Suppl.* vii 582 ff.; Pflaum, *Carrières* III 1060 and 1106; Winkler, *Noricum* 29 ff. See Appendix V for the individual procurators, with a number of differences from earlier interpretations.
- 7 *CIL* V 1838 = *ILS* 1349 = Pflaum *op. cit.* no. 11.
- 8 As, probably, in the case of Claudius Paternus Clementianus, p. 244.
- 9 *CIL* IX 4753 = *ILS* 1350 = Pflaum *op. cit.* no. 71.
- 10 Bassaeus Rufus c. A.D. 160, Baius Pudens c. A.D. 162, Aelius Maximus c. A.D. 165 and Claudius Priscianus c. A.D. 168, see p. 246 f. Cf. Winkler, *Noricum* 29.
- 11 Cf. Alföldy, *BJ* 170 (1970) 172.
- 12 Pflaum, *Procurateurs* 254 ff.; Winkler, *Noricum* 29.
- 13 Cf. Winkler, *Noricum* 116 f. (on which see Alföldy, *BJ* 170 (1970) 559 ff.). According to Pflaum the presidial procuratorship of Noricum belonged to the '3. échelon' of the ducenary procuratorships, *Procurateurs* 242 ff., 254 ff. and *Carrières* I 272.
- 14 Vettters, *RE* ix A 253.
- 15 Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 146; on the text see Betz, *Schlern-Schriften* 206 (1960) 9 ff. On urbanisation in Noricum cf. esp. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 996 ff.; Thaller, *Car.* 140 (1950) 145 f.
- 16 Thus probably *CIL* 5462 (p. 1837): *m(unicipium) C(laudium) T(eurnia)*. Otherwise the imperial title takes the same ending as the geographical name of the town. *Claudium Virunum*: e.g. *MZK* 1903, 348; *Car.* 147 (1957) 172 ff.; *JV* 1 (1964) 30 and 33; etc. *Claudia Celeia*: e.g. *CIL* 5116 = 13525; *CIL* 5143 = *AJ* 22; *CIL* 5183; *CIL* 5194; etc. *Claudium Aguntum*: *CIL* V 708 = *Inscr. It.* X 4, no. 325. *Κλαυδιούιον* = *Claudium Iuvavum*: Ptol., *Geogr.* ii. 13, 3; *Claudia Teurnia*: *JV* 8 (1971) 18 f.
- 17 *Virunum*: e.g. *CIL* 4484; *CIL* 8124; *CIL* VI 2483; *CIL* VI 2914 = *ILS* 2113; *CIL* XIII 6864; *RIB* 531; *AE* 1931, 121; *Rendic. Acad. Lincei* 1969, 32 f. no. 3; etc. *Celeia*: e.g. *CIL* 2745; *CIL* 4055 = *AJ* 370; *CIL* VI 2619; *CIL* XIII 7029; *ILJug* 370; *AE* 1924, 107; *RIB* 479, 498, 504; etc. *Teurnia*: *CIL* VI 32638a, 4; *CIL* XIII 11849. *Aguntum*: *CIL* VI 32624b, 11; *CIL* VI

37184c, 13; CIL XVI 98. *Juvavum*: CIL 4461 = LF 88 (1965) 264 f.; CIL 14994; CIL VI 3588; CIL VI 32526a, V, 11; CIL VI 32638a, 7; CIL VI 32681; AE 1928, 157; AE 1965, 248; *Epigraphica* 13 (1951) 120.

18 Thus Egger, *La Nouvelle Clío* 2 (1951) 219, *Car.* 151 (1961) 49 and *Magdalensberg*¹² 13; Vettters, *Car.* 144 (1954) 32.

19 CIL XIII 7029: *C. Romanus eq. alae Norico. Claud. Capito Celeia* (sic) with 19 *stipendia*. This inscription must date at latest to A.D. 70, as it comes from Mainz, which the Ala Noricorum left in that year for the lower Rhine (Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 25 ff.). Thus the man entered the regiment in A.D. 51 at latest, and was already a citizen of Celeia.

20 The inscriptions mostly have *Flavia Solva*, e.g. CIL 1615; CIL 5331 = ILS 2734; CIL 5343; AE 1942–3, 69; etc. *Municipium Flavia Solva*: CIL 13707. *Quirina tribus*: CIL VI 2543. *Flavia* often occurs as a pseudo-tribe: CIL V 3362; CIL VI 32624 d, 13; CIL VI 32638a, 2; CIL VI 32640, 13. *Ael(ia) Solva* in CIL VI 32533b, 9, 18, is a mistake, see esp. Betz, *Car.* 143 (1953) 722 f., disproving earlier views that the town acquired colonial rank from Hadrian (thus e.g. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 997). Besides this, colonial rank has been mistakenly assumed for Aguntum (Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 59), Celeia (Wagner, *Auxiliarformationen* 12) and Cetium (Polaschek, *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 215 f.).

21 *Municipium Aelium Cetium*: CIL 5658 = 11799 (p. 2286); CIL 5663 = 11806 (p. 2286) = *ES* 8 (1969) 30 ff. no. 43. *Aelium Cetium*: CIL VI 33036. *Aelienses Cetienses*: CIL 5652 = *ES loc. cit.* 32 f. no. 44; CIL 5630 = ILS 7112. *Ael. Ovilavae*: CIL 11785; CIL IX 2593; *Epigraphica* 13 (1951) 119. Both towns were presumably enrolled in the Hadrianic tribe *Sergia* (not yet attested).

22 See p. 183. Only the *lex Lauriacensis* mentions the rank: *JÖAI* 39 (1952) 133 ff. But cf. now B. and H. Galsterer, *BJ* 171 (1971) 334 ff. and Appendix XIII p. 273, above.

23 CIL 5630 = ILS 7112; *colonia* also in CIL 5606 (p. 2328, 200) = *JAK* 2 (1908) 37; CIL 5652 = *ES* 8 (1969) 32 f. no. 44; *PAR* 18 (1968) 3 f.

24 See n. 21, above.

25 See on this p. 122 f.

26 Cf. p. 97. See esp. one *Crispin[us] Crispini f.* from Solva, aedile there in the second century (CIL 5343): as aedile he was doubtless a full citizen, but continued to bear his earlier name, one characteristic of a non-citizen. Thus before his aedileship he was not a full citizen, as the son of the marriage of a citizen and a non-citizen woman.

27 E.g. CIL 5437/38: *L. Cantius Secundus—Cantia Iuni f. Bonia*; CIL 5073: *L. Barbis Vercainus aedilicius—Baebia Suadulla*; CIL 4864 = *Car.* 117 (1927) 7: *C. Bottius Mercator (a)edilicius—Bottia Saxami fil. Suaducia*; etc.

28 E.g. CIL 5142 = *AIJ* 21: *Vibius Secundus veteranus—Cerula Tutori (f.)*; CIL 5150: *C. Baebius Acceptus—Quarta Damionis f.*; CIL 5249: *L. Decius L. f. Ianuarius—Cassia Viatoris f.*

29 E.g. *AIJ* 34: *Tatul[us] Trici f.—A(elia) Macerina*; CIL 5256 = *AIJ* 53: *Marcellinu(s) Aviti (f.)—Aur. Bassina*.

30 E.g. *AIJ* 4: *P. Aelius Iunius—Nemeta Nigellionis f., Vibius f.* (father a citizen, mother and son non-citizens). CIL 5142 = *AIJ* 21: *Vibius Secundus veteranus—Cerula Tutori (f.)*, *Vibia Avita (filia)* (father and daughter citizens, mother non-citizen). CIL 5271 = 11696: *Secundinus Secundi (f.)—Atia Ursula, Secundus (filius)* (father and son non-citizens, mother citizen). CIL 5256 = *AIJ* 53: *Marcellinu(s) Aviti (f.)—Aur. Bassina, Aur. Potentina fil.* (father non-citizen, mother and daughter citizens).

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- 31 E.g. *CIL* 15206 = *AIJ* 112: *M. Ulpinus Primus, Ulpia Sisia uxor, Ulpia [... filia]*.
- 32 E.g. *CIL* 4890: *M. Ulpinus Senecio* and his brother *Caballus Batavi f.*
- 33 See on this Appendix XII, p. 262.
- 34 Cf. Mommsen, *CIL* p. 597 (with reference to Steph. Byz., s.v. *Virunum*: Ἰταλικὴ πόλις μεταξὺ τῶν Νωρικῶν) and *Hermes* 19 (1884) 73 ff.; Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften* 305 n. 3; Cuntz, *JÖAI* 18 (1915) 98 ff.; Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 4; Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft* I 190 = *Soc. and Econ. Hist. Rom. Empire*² I 233; Alföldy, *Latomus* 25 (1966) 51 f. According to Polaschek, *RE* xvii 996 f., only Solva was a Latin *municipium*, as, in contrast to other Norican towns with Celts, it had a ‘culturally inferior Illyrian population’.
- 35 Earliest examples: e.g. *CIL* 4727 = *ES* 8 (1969) 28 f. no. 39: *C. Antestius Ambudsuilus*, whose father’s name was *A(n)testas*; *JÖAI(B)* 38 (1950) 80 f.: *C. Vitorius Cupitus* with a grandfather named *Veitor*. Later e.g. *CIL* 5031 = *ILS* 7115: *C. Maximius C. fil. Iunianus*, with father named *Dripponius Maximus*; *CIL* 4972: *Sarturonius Securus*, with father named *Senicionius Sarturo*. Cf. Alföldy, *Latomus* 25 (1966) 44 ff.
- 36 Alföldy *op. cit.* 37 ff. E.g. the soldiers of Cohors Montanorum prima with long service and the names *Ti. Julius* (p. 259 f.) can hardly have been Latins as Vettters, *Car.* 144 (1954) 34, believes (cf. also Polaschek, *RE* xvii 996).
- 37 Cf. Alföldy *op. cit.* 47 ff. and *Hilfsgruppen* 105 ff.
- 38 The numbers refer to inhabitants of the towns (excluding the areas around them), not counting slaves, freedmen and officials of the provincial administration.
- 39 *Virunum*:
CIL 4778 + 4785 (p. 2328, 44) = *JÖAI* 18 (1915) 123 ff. (c. A.D. 200): 10:2 (persons with and persons without *gentilicium*).
CIL 4784 = *ILS* 4835 (c. A.D. 212): about 7:9.
Celeia:
CIL 5196 (probably second cent.): 6:14.
CIL 5191 (c. A.D. 200): 15:5.
CIL 11699 = *ILS* 3301 (c. A.D. 200): about 40:25.
Solva:
CIL 5319 = *ES* 8 (1969) 4 ff. no. 8 (c. A.D. 200): about 20:6.
Collegium-inscription (see p. 269, A.D. 205): 46:41.
- 40 *CIL* 11743 = Modrijan-Weber 25 f., cf. p. 151.
- 41 The occurrence of a tribe in the case of citizens from these towns is not an argument to the contrary, as it is attested in inscriptions of full citizens (magistrates, legionaries, praetorian guardsmen, etc.).
- 42 Cf. on this the inscription in n. 122, p. 314. But for Lauriacum cf p. 309, n. 22.
- 43 Appendix XIII, pp. 266, 267, 270.
- 44 On the growth of *municipia* next to legionary fortresses cf. now F. Vittinghoff, *Studien zur europäischen Vor- und Frühgeschichte* (Neumünster 1968) 132 ff.
- 45 For a general account of urban life and buildings, Schober, *Römerzeit*², 51 ff., 115 ff.
- 46 On building during and after the Marcomannic Wars see pp. 156, 180 ff.
- 47 On the name cf. p. 290, n. 66; pre-Roman finds: Dolenz, *Fundstätten* 70. On the pre-Claudian garrison: p. 65.
- 48 On *Virunum* in general: Pichler, *Virunum* (see p. 367) (out of date); Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 8 ff.; Schober, *Römerzeit*² 64 ff.; now esp. Vettters, *RE* ix A 244 ff. Excavations: see esp.

- Nowotny, *Car.* 94 (1904) 65 ff.; 96 (1906) 65 ff.; 98 (1908) 1 ff.; Egger, *Car.* 103 (1913) 236 ff.; *JÖAI(B)* 13 (1910) 129 ff.; 15 (1912) 24 ff.; 17 (1914) 33 ff.; *Car.* 128 (1938) 3 ff.; Praschniker-Kenner, *Bäderbezirk* (see p. 367).
- 49 For the town-plan see most recently Vettters, *RE* ix A 250 ff. with important corrections of earlier views.
- 50 Theatre: see esp. Reisch, *JÖAI(B)* 26 (1930) 282 ff.; amphitheatre: Jantsch, *Car.* 125 (1935) 271 ff.
- 51 See p. 180. Mithraeum: p. 195; unknown temple: *CIL* 4821; *portu[cus cum] apparat[orio]*: *CIL* 4792; unknown buildings: *CIL* 4816 = *MZK* 1904, 163; *Car.* 139 (1949) 177 f.; etc.
- 52 For the chronology see Praschniker-Kenner, *Bäderbezirk* 47 ff.; Vettters *RE* ix A 261.
- 53 Cf. the honorific or building inscriptions of Claudius and Nero, *CIL* 11550 and 4825.
- 54 Cf. Dolenz, *Fundstätten* 59. Some of the tombstones and architectural fragments found scattered all over the Zollfeld will certainly have been carried from Virunum, but some will have belonged to villas and small cemeteries attached to them.
- 55 General accounts: J. Orožen, *Zgodovina Celja I. Prazgodovinska in rimska Celeja* (Celje 1927); Klemenc, *CZ* 6 (1961) 427 ff. and now the up-to-date account by Šašel, *RE Suppl.* xii 139 ff. Excavations and topography: Schön, *JÖAI(B)* 1 (1899) 29 ff.; Riedl, *MZK* 1900, 32 ff. and 1904, 470 ff.; Schmid, *BRGK* 15 (1923–4) 205 ff.; Perc, *AV* 2 (1951) 227 ff.; Bolta, *AV* 4 (1953) 109 ff. and 8 (1957) 317 ff.; Klemenc, *CZ* 2 (1957) 92 ff.; Kolšek, *CZ* 4 (1959) 230 ff.
- 56 Bolta, *CZ* 7 (1962) 269 ff.; Kolšek, *CZ* 10 (1965) 281 ff. For earlier prehistoric finds cf. Bolta, *CZ* 11 (1967) 141 f.
- 57 See above, p. 66. For Augustan citizenship-grants to natives at Celeia see p. 75.
- 58 A building-inscription mentioning construction of walls seems to belong to the Claudian period: *ILInsg* 388. The town-wall was not built until after the Marcomannic Wars.
- 59 Klemenc, *CZ* 2 (1957) 92 ff.
- 60 General accounts: Egger, *RE* v A 1138 ff. and *Teurnia*⁵ 23 ff. Excavations: R. Klimsch, *Car.* 93 (1903) 33 ff.; Egger, *MZK* 1910, 530 ff.; *JÖAI(B)* 13 (1910) 161 ff.; 15 (1912) 17 ff.; 17 (1914) 17 ff., and *Kirchenbauten* 1 ff.
- 61 Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 27. For Celtic coins from the Holzerberg cf. above, p. 42.
- 62 General accounts: Swoboda, *Aguntum* (see p. 364); Alzinger, *Aguntum* and *Das Alttertum* 7 (1961) 85 ff. and now the up-to-date account by St. Karwiese, *RE Suppl.* xii 4 ff. Excavations: Egger, *JÖAI(B)* 17 (1914) 5 ff. and *Kirchenbauten* 58 ff.; Swoboda, *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 5 ff.; Miltner, *JÖAI(B)* 40 (1953) 93 ff. and 42 (1955) 71 ff.; Alzinger, *Kleinfunde*, *JÖAI(B)* 44 (1959) 75 ff.; 45 (1960) 29 ff.; more recently *Österr. Arch. Inst. Grabungen* 1966 (Vienna 1967) 45 ff.; *ibid.* 1968/69, 47 ff.; *PAR* 21 (1971) 10 ff. On the city gate see also Wotschitzky, *AAW* 5 (1952) 119 ff. Sceptical over some modern excavation results: Menghin, *Fundstätten* 164 f.
- 63 Alzinger, *Das Alttertum* 7 (1961) 87. On the name of the town, cf. above, p. 19.
- 64 But Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 251 f., rejects this.
- 65 General accounts: Klose-Silber, *Inuvum*; Keune, *RE* x 1349 ff.; Capovilla, *Studi* 126 ff. Excavations: Petter, *MZK* 1906, 17 ff.; A. and F. Narobe, *JÖAI(B)* 26 (1930) 189 ff.; F. Narobe, *JÖAI(B)* 28 (1933) 139 ff.; Hell, *MGS* 95 (1955) 53 ff.; 98 (1958) 261 ff.; 100 (1960) 29 ff. and *PAR* 15 (1965) 26 f.; Vettters, *Akten des VII Internat. Kongr. f. Frühmittelalterforschung* (Vienna 1962) 216 ff. and *Österr. Arch. Inst. Grabungen* 1966 (Vienna 1967) 40; *MGS* 108 (1968) 1 ff.; etc.
- 66 See on this p. 66.

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- 67 See p. 74 above.
- 68 Klose-Silber, *Juvavum* 30 ff.
- 69 On the Juvavum burial-grounds see esp. Klose, *JAK* 3 (1909) 210 ff.; Silber, *MAG* 56 (1926) 370 ff.; Hell, *MAG* 64 (1934) 129 ff.; *SMCA Jahresschr.* 3 (1957) 32 ff. and 4 (1958) 41 ff.; *BVBl* 26 (1961) 238 ff.
- 70 See on this pp. 120, 173 ff.
- 71 Modrijan, *BHK* 27 (1953) 56 ff. See also p. 138.
- 72 General accounts: Wickert, *RE* iii A 987 f.; Diez, *Flavia Solva*² (see p. 366); Modrijan, *SchvSt Kleine Schr.* 11 (1971) 5 ff.; E. Weber, *ibid.* 25 ff. Excavations: Reisch, *JÖAI(B)* 16 (1913) 105 f.; Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 15 (1912) 37 ff.; 19/20 (1919) 135 ff.; *BRGK* 15 (1923–4) 225 ff.; Modrijan, *ZHVSt* 44 (1953) 17 f. and *SchvSt* 9 (1959–61) 21 ff.; Staudinger, *BHK* 28 (1954) 79 ff.; Hudeczek, *PAR* 21 (1971) 17 ff.
- 73 Staudinger, *SchvSt* 9 (1959–61) 27 ff.
- 74 On the family see pp. 124, 127 ff. and Appendix XIV, p. 275.
- 75 Finds: Reitinger, *Oberösterreich* 456. Name (Ovilava or Ovilavae): see now the evidence in Betz, *JMVW* 2 (1955) 98 ff.
- 76 Cf. Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 61.
- 77 General accounts: Polaschek, *RE* xviii 1986 ff.; Capovilla, *Studi* 135 ff.; Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 60 ff.; Holter-Trathnigg, *Wels* 16 ff. Excavations, town-plan: Kubitschek, *JAK* 2 (1908) 27 ff.; Wiesinger, *JÖAI(B)* 21/22 (1924) 345 ff.; Nowotny, *BRGK* 15 (1923–4) 123 ff.; Trathnigg, *Österr. Zeitschr. f. Kunst u. Denkmalfpflege* 12 (1958) 92 ff.; *JMVW* 8 (1961–2) 11 ff., 9 (1962–3) 13 ff., 10 (1963–4) 16 ff.; *JÖAI(B)* 48 (1966–7) 109 ff.; *JMVW* 16 (1969–70) 25 ff.; Reitinger, *Fundstätten* 136 and *Oberösterreich* 456 ff.
- 78 See esp. Trathnigg, *JMVW* 7 (1960–1) 14 ff. and 9 (1962–3) 39 ff.
- 79 See on this p. 183.
- 80 An amphitheatre has been postulated west of the town, Polaschek, *RE* xviii 1992.
- 81 See esp. Polaschek, *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 215 f.; Klaar, *UH* 17 (1946) 118 ff.; Pascher, *RLÖ* 19 (1949) 129 ff.; Saria, *Historia* 1 (1950) 467; *UH* 22 (1951) 108 ff.; *PAR* 1 (1951) 23 f.; *JÖAI(B)* 41 (1954) 89 ff.; Thaller, *PAR* 3 (1953) 23 f. and *Fundstätten* 106; cf. also Werneck, *Grundlagen* 16 f. and, on the name, Büttner, *JÖAI(B)* 40 (1953) 185 ff.
- 82 Hallstatt period finds: Mossler, *Fundstätten* 106. Early empire finds: K. Helleiner, *FbÖ* 1 (1930–4) 118.
- 83 *CIL* V 1838 = *ILS* 1349.
- 84 But it was certainly not Sulla, see n. 59 on p. 294.
- 85 For *Aguntum*: *CIL* 5583 = *IBR* 28 (probably before A.D. 100). *Celeia*: *CIL* VI 37218 (second cent.), also *CIL* 5159 (p. 1830) (probably not earlier than fourth cent.). *Juvavum*: *CIL* 5591 = *IBR* 36 (second cent.) and *CIL* 5527 (third cent.). *Solva*: *CIL* 5319 = *ES* 8 (1969) 4 ff. no. 8 (c. A.D. 200, but perhaps for a *civitas* ‘attributed’ to Solva?). For all nine Norican towns: *CIL* VI 1569 (third cent., see p. 314, n. 122).
- 86 Cf. Appendix XIII and Fig. 11, p. 98.
- 87 See esp. n. 26 on p. 309.
- 88 *CIL* V 532 = *ILS* 6680. On *attributio* in the eastern Alps cf. also the *lex Anaunorum*, *CIL* V 5050 = *ILS* 206. Cf. Laffi, *Attributio e contributio* 171 ff., who questions the possibility of it existing in Noricum, 69 ff.
- 89 W. Schauer, ‘Stadt und Stadtgebiet in Österreich zur Römerzeit’ (unpublished dissertation,

- Vienna 1936); Betz, *Vergangenheit* 20 (with map on p. 21); etc. For what follows, see Alföldy, *BJ* 170 (1970) 163 ff.
- 90 The exception is *CIL* 5755 = 11846 = *Car.* 143 (1953) 30 (Engelhartszell, reign of Caracalla): *a Boiodur<o>*.
- 91 T. Pekáry, *Untersuchungen zu den römischen Reichsstrassen* (Bonn 1968) 138 ff.
- 92 Brosch, *JOM* 92 (1947) 187 ff. and 94 (1949) 125 ff.; Vetters, *JÖAI(B)* 43 (1956–8) 124 ff.
- 93 Inscriptions of town officials are collected in Appendix XIII.
- 94 *ILIng* 405. Saria, *JÖAI* 36 (1946) 58 f., considered that this might be the provincial frontier; but this ran further to the east, see p. 60.
- 95 A different view is taken e.g. by Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 19/20 (1919) 138 f.; Modrijan, *SchwSt* 9 (1959–61) 23 f.
- 96 A different view is taken e.g. by Egger, *Kärnten* 18; Deringer, *Car.* 140 (1950) 195 and 205; Modrijan, *Murau* 15; Vetters, *RE* ix A 265 ff.
- 97 L. Albius Atticus at Moosham, see p. 343, notes 226–7.
- 98 P. 173.
- 99 A different view is taken e.g. by Egger, *JOM* 95 (1950) 152; Tremel, *ZHVS* 42 (1951) 158 ff.; Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 19; Holter-Trathnigg, *Wels* 20 ff.
- 100 For military territories cf. recently Chr. B. Rüger, *Germania Inferior* (Düsseldorf 1968) 51 ff.
- 101 See p. 115.
- 102 Thus most recently Egger, *SBAW* 252 no. 3 (1967) 8; but Schmid, *Norisches Eisen* 29 and Polaschek, *AAW* 9 (1956) 41 f., differ, arguing for small autonomous *territoria*.
- 103 See p. 115 f.
- 104 Pp. 115–16; on the *saltus*, p. 116.
- 105 Pp. 319–90.
- 106 *CIL* 5036 (text on p. 116 f., n. 254 ff.).
- 107 *CIL* 5031 = *ILS* 7115 and *CIL* 11637 (cf. pp. 265 and 264).
- 108 Alföldy, *BJ* 170 (1970) 170 with a list on p. 173 f.
- 109 Fragments: Bormann, *JÖAI* 9 (1906) 315 ff. = *RLÖ* 11 (1910) 138 ff.; *ibid.* 142 ff.; Betz, *JÖAI* 39 (1952) 133 ff.; Vetters, *FL* 2 (1954) 68 ff. General discussion: Schönbauer, *AOAW* 1958, 298 ff. For a section as restored by Bormann, see Appendix XIII, p. 273; the parallel is *CIL* II 1963 = *ILS* 6088. But cf. now B. and H. Galsterer, *BJ* 171 (1971) 334 ff.
- 110 *CIL* 4719 = 11483 (St Daniel near Mauthen, not far from the Plöcken Pass) does, to be sure, mention a *IIII(vir) aed. pot. IIII(vir) iur. di[c.] prnif.* (sic) *iur. dic.* But he can hardly have come from Aguntum (*CIL* p. 2526) or Teurnia (Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 87), but rather from an Italian town.
- 111 On *haruspices* at Virunum and Celeia see p. 326 n. 206; on all other town offices Appendix XIII; on priests also p. 137.
- 112 *CIL* 5226 (p. 1830). A thirty-year-old decurion of Virunum: *CIL* 5031 = *ILS* 7115. Cf. a thirty-year-old quaestor of Celeia: *CIL* 5143 = *AIJ* 22.
- 113 *CIL* 5343 (Solva).
- 114 Lictors and *scribae* are so far known only from sculpted reliefs: Diez, *JÖAI* 36 (1946) 97 ff., see Plates 20 and 21.
- 115 For a *sevir* (probably of Aquileia) at Mariahof see p. 307, n. 85. On the absence of the sevirate in smaller towns cf. Alföldy, *AntH* 6 (1958) 433 ff. and *Dalmatien* 199.
- 116 See p. 189 f.

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117 See p. 271 f. in Appendix XIII.

118 Cf. J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Munich 1965) 25 f. and 115. The Magdalensberg *civitas*-inscriptions do not provide any firm basis for the existence of such a 'provincial assembly'; on the supposed meeting-room for the *civitas*-representatives, see p. 69.

119 Polaschek, *RE* xvii 999; Deininger *op. cit.* 115.

120 Dio lxxvi 9, 2 and on this esp. Deininger *op. cit.* 115 f.; see also p. 160.

121 *CIL* VI 250 = *ILS* 3675 (Rome): *Genio Noricorum L. Iulius Bassus stationarius eorum d. d.*

122 *CIL* VI 1569, which in my view may be restored as follows: [...] / *aed(ili) cur(uli) civitates* [Norici IX] *Aguntens[es Vi]r[un]enses Celeienses [Solvenses Ce]rtienses [Teur]/n(i)enses Ov[ilavenses Iuvavenses Lauriacenses patrono]*. The senator here honoured was perhaps a son of a former governor of Noricum.

123 *CIL* 5031 = *ILS* 7115: ... *C. Maximio C. fil. Iuniano decurioni Viruniensium defuncto Romae in legatione an. XXX.*

124 Virunum: *CIL* XIII 6860 = *ILS* 2248 and *CIL* XIII 6864 (both between A.D. 43 and 70), *CIL* 4840 (mid-first cent.). Juvavum: *AE* 1965, 248 (between A.D. 43 and 70), *CIL* 14994 (between A.D. 42 and 86). Teurnia: *CIL* XIII 11849 (between A.D. 43 and 70). Celeia: *CIL* 4055 = *AIJ* 370 (between A.D. 50 and 100, two men), *CIL* 10887 and 5223 (cf. 11692) (both between A.D. 50 and 100).

125 See p. 122 ff.

126 Virunum: *CIL* 4854 (probably mid-first cent.); Celeia: *CIL* 5223 (cf. 11692) (between A.D. 50 and 100).

127 Virunum: *CIL* 13975 (second half of first cent., two men); Celeia: *CIL* 15205, 3 = *AIJ* 82 and *CIL* XIII 7029 (both from mid-first cent.). *Peregrini: Car.* 151 (1961) 469 ff. (Virunum) and *CIL* 11749 = *MZK* 1905, 289 (Semriach near Solva, both about the mid-first cent. or second half).

128 *CIL* V 8002 = *ILS* 208.

129 Cartellieri, *Alpenstrassen* (see p. 354); Nierhaus, *Festschrift Wable* 183 ff.

130 Thus Deringer, *Car.* 143 (1953) 748.

131 Jantsch, *Car.* 127 (1937) 17.

132 *CIL* 5709 (p. 1847) = Deringer, *Car.* 143 (1953) 738 no. 1, cf. also 747 f. It is noteworthy that although the distance from Virunum is indeed given on this milestone, the name of the town is not mentioned (Deringer *op. cit.* is mistaken). The later Norican milestones from Trajan to M. Aurelius likewise never name the relevant town: *CIL* 5732, 5738, *ILJug* 410 (under Trajan), *CIL* 5733, 5744 (A.D. 132), *CIL* 5734, 5743 (under Pius), 5711 (under M. Aurelius). From Severus onwards the name of the *caput viae* is regularly given.

133 Bedaium: cf. esp. Kellner-Ulbert, *BVBl* 23 (1958) 53 f., 66 ff. Hallstatt: Wiesinger-Morton, *JÖAI(B)* 33 (1941) 85 ff.; Morton-Polaschek, *JOM* 91 (1944) 293 ff.; Morton, *Hallstatt und die Hallstattzeit* 104 ff.; *JÖAI(B)* 40 (1953) 161 ff.; *Analecta Archaeologica* 147 ff.; *JOM* 108 (1963) 130 ff. Moosham: Fleischer, *JÖAI(B)* 47 (1964–5) 106 ff.; *JÖAI(B)* 48 (1966–7) 109 ff. and *RE Suppl.* xi 845 ff. Katsch: Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 97 ff. Lentia: Wiesinger, *JOM* 80 (1924) 59 ff.; Eckhart, *Linzer Fundkatalog* I–III and also esp. Karnitsch, *LAf* 1 (1962) 63 ff.

134 Cf. esp. Schönberger, *SJ* 15 (1956) 76 f.; Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 16 f.

135 For the individual forts see the bibliography on p. 329 f.

136 Tac., *Hist.* iii 5. According to Polaschek, *JÖAI(B)* 37 (1948) 202 f., the Ala Auriana was perhaps stationed at Traismauer, which was certainly an ala-fort later.

- 137 The position of this kingdom—either west or east of the river March (Morava)—is still disputed, cf. esp. Saria, *RE* viii A 338 ff.; A. Alföldi, *SF* 15 (1956) 48 ff.; Mócsy, *RE* Suppl. ix 549 f.; Dobiáš, *Dějiny* 149 ff.; Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 239 ff.; Fitz, *Alba Regia* 4/5 (1963–4 (1965)) 77 ff.
- 138 Tac., *Ann.* xii 29.
- 139 Tac., *Hist.* i 70.
- 140 Tac., *Hist.* iii 5.
- 141 Tac., *Hist.* iv 70.

CHAPTER 8

- 1 On economic and social conditions in Noricum cf. esp. Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft* I 189 f. = *Soc. and Econ. Hist. Rom. Emp.*² I 232; Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1039 ff.; Vetters, *RE* ix A 299 ff.
- 2 Th. Mommsen, *Die Caesaren. Das Römische Weltreich* (Gütersloh 1960), 422.
- 3 Strabo iv 6, 9 (206).
- 4 Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1044 with further bibliography on south-eastern Noricum. The great conifer forests only appeared later, and the beech too did not arrive before the eleventh century.
- 5 *Vita S. Sev.* 14, 3; on this Noll, *Engippius* 130. For finds of ploughshares see L. Schmidt, *AA* 19/20 (1956) 227 ff.; etc. Scythes found at Lauriacum: Ortmayr, *JÖAI(B)* 32 (1940) 39 f. On mills cf. Wiedner, *BHK* 26 (1952) 28 ff.
- 6 Vetters, *RE* ix A 303.
- 7 See p. 116. Cf. Vetters, *RE* ix A 302, who regards it as possible that timber for ship-building and construction work was also exported to Italy. On the Norican *saltus* cf. also Virg., *Geogr.* iii 476.
- 8 Pliny, *N.H.* 30, 43.
- 9 Strabo iv 6, 9 (207).
- 10 See esp. Schober, *JÖAI* 37 (1948) 121 ff. A relief from Gamlitz (Styria), for example, shows two hunters with three hunting-dogs (Pl. 32), see also Kenner, *Car.* 141 (1951) 580.
- 11 *CIL* 4738 = *ILS* 3745, cf. Jaksch, *Car.* 94 (1904) 1 ff. On *Albius Maximus*, owner of the slaves named in the inscription, see p. 195.
- 12 *PAR* 17 (1967) 3 = *SMCA Jahresschr.* 11 (1965) 24 (Salzburg): *Profuturo vestigatori Lol(lii) Honorati*, on which see Egger, *SBAW* 252 no. 3 (1967) 18 ff. Cf. also *CIL* 5590 = *IBR* 35 (Feldkirchen in Bavaria): *Placidus tinc(tor?) Lol(lii) Honora(ti) ser(vus)*; on this tomb a water-fowl is depicted. According to Egger *op. cit.* 21 ff. *tinctor* = *cinctor*, i.e. a hunter who traps birds in snares. On Lollius Honoratus cf. p. 127.
- 13 Wool industry: p. 111. Animal bones: see p. 369 for bibliography.
- 14 Vetters, *RE* ix A 302. King Cincibilis' wish to buy horses in Italy (p. 31) is no doubt connected with this.
- 15 *CIL* VI 10056, 23 (Rome) with *Noricus r(ussus)* = 'Norican bay', cf. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1044 f. Cassiod., *Var.* iii 50: *minores quidem membris, sed idonei ad laborem*. The horses portrayed on pre-Roman coins bear witness to native tradition; cf. also the evidence for 300 Norican cavalrymen in 49 B.C. (p. 41). On representations of horses and horse-breeding in Noricum see Werneck, *JMVW* 1 (1954) 21 ff.; Deringer, *JÖAI(B)* 43 (1956–8) 147 ff.

Notes to pages 108–110

16 Virg., *Georg.* iii 476: *regna pastorum*.

17 Cereals: *Vita S. Sev.* 3, 2 and 12, 1. Apples: *ibid.* 10, 1. Pears: cf. the place-name *Piro Torto* near Zwentendorf (p. 150). Viticulture: cf. the place-name *Ad Vineas* near Mautern in the Wachau, *Vita S. Sev.* 4, 6 and on this Noll, *Eugippius* 123.

18 See the works by Werneck cited on p. 369 f., esp. *AA* 30 (1961) 68 ff.

19 Flooding at Celeia: p. 181. Locusts: *Vita S. Sev.* 12, 1 ff.

20 See Betz, *JÖAI* 43 (1956–8) 52 ff.: *M. Haterio Luci fil. Claud. Summo dec. municipi Iu(v)avi Ilviro iur. d. plebes (sic) oppidan(a) optimo civi ob annonam relevatam*. An inscription from Vindobona may provide evidence for state assistance with food supply, but the reading is very uncertain (read by A. Neumann, *PAR* 14 (1964) 5 f. as: *s[er.] disp. [a]nnonae Noric. Aug.*).

21 Cf. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1042. Šmartno: Saria, *AIJ* p. 2. Spitzelofen: G. Schütte, 38. *Jahresber. d. Stiftgymn. St. Paul* (St Paul 1923) 3 ff.; Jantsch, *Car.* 121 (1931) 2 ff. Kraig, Tentschach: Jantsch, *Car.* 127 (1937) 12 ff., cf. also p. 175, below. Gummern: Egger, *Car.* 110 (1920) 34 f.; Jantsch, *Car.* 119 (1929) 161 f. and esp. Dolenz, *Car.* 145 (1955) 121 ff.

22 Apparently free quarrymen: *CIL* 5093 = *Car.* 121 (1931) 3 (Spitzelofen); *Car.* 110 (1920) 34 f. (Gummern). Slaves: *JAK* 7 (1913) 272 and Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 39 f. (Gummern). Among the dedicators at the Mithraeum at Modrič in the Bachergebirge in the third century, who were probably quarrymen (*AIJ* 90 ff.) there was, as well as free men, apparently also a *vil(icus)* (*AIJ* 95), perhaps an overseer employed by the quarry-owner.

23 Apparently private owners (who possessed slaves at the Gummern quarry): Egger, *JAK* 7 (1913) 272 and *Führer Klagenfurt* 39 f. We know of an aedile of Virunum at Tentschach (*CIL* 11566, cf. 4864); cf. a rock inscription with the words [*pe*]cunia me[a] (?) (*CIL* 11606). On the inscription of a procurator of the province at Kraig see p. 81. State-owned quarries: p. 175.

24 Jantsch, *Car.* 127 (1937) 12 ff.; Dolenz, *Car.* 145 (1955) 121 ff.

25 Lime-kiln at Schalkham near Mattsee: Hell, *PAR* 7 (1957) 7 f. Cf. also p. 175.

26 Narobe, *JÖAI(B)* 28 (1933) 143: tile-stamp from Juvavum reading *Luc. Bar(bii) Aq(u)i-* (. . .); similar examples are known at Aquileia as well.

27 Tile-stamp with *P. Cati Matonis*: *CIL* 11860 and 12013, 6; *Car.* 139 (1949) 172; *ibid.* 142 (1952) 151 and 143 (1953) 907.

28 Juvavum: brickworks with inscription of *L. Va(leri?) S*(. . .), see esp. Hell, *MGSL* 102 (1962) 23 ff. and 105 (1965) 113 ff. Another brickworks-owner was probably a certain *L. V. Z.* at Aguntum: Alzinger, *Kleinfunde* 52. Stamps from privately owned brickworks at Teurnia: *CIL* 11859; at Solva: *CIL* 5762, 11866–11869; at Celeia: *CIL* 11862; at Cetium: *CIL* 13541a.

29 Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 67 ff.

30 Hell, *PAR* 2 (1952) 47. For later brickworks see pp. 175 f., 206.

31 See p. 73, above.

32 Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 19/20 (1919) 146 f.; Wiesinger, *JÖAI(B)* 21/22 (1922–4) 385; Trathnigg, *JMVW* 9 (1962–3) 38.

33 Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 27 (1932) 193 ff.

34 *CIL* 5429 = Modrijan-Weber 95 ff.; cf. Schober, *Römerzeit*² plate xvii 55. According to W. Haid, *SchvSt* 13 (1966–7) 25 ff., Nammonius Mussa was a goldsmith.

35 *JAK* 7 (1913) 272 (probably not carried from Virunum); *CIL* 5091 (cf. p. 1825).

36 As H. v. Petrikovits has pointed out to me, the contrary view of Schörgendorfer 105 ff. is not convincing.

37 Schörgendorfer 210 ff. Pottery at Solva: Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 15 (1912) 41 ff., 45 ff., and 19/20

- (1919) 146 f.; Modrijan, *ZHVS* 44 (1953) 17. Aguntum: Alzinger, *Kleinfunde* 26 ff. Juvavum: esp. Hell, *MGS* 76 (1936) 69 ff.; *PAR* 2 (1952) 42; *AA* 34 (1963) 32 ff.
- 38 Linz-Ebelsberg: Stroh, *JOM* 92 (1947) 211 ff. Gleisdorf: Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 73 ff. Later workshops: p. 176.
- 39 A general discussion is given by Schober, *Grabsteine* (see p. 378); on plastic art in Carinthia see now Piccottini, *Rundskulpturen* (see p. 378). On art see also p. 140. On workshops cf. Gorenc, *AV* 19 (1968) 195 ff.
- 40 Cf. e.g. Modrijan-Weber 31 ff. nos. 196, 179, 178, 180; 83 ff. nos. 177, 170, 183, etc. for funerary monuments of this kind from the Solva area.
- 41 For a general account see esp. Klemenc, *AIug* 2 (1956) 57 ff. and 3 (1959) 55 ff.; see also the further works by J. Klemenc cited on p. 378; many others are now listed in the bibliography of his work in *AV* 19 (1968) 10 f. For the dating cf. p. 126 with the stemma of a Celeian family at Šempeter.
- 42 See esp. Noll, *Kunst der Römerzeit* 14 ff.; Praschniker-Kenner, *Bäderbezirk* 50 ff., 92 ff.; Praschniker, *Car.* 140 (1950) 3 ff.; Kenner, *JÖAI* 43 (1956–8) 99 f.
- 43 Diez, *Car.* 151 (1961) 456 ff.
- 44 Praschniker, *JÖAI(B)* 36 (1946) 15 ff.
- 45 Egger, *ÖAW* 1967, 195 ff. The name of the *saga ulkisiana* can hardly mean that it was made at *Ulcisia castra* (Szentendre near Aquincum in Pannonia) but rather that the material used was in fact wolf's skin (for the Illyrian **ulke-* cf. A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier* I 346).
- 46 xix 43, 44, 47 and xxii 24; see on this H. Blümner, *Der Maximaltarif des Diocletian*² (Berlin 1958) 36, 38, 154 f., 161; S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* (Munich 1971) 156 f., 158 f., 166 f.; cf. 266 f.
- 47 See esp. Jantsch, *Car.* 124 (1934) 65 ff. and Garbsch, *Frauentracht* (p. 373); on dress in Noricum see also Kenner, *Car.* 141 (1951) 570 f.; L. Schmidt, *Car.* 143 (1953) 652 ff. (on the female *polos*); Diez, *JÖAI(B)* 41 (1954) 107 ff.; etc.
- 48 Cf. Abramić, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 53 ff. with figs. 31 and 32 (representations of parasols at Waltersdorf and Solva).
- 49 Cf. p. 314, n. 132.
- 50 Cf. pp. 73, 175, 206 and n. 74 on p. 307.
- 51 Cf. on this pp. 107 f., 111.
- 52 Alzinger, *Kleinfunde* 49 ff. Amphora-inscriptions: *ol(iva) nig(ra) exdul(cis) excell(ens) (pondo) XV*; *olivae albae ex[dul(ces)]*; *oleum His[tricum]*; *[oli]va exdu[l(cis)]*. Stamps: *C. Laek. B.*, etc.; for similar stamps from the Magdalensberg and on the depot in Istria, Vetters, *RE* ix A 303.
- 53 *Vita S. Sev.* 28, 2: *quam speciem in illis locis difficillima negotiatorum tantum deferebat evectio*.
- 54 For a general account: Fleischer, *Bronzen*; on bronze statuettes cf. also Fleischer, *SMCA Jahresschr.* 7 (1961) 27 ff. and *JMVW* 11 (1964–5) 16 ff.; Klose, *JOM* 50 (1910) 35 ff.; Sitte, *JAK* 3 (1909) 174 ff. and *JÖAI* 14 (1911) 121 ff.; Noll, *Kunst der Römerzeit* 15 ff.; Deringer, *OÖHBl* 11 (1957) 220 ff.
- 55 Cf. Hell, *JÖAI(B)* 42 (1955) 95 ff.
- 56 Eichler, *Car.* 143 (1953) 687 ff.
- 57 Glass vessels from Lentia with the inscription *Sentia Secunda facit* (sic) *Aquileiae* or something similar: Eckhart, *Linzener Fundkatalog* I 83 f. Cf. Panciera, *Aquileia* 82. Glass from Cologne: Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1040.

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- 58 Miltner, *JÖAI(B)* 26 (1930) 67 ff.
- 59 Praschniker-Kenner, *Bäderbezirke* 100 ff.; Alzinger, *Kleinfunde* 9 ff.; Oblitz, *MAG* 56 (1926) 386 ff.; Karnitsch, *Reliefsigillata von Ovilava* (Linz 1959) and *Die verzierte Sigillata von Lauriacum*. *FL* 3 (1955). On Lentia, Hallstatt, Moosham and Katsch see the works cited in n. 133 on p. 314. On Solva see recently Hudeczek, *SchvSt Kleine Schr.* 11 (1971) 43 ff.
- 60 Virunum: see also Wiesinger, *Car.* 132 (1942) 76 ff.; Goggerwenig: Jantsch, *Car.* 122 (1932) 29; Seeboden: Wiesinger *op. cit.*; Hörasing: F. Wagner, *MGS* 101 (1961) 183 ff.
- 61 Chlingensperg-Berg, *Die römischen Brandgräber bei Reichenhall*, plate xxi 15.
- 62 Cf. *CIL* V 778 with the dedication *Fortunae Virun[is]ensi* at Aquileia. On the relations between this town and Noricum see esp. Panciera, *Aquileia* 81 ff.
- 63 Cf. esp. Karnitsch, *Ovilava* 26 ff. and *Lauriacum* 15 ff.
- 64 Cf. e.g. Alzinger, *Kleinfunde* 9 ff. (22 Po valley, 7 south Gaulish and 14 east Gaulish or 'Raetian' vessels at Aguntum); Praschniker-Kenner *op. cit.* 100 ff. (4 south Gaulish, 16 central Gaulish and 27 from Rheinzabern in the Virunum baths-quarter).
- 65 Karnitsch, *Ovilava* 30 ff. and *Lauriacum* 19 ff.
- 66 See p. 176. One should compare the import of samian to Pannonia, which exhibits many parallels with that into Noricum: D. Gábler, *Arch. Ért.* 91 (1964) 94 ff. A piece of figured samian from the east Pannonian pottery of Resatus, found at Hallstatt, is an isolated example: Karnitsch, *Germania* 35 (1957) 115 f.
- 67 A general account is given by Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1042 ff.; cf. Davies, *Roman Mines* 173; Täckholm, *Bergbau* 64 ff.
- 68 Hallstatt: Hofmann-Morton, *WPZ* 15 (1928) 84 ff.; Polaschek, *JOM* 91 (1944) 345 ff.; Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 41 (on the settlement see n. 133 on p. 314); cf. also pp. 100 f., 255 f. on the customs-posts at Bad Ischl near Hallstatt. Dürrenberg: Kyrle, *JAK* 7 (1913) 1 ff., cf. also p. 22.
- 69 Dolenz, *PAR* 7 (1957) 9 and *Car.* 149 (1959) 744 ff.; cf. p. 21. On the 'Tauerngold' see p. 34, above.
- 70 Cf. esp. Dolenz, *Car.* 142 (1952) 181 ff.; Preuschen-Pittioni, *Car.* 143 (1953) 575 ff. and *AA* 19/20 (1956) 264 ff.; Hampl-Mayrhofer, *AA Beiheft* 3 (1958) 46 ff.; Neuninger-Pittioni, *Car.* 151 (1961) 378 ff.; Vetters, *RE* ix A 300. Cf. also Khevenhüller, *Car.* 148 (1958) 149 ff.
- 71 See esp. Vetters, *AÖAW* 1966, 167 ff. On *ferrum Noricum* in classical literature see pp. 73, 112, 206 and n. 74 on p. 307.
- 72 P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des 2. Jahrhunderts* II (Stuttgart 1933) no. 432a.
- 73 See esp. Schmid, *Norisches Eisen* 11 ff. and *FuF* 8 (1932) 194 f.; see further Hauser, *Car.* 85 (1895) 165 f.; Pittioni, *Urgeschichte* 775; Leber, *Car.* 144 (1954) 110 ff.; W. Schuster, *Car.* 144 (1954) 114 ff.; Vetters, *RE* ix A 271, 300 f.; Egger, *SBAW* 252 no. 3 (1967) 5 ff.
- 74 P. 175.
- 75 Wiessner, *Car.* 144 (1954) 547 ff.; Schuster *op. cit.*; Schmid, *Norisches Eisen* 15 ff., 33 ff.
- 76 Dolenz, *Car.* 132 (1942) 48 f. (Baldersdorf); Schmid, *BHK* 10 (1932) 65 ff., etc. (St Margarethen—'Noreia'); Fleischer, *JÖAI(B)* 47 (1964–5) 187 (Moosham); Morton, *Germania* 30 (1952) 106 ff. and *JOM* 99 (1954) 177 ff.; Morton-Hauttmann, *JOM* 102 (1957) 133 ff. and *OÖHBl* 17 (1963) 33 ff. (Hallstatt).
- 77 Pliny, *N.H.* 34, 41. For details see Vetters, *AÖAW* 1966, 167 ff.
- 78 Vetters *op. cit.* See also Khevenhüller, *Car.* 148 (1958) 148 ff.; R. Mitsche, *Car.* 151 (1961) 81 ff.; Schaaber, *Car.* 153 (1963) 129 ff.; H. Malzacher, *Berg- u. Hüttenmänn. Monatshefte* 108

(1963) 49 ff. and *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Eisens im alpenländischen Raum* (Düsseldorf 1964) 2 ff.; see also *Car.* 160 (1970) 611 ff.; Straube–Tarmann–Plöckinger, *Erzreduktionsversuche* (see p. 371). 79 *AE* 1907, 70 = *ILS* 9478, on which Pflaum, *Carrières* II 948 ff. no. 357, cf. Winkler, *Noricum* 143 ff.

80 *CIL* 4827 (Virunum): *L. Aurelio Augg. lib. Burano proc. XX [her.]* etc.—probably a freedman of the emperor L. Verus. Cf. Pflaum, *Procurateurs* 92; Winkler *op. cit.* 140 f.

81 Pflaum, *Carrières* 647 ff. no. 241 (*CIL* 6075 with p. 1285 = *ILS* 1366); 899 ff. no. 346a (*CIL* V 5797 = *ILS* 4193, also *CIL* 4802 from Virunum); 936 ff. no. 353 (*CIL* VIII 26582 = *ILS* 9018). See also III 1037 f. and 1060, and Pflaum, *Essai sur le cursus publicus sous le Haut-Empire Romain* (Paris 1940) 91 ff. and *Procurateurs* 87. Around A.D. 200 Pannonia, Upper Moesia and Noricum, and later on Italia Transpadana and southern Noricum, were administered jointly for this purpose.

82 On lease-holding companies in the early empire cf. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamte*² 150 ff.; Rostowzew, *Staatspacht* 83 ff., 119 ff. For an imperial slave on the Magdalensberg under Augustus see p. 64, above.

83 Cf. *CIL* 4894 (carried from Virunum) with a *Caes(aris) ser.*; his wife and daughter had the citizenship, acquired under the Flavian dynasty.

84 *CIL* 4808 (Hohenstein): *Nor(e)iae Chrysanthus Cypaeri Ti. Claudi Caes. Aug. ser(vi) vic(arius) v. s.*; *CIL* 4807 = *ES* 8 (1969) 25 no. 34 (*ibid.*): *Noreiae Au[g. sac.] De[cimus?] Aug. n. [ser.] p[osuit]*; *CIL* 4822 = 11505 = *Car.* 145 (1955) 191 = *ES loc. cit.* 25 (Tiffen): [...] *Aug. [sac. ...] ius Ca[es. n. (servus)]* etc. Cf. also *CIL* 4912 (Tiffen): one [F]l. *Aphobus*, with freedmen, himself perhaps a *libertus* of the Flavian dynasty.

85 Cf. esp. Schmid, *Norisches Eisen* 30 ff.; Polaschek, *RE* xvii 988 ff.; Täckholm, *Bergbau* 108 ff.; Leber, *Car.* 144 (1954) 110 ff.; Egger, *SBAW* 252 no. 3 (1967) 5 ff.; Winkler, *Noricum* 163 ff. On the administration of the mines after M. Aurelius see p. 164, below.

86 *CIL* V 810 (Aquileia): *Pro salute Tiberi Claudi Macronis con. fer. Nor. Velox ser. vil(icus) speleum cum omni apparatu fecit*. Hardly from the first century (thus Egger *SBAW loc. cit.* 7) but probably somewhat later. Cf. Panciera, *Aquileia* 27 f.

87 *CIL* 4788 = *ILS* 1466: *I.O.M. M. Trebius M. fil. Palat. Alfius equo p. praef. i.d. Aquil. c(onductor) f(terrariarum) N(oricarum) v. s. l. m.* According to Egger *op. cit.* 6 he came from Rome or Ostia.

88 *CIL* 4809 = *ILS* 1467: *Isidi Norei(ae) v. s. l. m. pro salute Q. Septuei Clémentis con. fer. N. p(artis) d(imidia) (?) et Ti. Cl. Héraclae et Cn. Octa. Secundi pro(curatorum) fer(rariarum) Q. Septueius Valens pro(curator) ferr.* Valens was probably a *libertus* of Clemens. The expansion *p(artis) d(imidia)* (thus e.g. Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 50) is at least more probable than something like *P(annonicarum) D(almaticarum)* (thus e.g. Egger, *SBAW loc. cit.* 6).

89 *CIL* 5480 (Weyer): *Q. Septueius Adiectus*; *CIL* 5593 = *IBR* 38 (Teisendorf): *Q. Septueius Faustus* and his son.

90 *CIL* 5036: *Termunibus Auc(ustis) (sic) sacr. Q. Calpurnius Phoebianus c(onductor) f(terrariarum) N(oricarum) et Quintus Calpurnius Phoebianus iunior et Charitonianus fili restituerunt curante C. Iul. Hermete proc.* Cf. also p. 101.

91 *PAR* 16 (1966) 1 f. = *Car.* 157 (1967) 524 ff.: *Iovi O. M. pro salute Campili Veri conduct. ferrar. Fortunatus vilic(us) aquam perduxit*. According to Egger, *SBAW loc. cit.* 7 the lease-holder came from northern Italy, and the water was led in for ritual purposes in the temple of Jupiter. The name *Campilius* is of Celtic derivation (Holder I 723); the *conductor* was perhaps of Norican.

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- 92 See Appendix V, p. 244. Veranus: p. 254 f. On the Norican Sabinii see also p. 119.
- 93 *CIL* 4974a (Virunum): *Scipio Sab(inii) Dextr(i) se(r)v(us)*; *Car.* 98 (1908) 185 f. = *ES* 8 (1969) 26 no. 36 (St Stephan near Friesach): *liberti* and slaves of Sabinius Dexter; *CIL* 5048 (Einöd): *D. M. Surianus ser. sal<ε>(uarius) Sab(inii) Maxi[mi]*. Cf. pp. 100, 107. There is nothing about imperial estates in *CIL* 5695 = 11827 (p. 1049); Polaschek, *RE* xvii 989, is mistaken.
- 94 See Alföldy *ES loc. cit.* 21 f. for details, with a list of the Norican Sabinii.
- 95 *Car.* 144 (1954) 110 ff. = *AE* 1957, 108 = Egger, *SBAW loc. cit.* 5 ff. (and, following him, Winkler, *Noricum* 166 f.); new reading in *ES* 8 (1969) 23 ff. no. 33: [*Pu*]dens c(onductoris) f(errariarum) N(oricarum) [et as]ses<s>or(is) [f]e[r]rariarum (sic) [s]ervos (sic) et Senecia m(ater) Aniceto f(ilio) annor(um) XVIII p(arentes) v(ivi) f(ecerunt).
- 96 Alföldy, *ES* 8 (1969) 23 ff., with reference to *CIL* XIII 1576 f. and 11833.
- 97 See esp. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamte*³ 77 ff.; Rostowzew, *Staatspacht* 65 ff.; De Laet, *Portorium* 183 ff.; Vittinghoff, *RE* xxii 357 ff.; for Noricum, also Patsch, *WMBH* 6 (1899) 269 ff.; Winkler, *Noricum* 147 ff. At the beginning of the imperial period there were perhaps companies of lease-holders in Noricum as well.
- 98 On Raetia cf. p. 300, n. 40.
- 99 See Appendix IX on pp. 254 ff.
- 100 Winkler, *Noricum* 151, who postulates that the central office was at Atrans, is mistaken.
- 101 On the individual posts see Appendix IX, pp. 254 ff.
- 102 On the later customs-administration see p. 164 f.
- 103 See Appendix IX; on the individual duties, De Laet *op. cit.* 374, 380 f., 393. On promotion prospects see *CIL* 5121 (p. 2198) = *ILS* 1857 = *ES* 8 (1969) 1 f. no. 1 (quoted here on p. 255).
- 104 Wall-paintings at Aguntum: Alzinger, *Kleinfunde* 48 f.; at Solva: Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 19/20 (1919) 153 ff. Theseus-mosaic in the Siezenheim villa: Noll, *Kunst der Römerzeit* 23 f.; G. Langmann, *Fundstätten* 150.
- 105 Tombs at Virunum: *CIL* 5000, 5005. Funerary monuments and tombstones at Šempeter: cf. p. 140.
- 106 Restoration of a temple at Tiffen by an imperial slave: *CIL* 4822 = 11505 = *Car.* 145 (1955) 191 = *ES* 8 (1969) 25. Restoration of the temple of Noreia at Hohenstein by a *conductor* (?): see Appendix V, p. 244. Restoration of the Termunes-temple at Friesach by a *conductor* and his family: see p. 319, n. 90; *vilicus* of a *conductor* who *aquam perduxit* at Wieting: see p. 319, n. 91.
- 107 Cf. Appendix V, p. 242 and Pl. 14. On building by the procurator Petronius Urbicus: p. 81.
- 108 Building of a temple of Fortuna at Celeia: *CIL* 5156 (p. 1830). Building of a temple on the Grazer Kogel: *JZK* 1905, 240 ff. = *JÖAI(B)* 18 (1915) 125 ff. Building of an *aedes* of Dis Smertrius at Grossbuch: *Car.* 127 (1937) 14 = *JÖAI* 35 (1943) 99 ff. Restoration of a temple of Hercules at Maglern: *CIL* 4718. Restoration of a temple of Hercules at the Danielsberg near Obervellach: *CIL* 4726. *Aedes et signum* for Mercury at Juvavum: *CIL* 5533 (cf. 11755).
- 109 *CIL* 4766. The dedicator is one A[...]nus Castruc(i f.).
- 110 *ILLug* 387: *sig{i}num et ara* to Sedatus at Celeia; *CIL* 5532: *signum cum base* presented to Jupiter at Juvavum by a slave of the town; *CIL* 13524 = *ILS* 8906: statues of Diva Julia and Domitia Augusta presented by a centurion at Celeia. A customs-slave presented an *ara cum signo Lunae* at Atrans about the middle of the second century, *CIL* 5121 (p. 2198) = *ILS* 1857 = *ES* 8 (1969) 1 f. no. 1.

- 111 P. 108.
- 112 See esp. p. 116, above.
- 113 No sources are available on the extent of municipal land-holding in Noricum. Estates with an area of 3 to 4 square km have been suggested for Lower Pannonia: Alföldy, *Antik Tanulmányok* 6 (1959) 22 f.; from 1 to 4 square km for the region of Cologne: H. Schmitz, *Stadt und Imperium. Köln in römischer Zeit* (Cologne 1948) 142; but of only about 90 hectares in the Düren area in Lower Germany: H. v. Petrikovits, *Das römische Rheinland* (Cologne–Opladen 1960) 109. Large-scale land-owning only appeared later in Noricum, see p. 173 f.
- 114 For a general account: Schober, *Römerzeit*² 117 ff.; Modrijan in *Germania Romana* III 120 ff. A modern treatment of the Norican villas is badly needed. Later villas: p. 173 f.
- 115 Jantsch, *Car.* 123 (1933) 5 ff.; v. Petrikovits, *JÖAI(B)* 28 (1933) 155 ff. and *Car.* 124 (1934) 6 f. See Fig. 12, p. 119.
- 116 Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 97 ff.; Modrijan, *Murau* 18 ff. See Fig. 13, p. 120.
- 117 Freedmen of the Sabinii are known at Murau not far from Katsch: *SchvSt* 7 (1957) 38 ff. On the Hohenstein inscriptions see pp. 115, 244.
- 118 St Donat: p. 89. Leinsdorf: Jantsch, *Car.* 127 (1937) 10 ff. Allersdorf: farm with an area of 95 by 110 m., Vettters, *RE* ix A 273 and Dolenz, *Fundstätten* 26.
- 119 *CIL* 11667 = *Car.* 123 (1933) 175 ff. (cf. pp. 124, 265 in the present work). The Spitzelofen quarry lies not far from this farm (p. 109); the quarry was perhaps leased by the owners of the farm.
- 120 Penk: Dolenz, *Car.* 158 (1968) 179 ff. Mühldorf: Nowotny, *Car.* 90 (1900) 125 ff. Moosham: Fleischer, *Österr. Arch. Inst. Grabungen* 1966 (Vienna 1967) 41 ff., see also p. 195, below. Cf. also the villa at Šmarje pri Jelšah (Fig. 16, p. 123); Lorger, *ČZN* 31 (1936) 78.
- 121 Löffelbach: Modrijan, *Der röm. Landsitz von Löffelbach*² (see p. 368); Tillmitsch near Leibnitz: Modrijan, *ZHVSt* 46 (1955) 68 ff.
- 122 *SchvSt* 11 (1963) 29 f. (Löffelbach); cf. *CIL* 5374 = 11724 = *JAK* 1 (1907) 48 and *CIL* 5391 (Solva).
- 123 Lieferung near Salzburg: Hell, *MGSL* 108 (1968) 341 ff. Oberechnung: Hell, *PAR* 16 (1966) 2 f.
- 124 Thalgau: Alzinger, *JÖAI(B)* 44 (1959) 147 ff. Bernau: Kellner, *BVBl* 24 (1959) 146 ff. The villa perhaps belonged to the *honestiores* known at Bernau and Frauenchiemsee: *CIL* 5568 = *IBR* 8; *CIL* 5569 = *IBR* 9; *BVBl* 31 (1966) 80 ff. The temple-tomb built c. A.D. 100 at Oberndorf on the Salzach, north of Salzburg, will also have belonged to an early villa, see Hell, *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 35 ff.
- 125 Siezenheim: p. 118. There were many more villas probably built before the Marcomannic Wars in the Salzburg area, e.g. at Cucullae (Kuchl) near Hallein: Klose, *JAK* 2 (1908) 223 f.; at Marciacum (Morzg) near Salzburg: Hell, *MGSL* 74 (1934) 81 ff.; at Salzburg-Gnigl: Klose, *MGSL* 69 (1929) 169 ff.; near Glasenbach: Klose, *JAK* 4 (1910) 122 ff.; at Tannham: Klose, *JAK* 3 (1909) 198 ff.; around the Chiemsee at Tacherting, Tittmoning and Erlstätt: F. Wagner, *Die Römer in Bayern*⁴ 75.
- 126 Wimsbach: Vettters, *JOM* 97 (1952) 87 ff. and *Actes du III^e Congr. Internat. pour l'étude du Haut Moyen Age* 1951, 9 ff.; Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 27. Vorchdorf (which also has other names in specialised literature): Swoboda, *JOM* 87 (1937) 446; Noll *op. cit.* 83 f. See also the Gmunden villa, Noll *op. cit.* 36; Jandaurek, *OÖHBl* 10 (1956) 37 ff. and 11 (1957) 191 ff.
- 127 At Pottenbrunn: Pascher, *RLÖ* 19 (1949) 113 f.

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- 128 Weisshäupl-Riedl, *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 221 ff.
- 129 Cammius Maximus: Appendix XIV, p. 274. Inscription from Frauenchiemsee, probably carried from Bernau: *dec. ornato aput municip. Altinatium*, *BVBl* 31 (1966) 80 ff.
- 130 *Car.* 144 (1954) 133 f. For Noricans in Dacia cf. *CIL* 966 with a *cives Norica* in Transylvania.
- 131 Noricans in Dalmatia: Alföldy, *Dalmatien* 121, 129, 187.
- 132 Cf. *AE* 1930, 20 (Bonn): T. *Coponius Tertius cives Noricus* (but perhaps a soldier?); *CIL* VIII 4822 (Thubursicu Numidarum): *Titinia Primula origine Norica*.
- 133 *CIL* 4754. Such contacts were later frequent between Ovilava and Cetium, cf. the inscriptions on p. 272.
- 134 See the inscriptions on pp. 270, 266.
- 135 See on this p. 132 f.
- 136 On military service by Noricans see Appendix XI, cf. p. 308, n. 97. Noricans in the urban cohorts: *CIL* VI 2914 = *ILS* 2113 from Virunum (the same man is in *CIL* 4845); *CIL* 5338 = 11722 = *JAK* 1 (1907) 49 and *CIL* 5503 from Solva and area. Cf. H. Freis, *Die cohortes urbanae* (Cologne–Graz 1967) 50 ff. The *equites singulares* recruited in Noricum all seem to come from the third century, see p. 261.
- 137 Cf. Forni, *Reclutamento* 192 f. Known Norican legionaries in the period from Claudius to the Marcomannic Wars were serving in the following provinces:
- | | |
|----------|---|
| Pannonia | 22 |
| Germany | 12 |
| Britain | 9 |
| Moesia | 4 (3 of whom were originally recruited for the German army) |
| Dacia | 3 (1 of whom was originally recruited for the Pannonian army) |
| Dalmatia | 1 |
| Africa | 1 |
- A centurion of VI Ferrata from Celeia (*CIL* 13524 = *ILS* 8906) may have been transferred to the east from a western legion. On Noricans in the British Legion VI Victrix see also *CIL* VII 1095 = *RIB* 2148, with *cives Italici et Norici*, on which E. Birley, *Car.* 143 (1953) 240.
- 138 Cf. esp. Passerini, *Le coorti pretorie* 148 ff. On the numbers of known soldiers see Appendix XI, p. 261.
- 139 Noricans are known to have been recruited for the *auxilia* in the following provinces from Claudius to the Marcomannic Wars:
- | | |
|----------|----|
| Noricum | 43 |
| Dalmatia | 5 |
| Germany | 3 |
| Pannonia | 2 |
| Dacia | 1 |
- 140 *CIL* 4838 (Liebenfels): two praetorian guardsmen; the father was aedile at Virunum. *CIL* 5073 (St Stephan in the Jauntal): praetorians; the father was aedile at Virunum. *CIL* 6336 = *JAK* 1 (1907) 47 (Solva): legionary centurion; the father was *duumvir* at Solva. *CIL* 5663 = 11806 (cf. p. 2286) (St Leonhard am Forst): praetorians; the father was aedile at Cetium.
- 141 From Virunum: *CIL* XIII 7287 (end of first cent.); *CIL* 11667 = *Car.* 123 (1933) 175 ff. (beginning of second cent., from Allersdorf); *Car.* 117 (1927) 7 (second cent., doubtful whether legionary centurion). From Celeia: *CIL* 5223 (cf. 11692) (second half of first cent.); *CIL* 13524

= *ILS* 8906 (under Domitian); *AIJ* 9 (second cent., from Colatio = Stari Trg). From Solva: *CIL* 6336 = *JAK* 1 (1907) 47 (c. A.D. 100); *CIL* 5334 = *JAK* 1 (1907) 47 (c. A.D. 100); *CIL* 1615 (probably under Trajan, see p. 244); *CIL* V 7560 (second cent.). See also L. Cammius Secundinus and P. Aelius Crispinus, p. 274 f, from a later period.

142 *CIL* 11667 = *Car.* 123 (1933) 175 ff. Cf. p. 120.

143 *AIJ* 9.

144 *CIL* 15205, 3 = *AIJ* 82: a *dec. alae* from Slov. Konjice was already decurion at Celeia in the mid-first century.

145 Many funerary inscriptions of veterans come from fertile parts of the towns' *territoria*, e.g. *CIL* 4964 = 11524 = *Car.* 136/138 (1948) 265; *CIL* 5337, 5412, 5430, 5520, etc. A veteran & merchant: *CIL* 5308 (Slov. Bistrica): *vet(eranus) negat(iator)* (sic).

146 *CIL* 5430 (Dürrenau): the son of a *vet. leg. II adi.* was aedile at Solva.

147 *Equites* from Noricum: cf. Betz, *Car.* 143 (1953) 719 ff.; E. Birley, *ES* 8 (1969) 81. A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand* (Munich 1927) 395 f. is quite inadequate. On the individual cases see Appendix XIV; on later *equites*, p. 188 f.

148 See Appendix XV, p. 277.

149 *Emmii*: *CIL* 5222, 5229 (lady honoured by the *ordo*); *CIL* 11699 = *ILS* 3301 (Celeia); *ILug* 370 (Šempeter, probably *conliberti*). *Spectatii*: see p. 126, with probable stemma. *Varii*: see p. 274.

150 *CIL* 5226 (Celeia, decurion); *CIL* 5136 (p. 1828), 5137, perhaps also 11685 (Save valley, boatman); *CIL* 5152 (Rimske Toplice, slave of a merchant?). Cf. also *CIL* 5046 (Einöd on the 'Norican main highway').

151 *CIL* 4739 = *JÖAI(B)* 17 (1914) 30 and *ibid.* 29 f. (Teurnia); *CIL* 11488 (Malta), probably all *liberti* of one rich family in the town.

152 *CIL* 4866 (Hollenburg, *Ilvir* at Virunum); *CIL* 4773 = *ILS* 4865 and *Car.* 136/138 (1948) 277 (Unterloibl, also mentioning a slave of the family).

153 See pp. 116 f., 124 and 274 f.

154 *CIL* 13524 = *ILS* 8906 (centurion under Domitian), *CIL* 5158, 5196, 5257, 11699 = *ILS* 3301, etc. (Celeia); *CIL* 11684 (Za Savo, probably boatman); *CIL* 5334 (centurion), 5356 (Solva); *CIL* 5355, 5357 (Solva area); *CIL* 5075 = Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 74 (Juenna); *CIL* 4837 (Virunum); *CIL* 11552 (St Margarethen i.d. Reichenau); *CIL* 5578 = *IBR* 23 and *CIL* 11778 = *IBR* 15 = *ILS* 4855 (*duumviri* of Juvavum, late date); etc.

155 *CIL* 5330, 5332, 5351, 5377, 11735 (Solva); *CIL* 5491 and *ILug* 409 (Solva area); *CIL* 5488 (Eggersdorf); *CIL* 4878, 4879, 4884 (Virunum); Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 72 (Pockhorn); *CIL* 5065, 5067, 5481, *BHK* 23 (1949) 25 ff. (central Noricum). Several *Annii* had freedmen and slaves; they had perhaps taken the lease for a source of imperial revenue in central Noricum, as well.

156 *CIL* 5194 (*duumvir*), 5191, 5262 = *AIJ* 56, *CIL* 5263 = 11694, 11699 = *ILS* 3301, *CIL* 11702 (Celeia); *CIL* 5145 = *ILS* 4626, *CIL* 11703 = *AIJ* 55 (Celeia area); *CIL* 5376, 5377 = *JÖAI(B)* 43 (1956–8) 179 ff. (doctor), *CIL* 5378, etc. (Solva); *CIL* 5433 = 15206, 1 (Feldkirchen near Graz); *Car.* 145 (1955) 199 f. (Virunum). Many of the Pompeii were *liberti* of the rich family.

157 For details: Egger, *SBAW* 252 no. 3 (1967) 25 ff.; see p. 315, n. 12 in the present work on the estate-owner Lollius Honoratus from Juvavum. Other Lollii: *CIL* 5091 (p. 1825) (Lavant valley, *faber*); *Car.* 119 (1929) 8 f. (Virunum); *CIL* 4746 (Teurnia, *conliberti*); *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929)

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- 153 (Lendorf near Teurnia); *CIL* 5546, 5547 = 11756, 5548, 11764, 11765 (Juvavum, also *liberti*); *CIL* 5592 = 11774 = *IBR* 37, *CIL* 5602 = *IBR* 47, *CIL* 5610 = *IBR* 54, *CIL* 5618 = *IBR* 439 (Juvavum area). One M. Lollius Priscus is recorded at Lendorf near Teurnia (see above under Lendorf) as well as at Höglwörth near Juvavum (*CIL* 5592 etc., see above).
- 158 *CIL* 5606 (p. 2328, 200) = *JAK* 2 (1908) 37 (Ovilava, leading family in the first half of the third cent.); *CIL* 5589 = *IBR* 34 (Trostberg, wife of a *duumvir* of Juvavum, second cent.).
- 159 See Appendix XIII, pp. 264 ff. On *fabri* in rural areas see p. 110, above and cf. also p. 103. The *collegium inventutis* at Virunum was not a craftsmen's guild, see p. 265.
- 160 See p. 109, above.
- 161 *CIL* 4900, 6497, *Car.* 136/138 (1948) 268 and 145 (1955) 192 f. (Tiffen); *CIL* 4990b, 6498 (p. 1813), 6503 = 11534, 6506 = 11536, *PAR* 10 (1960) 25 (Feldkirchen); *CIL* 4977, 5019, 5020, 5022, 5032, 5040, 5041, 6513, 6515 = 11623, 11625, 11629, 11630, 11633, 11634, 11635, 11636, 15205f and i, *Car.* 136/138 (1948) 271, *Car.* 152 (1962) Beigabe 35 ff., *PAR* 16 (1966) 2 (Görtschitz valley), etc.
- 162 Reisch, *JÖAI(B)* 16 (1913) 100; Egger, *JÖAI(B)* 17 (1914) 59 ff.
- 163 Reisch *op. cit.* 99 f.; Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 70 ff.
- 164 See esp. Dolenz, *Car.* 148 (1958) 235 ff. and *JV* 1 (1964) 27 ff.; Görlich, *Car.* 148 (1958) 227 ff.
- 165 See p. 75, above.
- 166 Brusin, *AAltA* 36 (1941) 325 ff.; A. Egger, *Prähistorische und römische Siedlungen im Rienz- und Eisacktal* 22. Nymphaeum at Sebatum: Mayr, *Car.* 143 (1953) 263 ff.
- 167 See on this p. 314, n. 133.
- 168 Town officials at Colatio, Juenna, Santicum: see Appendix XIII, p. 264 ff.
- 169 Juenna: *CIL* 5076, 5077 (p. 2328, 198), Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 27, etc. Santicum: e.g. *JV* 1 (1964) 38 f. nos. 4 and 5; on the inscriptions from Villach see now Piccottini, *JV* 4 (1967) 161 ff.
- 170 Schmid, *BHK* 5 (1927) 83 f. and esp. *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 67 ff.; Modrijan, *ZHVSst* 44 (1953) 24 ff.
- 171 *Cupitus Cam(mii) Sabini ser.*: see p. 274, cf. p. 124. *Peregrini*: *Car.* 146 (1956) 436 ff. = *FbÖ* 5 (1959) 126.
- 172 *Peregrini*: *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 122, *ZHVSst* 3 (1957) 20 = Modrijan, *Murau* 22, *ZHVSst loc. cit.* 19 = Modrijan *op. cit.* 21. The Roman citizenship of the Aelii at Katsch originated with a veteran of the Hadrianic period: *CIL* 5064 and *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 131.
- 173 Modrijan, *ZHVSst* 44 (1953) 24 ff. On tombs of the rural population around Virunum see Jantsch, *Car.* 125 (1935) 266 f. and 127 (1937) 19 ff.; cf. Dolenz, *Car.* 150 (1960) 625 ff.
- 174 See on this p. 86.
- 175 For a general account: Vidman, *LF* 82 (1959) 207 ff. and 83 (1960) 64 ff., 229 ff. and *AAntH* 9 (1961) 153 ff.
- 176 See pp. 43, 46 and 72 ff, above.
- 177 Vidman, *AAntH* 9 (1961) 153 ff.
- 178 Vidman, *AAntH* 9 (1961) 154, referring to *CIL* 5347, where a slave of the town of Solva bears the Greek name *Pollybius*, whereas his mother has the Celtic name *Vellecia*. Cf. also *CIL* 4876 (Virunum), where a slave has the characteristically Norican name *Spectatus* and his sister is called *Hygia*.

- 179 Slaves with Norican names: 18 examples from the towns and 50 from rural areas; with Greek names: 27 from the towns, 16 from the rural areas.
- 180 *Car.* 124 (1934) 124 (Langeegg in the Lavant valley), *Car.* 122 (1932) 25, and from a later period *CIL* 5012 (Virunum), *CIL* 11497 (Puch, twelve-year-old *ancilla*), *PAR* 10 (1960) 2 f. (Hohenstein, dedication *Iunonibus ancillarum*); *CIL* 5061 (St Lambrecht, five-year-old *ancilla*).
- 181 *MGS* 65 (1925) 95 ff. (Kellau near Juvavum) from a later period.
- 182 Attii, Turbonii: pp. 275, 120. One Q. Proculeius Finitus, attested at Laporje as well as at Čadram, had at least one slave and owned land in the area of these places (*AIJ* 83, *ILLug* 405). One Q. Morsius Titianus, a rich citizen of Solva (*CIL* 5321), had a slave at Graz, probably on his estate (*CIL* 5699, p. 1049).
- 183 E.g. *CIL* 14106 = *AIJ* 105 (Sv. Miklavž); *BHK* 28 (1954) 117 = *SchvSt* 6 (1956) 41 ff. (Piregg); *CIL* 14368, 26 (Fladnitz), etc.
- 184 Pp. 107, 116.
- 185 Pp. 109, 127.
- 186 E.g. freedmen of the Italian Petronii and Postumii at Celeia: respectively *CIL* 5261 (on the family: p. 277), and *CIL* 5266 (on the family: p. 326, n. 204).
- 187 *CIL* 5136 (p. 1828): slave among the dedicators of the temple of Adsalluta at Za Savo; *AIJ* 26 (*ibid.*): a freedman (?) *cum suis gubernatoribus*.
- 188 *CIL* 5377, on which see Diez, *JÖAI(B)* 43 (1956–8) 179 ff.
- 189 Vidman, *AAntH* 9 (1961) 156.
- 190 *CIL* 4962.
- 191 Thus e.g. the tombstone of a female slave from Virunum, paid for by her son: *Car.* 122 (1932) 25. But the small grave-slabs with no reliefs were typical.
- 192 Ages recorded for slaves: 5, 12, 16, 18, 20, 21, 30 (several cases of 18 and 20) —only in the third century does evidence begin to appear for slaves over 30, but even then only in the case of estate-administrators. Ages recorded for *liberti*: 22 (*CIL* 5261), 29 (*CIL* 4755 = 11492, if a *liberta*), 30, 35, 40, 50 (frequent at times), 52, 60 (frequent), 70 (frequent), 75, 90, 100. Cf. on this now Alföldy, *Rivista Storica dell' Antichità* 2 (1973).
- 193 *CIL* 4770 (Rosegg); 4876 (Virunum); 4735 (Mauterndorf).
- 194 Cf. Alföldy, *AAntH* 9 (1961) 128 f. for Dalmatia.
- 195 *CIL* 14106 = *AIJ* 105 (Sv. Miklavž): *Albinio, Lucretio [e]t Mansueto Aviti ser(vis) Albinia Conso(nis) f. v. f.* The free-born Albinia appears to be the sister of the three slaves.
- 196 E.g. *CIL* 5303 = *AIJ* 85 (Črešnjevec); *JAK* 2 (1908) 40 (Greutschach near Völkermarkt); *JÖAI(B)* 38 (1950) 121 ff. (Ruprechtshofen).
- 197 E.g. *CIL* 5365 (Solva); 5373 (St Veit im Vogau); 11748 (Kleinstübing); 5441 (Gratwein); 5081 (p. 1825) (Juenna); 4926 = 11517, 4944 = 11520 (Virunum), etc.
- 198 E.g. *CIL* 4982 (Virunum): *servus* of a *libertus*.
- 199 *CIL* 4845 (Virunum): the son of a freedman and freedwoman was *mil. coh. XII urb.* (see also *CIL* VI 2914 = *ILS* 2113). *CIL* 5222 (Celeia): the father of a praetorian was probably a freedman.
- 200 See p. 156.
- 201 Thus, except at Lauriacum, the *seviri Augustales* are not found in Noricum, see p. 101 f.
- 202 One *M. Ulpius Saturnus domu* (sic) *Ulpia Poetovione* (*CIL* 5427) is known at Kalsdorf near Graz. On later immigrants, see p. 177.
- 203 *Antonii* from *Vel. Aquileia* at Celeia: *CIL* 5217; *Petronii* with the tribe Velina there: *CIL*

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5259 = 11693 and 5260. One [*At*]ilia domo [*Aqu*]leia Olympia at Virunum: CIL 4869; her husband was one [*M*]estrius dom. [*Rom*]a Athenio. A dec. Iul. Carn. is recorded at Voitsberg: CIL 11739; cf. on this G. Winkler, ZHVS 62 (1971) 189 f.

204 These are the *Albii*, *Arrii*, *Barbii*, *Kanii*, *Cominii*, *Gallii*, *Octavii*, *Poblicii*, *Pomponii*, *Postumii*, *Sempronii*, *Titii*, *Turpili* and *Vettii* (cf. p. 306, n. 64, above); some have the same *praenomina* as earlier on the Magdalensberg.

205 *Caesernii*: CIL 5097 (St Paul in the Lavant valley); cf. Šašel, ŽA 10 (1960) 201 ff. *Curii*: Car. 127 (1937) 7 (Virunum); on their origin, see Jantsch, *ibid.* *Trosii*: CIL 5116 = 13525, 5274a, 11702 (Celeia and surrounding area); on their origin, see Alföldy, *Personennamen* 129.

206 *Caecinae*: CIL 5135 (Za Savo); on their origin cf. Syme, *Roman Revolution* 83. *Tuccii*, *Vedernae*: one L. Tuccius L. f. Pol. Campanus was *haruspex* at Virunum, and a kinswoman, Tuccia Secundina, was married to the son of Aulus Vederna Maximus, *haruspex* there (CIL 4868, *ILIug* 393). *Caetennii*: CIL 4913 = 11515 (carried from Virunum): cf. Alföldy, *Eirene* 4 (1965) 43 ff.

207 Cf. Thaller, Car. 140 (1950) 145 ff.

208 Cf. Egger, *Bericht über den 3. Österr. Historikertag 1953*, 29 ff.

209 On the pre-Claudian development see p. 74 ff.

210 E.g. CIL 4830 (p. 1813), 4837, 4840, 4867 = MZK 1904, 164, CIL 4879, 4892, 4914, etc.

211 E.g. Baebia Suadulla (CIL 5354, Solva), Baebia Bonia (CIL 5074, Juenna), L. Barbius Vercaius, Barbia Suadulla (CIL 5073, St Stephan in the Jauntal), L. Barbius L. f. Speratus, Sex. Barbius Finitus (JÖAI(B) 17 (1914) 60, Virunum).

212 Cf. esp. S. Sterner-Rainer, *Illyrische Ortsnamen und illyrische Siedlung* (Leipzig 1940) 2; Mihăescu, *Le Latin des provinces Danubiennes* (see p. 374); Roeger, *SchvSt* 2 (1953) 104 ff. and 12 (1964–5) 119 f., and esp. Finsterwalder, *Romanische Vulgärsprache in Rätien und Norikum* (see p. 373).

213 E.g. *brutes*: CIL 4746 (Teurnia).

214 *Scribae*: see p. 101. *librarii*: Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 36 with plate 17, and Diez, *SchvSt* 2 (1953) 123 ff. with fig., for illustrations of *librarii* with scrolls, *diptychon*, *calamus*, *stilus*, etc.

215 *Sanxum* for *sanctum*, also *praeft(ni)to*, *ad(h)ibendum*, *minue(n)dus*, see p. 273. An inscription from Solva gives a wrong rendering of Caracalla's titulature (CIL 5323).

216 See e.g. CIL 14367, 1 (Podverh): *Valiirius Tiirtuliliani vibus ficit coiucii* etc.; CIL 5026 (Zwischenwässern): *vibus f(e)cit Eirmine con. k(a)r.* etc.; p. 320, n. 95 (Tiffen): [*as*]ses<*s*>or [*fe*]rrar-riarum.

217 E.g. *vibus* (frequently) or *vivos* (PAR 18 (1968) 7) for *vivus*; *an(n)orum* (frequently)—but *han(n)orum* in CIL 13406; *eiinus* (Car. 147 (1957) 172 ff.); *Caiia* (PAR 10 (1960) 2 f.); *Ma(n)sueto* (Car. 142 (1952) 183); *resstit[uerunt]* (CIL 4718); *imbello* for *in bello* (CIL 4835); *interem(p)to* (CIL 4832 = 11506 = ILS 2528); *canapa* = *canaba* (CIL 4850), etc. The diphthong *-ae* was very frequently written with *e* only and apparently pronounced like that, e.g. frequently in the name (*A*)*elius* (CIL 5470, 11738, 14368, 24, etc.). The genitive formed in *-aes* instead of *-ae* is also found, e.g. CIL 4733, 5061, JÖAI(B) 25 (1929) 122. Cf. also *tinctor* for *cinctor*, p. 315, n. 12.

218 E.g. AIJ 34 (Vranje): *Celemes* = *Clemens*?; CIL 6515 = 11623 (Semlach): *Prigmenie* = *Primigeniae*; CIL 5308 (Slov. Bistrica): *negat(i)ator*; CIL 6524 (Lemberg): *denates* for *penates*; CIL 5622 (Altmünster): *faecaerunt*; *ILIug* 389 (Celeia): *quraerun* = *curarunt*; PAR 17 (1967) 22 f. (Zeltschach): *Ursa conursa* for *Ursa conserva*; etc.

- 219 E.g. *CIL* 13523 = *AIJ* 41 (Slatna): *munimentum* for *monumentum*; *CIL* 5246 = *AIJ* 58 (Celeia): *crudeles parentes* for *miseri* (or something of the kind).
- 220 E.g. *CIL* 4775 (Virunum): *pro (se) et suis*.
- 221 E.g. *PAR* 17 (1967) 18 (Juvavum): *sui* for *suae*; *CIL* 11717 = *AIJ* 88 (Tinje): *Ursi* for *Urso*; *CIL* 5565 (11771) = *IBR* 664 (Prutting, A.D. 310): *pro salutem*.
- 222 E.g. *CIL* 11697 (Celeia): *ob peregrinationis expedit[i]tionum regr[es]sus in urbe[m] sacr[am]*.
- 223 See the Mautern magic text, n. 239, below. The text of a private letter from Wilhering (fourth cent.) is better: *FbÖ* 3 (1939) 163 f. = *JOM* 95 (1950) 160 f.
- 224 *CIL* 5295 = 11709 = *ES* 8 (1969) 3 f. no. 7 (Šmartno); *CIL* 5695 = 11827 (p. 1049) (Styria); cf. *CIL* 4910 (Virunum).
- 225 Apart from isolated inscriptions from the Magdalensberg with $\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma) \chi(\theta\omicron\upsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma)$ (p. 306, n. 66) there are only a late fragment from Schwarzenbach (*CIL* 11641) and a ring with Greek inscription from Seeboden (*Car.* 122 (1932) 21).
- 226 Names of imperial officials and imperial slaves are not taken into consideration. With a number of inscriptions the proposed interim dating may be doubtful, to be sure—but the figures from the different towns and rural areas agree to a very large extent, showing that the statistical picture would hardly be changed if some of the inscriptions were re-dated. On the evaluation of the statistics for the late period, see p. 193 f., below.
- 227 There were also many *gentilicia* formed from Celtic forenames, e.g. *Adnamius*, *Donnius*, *Dripponius*, *Mogiancius*, *Nammonius*, *Saplius*, etc.
- 228 General accounts of religious cults in Noricum are given by Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1015 ff.; Kenner, *JÖAI* 43 (1956–8) 57 ff.; cf. Saria, *Historia* 1 (1950) 475 ff.; for Slovenia, Kolšek, *AV* 19 (1968) 275 ff. On oriental cults see p. 194 ff.
- 229 Names of native deities: see Appendix IV, also pp. 22, 23.
- 230 For these *beneficarii*-inscriptions see pp. 162, 252 f.
- 231 See the works cited in Appendix IV.
- 232 Culminalis, Depulsor: see e.g. Egger, *JÖAI* 43 (1956–8) 45 f. and 25 (1929) 201 f.
- 233 On this cult see Jantsch, *Car.* 121 (1931) 11 ff. and 123 (1933) 12 ff.; Egger, *WPZ* 19 (1932) 311 ff. and *JÖAI* 37 (1948) 90 ff.; Bulle, *JÖAI* 35 (1943) 138 ff.; Vettters, *Car.* 136/138 (1948) 280 ff.; cf. Noll, *Car.* 143 (1953) 638 ff.
- 234 See on this p. 22, with n. 37 on p. 289.
- 235 Cf. Eckhart, *JÖAI* 48 (1966–7) 16 ff.
- 236 *Pontifices*: p. 272; *haruspices*: p. 326, n. 206. A *sacerdos urbis Romae aeternae* (probably from Solva): *CIL* 5443 = *ILS* 4852 (Rein); *flamines*: pp. 264, 272; augur: p. 272 (Cetium).
- 237 Thus perhaps the two *sacerdot(es)* at Wieting in the Görtscitz valley (third cent.), although their dedicatory inscription may have been made to the Mater Magna (*CIL* 5021). But the Mater Magna was also identified with the goddess Noreia, see Kenner, *Car.* 151 (1961) 439 ff.
- 238 Cf. Diez, *SchwSt* 9 (1959–61) 47 ff.
- 239 See esp. the lead sheets with magical text from Mautern: Egger, *JÖAI* 37 (1948) 112 ff. Amulets: e.g. Deringer, *JOM* 111 (1966) 250 ff.
- 240 See esp. G. Graber, *Car.* 102 (1912) 1 ff.; Gugitz, *Car.* 141 (1951) 181 ff.; L. Schmidt, *Car.* 141 (1951) 718 ff.; Lochner-Hüttenbach, *Car.* 156 (1966) 3 ff. On rites of pre-Roman derivation cf. also the evidence for sacrifices in the river Inn, Torbrügge, *BVBl* 25 (1960) 16 ff.
- 241 Kenner, *JÖAI(B)* 38 (1950) 161 ff.

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- 242 See e.g. Diez, *JÖAI* 42 (1955) 74 ff.; Haberl, *JÖAI(B)* 43 (1956–8) 187 ff.
- 243 For a general account: Schober, *Römerzeit*² 77 ff.
- 244 Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 31 (1939) 83 ff. For similar shrines in south-eastern Noricum, Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 91 ff., 97 ff.
- 245 See p. 94, above.
- 246 Egger, *Car.* 117 (1927) 2 f. and *Römische Antike* I 98 ff.; Swoboda, *Car.* 131 (1941) 303 ff.; Praschniker, *JÖAI(B)* 36 (1946) 15 ff.
- 247 Egger, *Car.* 125 (1935) 129 ff., 126 (1936) 1 ff., 128 (1938) 18 ff., 136/138 (1948) 199 f., 140 (1950) 29 ff., Vetters, *RE* ix A 282 ff., cf. Neumann, *Car.* 145 (1955) 143 ff.
- 248 Jantsch, *Car.* 123 (1933) 1 ff.; v. Petrikovits, *JÖAI(B)* 28 (1933) 145 ff. and *Car.* 124 (1934) 1 ff.
- 249 Jantsch, *Car.* 121 (1931) 11 ff.; Vetters, *Car.* 136/138 (1948) 280 ff.
- 250 Egger, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 149 ff.
- 251 Colatio: Egger, *JÖAI(B)* 17 (1914) 59 ff.; Kugelstein: Cuntz, *JAK* 1 (1907) 51 ff. and Modrijan, *ZHVS* 44 (1953) 20 ff.; Grazer Kogel: Nowotny, *JZK* 1905, 231 ff.
- 252 Egger, *Römische Antike* I 102 no. 1; see on this Egger *ibid.* 105 ff. and Swoboda, *Car.* 131 (1941) 303 ff.
- 253 General accounts: Schober, *Römerzeit*² 135 ff.; Noll, *Kunst der Römerzeit* (p. 378); cf. also Ferri, *Arte romana Danubio* (see p. 377). Funerary monuments: in general, Schober, *Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien* (see p. 378); portraiture: Diez, *Germania Romana* II 93 ff.; plastic art: Piccottini, *Rundskulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Virunum* (see p. 378); mosaics: Kenner, *La mosaïque gréco-romaine, Colloq. internat. Paris 1963*, 85 ff. See also pp. 45 f., 70, 176 f., 220.
- 254 Schober, *JÖAI* 26 (1930) 24.
- 255 See esp. the works by E. Diez, J. Klemenc and A. Schober cited on p. 377 f.; see also Modrijan, *Car.* 144 (1954) 165 ff.
- 256 Dress: p. 111. Portrayals of Norcia: see the works cited on p. 240.
- 257 Noll, *Kunst der Römerzeit* 31. For details see Schober, *JÖAI* 26 (1930) 9 ff., esp. 24 ff.; Diez, *Huitième Congrès Internat. d'Arch. Class. Paris 1963*, 207 ff.
- 258 Fragments of a *cornu* from Ovilava: L. Kaff, *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 55 ff. Youth playing music on a relief from the Celeia area: *CIL* 5307. For theatre programmes cf. now the important inscription of a *T. Flavius Aelianus homerista* from Virunum, *PAR* 21 (1971) 13 f.
- 259 A doctor: p. 323, n. 156. Medical instruments: Praschniker-Kenner, *Bäderbezirk* 143 f. (Virunum); Deringer, *PAR* 4 (1954) 22 (Lauriacum); Morton, *JOM* 101 (1956) 173 f. (Hallstatt); Penninger, *MGSL* 103 (1963) 30 f. (Dürrnberg near Hallein); etc. Oculist's stamp at Lauriacum: *CIL* 15218. The life expectancy, perhaps high by ancient standards, with an average (as given by the inscriptions) of nearly 40 (p. 3 f.) was, however, more probably the result of the healthy climate. On illnesses see esp. *Vita S. Sev.* 6, 1 ff., 14, 1 ff., 34, 35, 1 (gout, leprosy, eye-diseases, etc.); cf. also Vit. vii 3, 20; Juv. xiii 162; Pliny, *N.H.* 37, 44 (on goitre in the Alpine lands); see also p. 156 f.
- 260 Thus R. Vulpe, *Ephemeris Dacoromana* 3 (1925) 159. Against, rightly, e.g. Thaller, *Car.* 140 (1950) 145 ff.; Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 17.
- 261 The theatre at Virunum was designed for about 2,000 spectators: Egger, *Kärnten im Altertum* 21. According to this scholar, *op. cit.* 18, the total population of Virunum was 'at most 50,000'; in my view it was at most 5,000 to 10,000. It is difficult to see how more than a few thousand inhabitants could have found space in the nearly 30 *insulae* devoted to residential

accommodation at Solva (cf. p. 94 f.). The part of Aguntum devoted to residential accommodation may have been smaller (p. 92 f.), as its population may have been also.

CHAPTER 9

- 1 On the Norican army generally see the works cited above, p. 303, n. 13; coins of Hadrian: Strack, *Untersuchungen zur Reichsprägung* II 148 ff.
- 2 See Appendix X for the individual units. On the Year of the Four Emperors, p. 104 f., above.
- 3 On this war cf. most recently Mócsy, *RE Suppl.* ix 554 f. A coin-hoard from Erla near Amstetten, with terminal coin of Hadrian (Noll, *PAR* 16 (1966) 11 and Jungwirth, *NZ* 82 (1967) 26 ff.) can scarcely be connected with this; and it is difficult to see how the hoard from Obermühlbach near Virunum, with terminal coin of A.D. 138, could do so either (Ruth, *Car.* 157 (1967) 500 ff.). Both hoards may perhaps have been composed of earlier coins but first deposited c. A.D. 170.
- 4 *CIL* XVI 174, cf. p. 257 ff.
- 5 There is a late dedicatory inscription still mentioning *Com(mageni)*, cf. p. 257.
- 6 Cf. pp. 257 ff. The *beneficiarii* of the Norican procurators also seem mostly to have been Noricans, to judge from their names (cf. on this p. 252 ff.). Only *M. Ulpius Philipp[ic]us hf. proc.* at Juvavum under Hadrian or Pius (*CIL* 11759) was perhaps an easterner—possibly a soldier of the Ala I Commagenorum from the recruiting-zone of this unit.
- 7 On the Norican *limes* generally cf. Nowotny, *BRGK* 15 (1923–4) 165 ff. and *SBAW* 1925, 89 ff. (out of date). On the individual forts cf. now in addition to the works cited below the surveys by Pascher (*RLÖ* 19 (1949) for Lower Austria), Noll (*RLÖ* 21 (1958) for Upper Austria), Reitinger and Thaller-Stiglitz (in *Fundstätten*); cf. also Reitinger, *Oberösterreich* (p. 353). On the beginnings of the *limes* cf. p. 104, above.
- 8 *CIL* 5654 = 11795.
- 9 *Itin. Ant.* 233, 8 ff. and 248, 2 ff. concerns the Norican *limes*. See especially Stiglitz (Thaller), *JÖAI(B)* 46 (1961–3) 143 ff.
- 10 *Not. Dign., Occ.* xxxiv 31 ff. See pp. 202 f.
- 11 On this see Thaller, *Car.* 143 (1953) 765 ff.
- 12 Schönberger, *SJ* 15 (1956) 42 ff. Cohors V Breucorum: p. 259.
- 13 Eckhart, *PAR* 10 (1960) 26 ff.
- 14 *Itin. Ant.* 249, 4; cf., for a different view, Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 75.
- 15 On the fort: Kubitschek, *MZK* 1906, 27 ff.; Stroh, *PAR* 2 (1952) 44 f.; Eckhart, *JOM* 103 (1958) 16 f.; also *PAR* 8 (1958) 3 ff., 9 (1959) 7 ff., 10 (1960) 11 ff.; and cf. now *RLÖ* 25 (1969). On the name: *Itin. Ant.* 249, 3; *Not. Dign., Occ.* xxxiv 37; *Vita S. Sev.* 24, 1; cf. Noll *op. cit.* 38 f., 43 f. The *Notitia* records a detachment of the fleet at Joviacum, and in fact the fort at Schlögen only makes sense as a station of the fleet: enemy troops could hardly have crossed the Danube at the deep gorge.
- 16 Cf. O. Wutzel, *OÖHBl* 2 (1948) 291 ff., and especially Eckhart, *PAR* 10 (1960) 28. Cf. p. 168, below.
- 17 Karnitsch, *Heimatgane* 8 (1927) 1 ff.; *OÖHBl* 8 (1954) 182 ff.; *HJSL* 1956, 189 ff. and especially *LAF* 1 (1962) 63 ff.; Stroh, *JOM* 92 (1947) 199 ff.; W. Podzeit, *PAR* 16 (1966) 28 f.; Eckhart, *Linzer Fundkatalog* I–III (see p. 361 f.).
- 18 Karnitsch, *FL* 2 (1954) 107 ff.

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- 19 Pascher, *RLÖ* 19 (1949) 161 f., with earlier literature. On the cohort cf. p. 259. The fort-wall (probably of late date) has recently been located: *FbÖ* 9 (1969) 6.
- 20 Thaller, *Fundstätten* 75.
- 21 See below, p. 167.
- 22 *Itin. Ant.* 234, 4 and 248, 6; *Not. Dign., Occ.* xxxiv 33. Cf. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1001; Thaller *op. cit.*; etc. Mauer an der Url may perhaps be identified with Cannabiaca, cf. p. 200.
- 23 Cf. Kubitschek, *MZK* 1906, 49 ff. and Thaller, *Fundstätten* 116; also p. 203.
- 24 Nowotny, *SBAW* 1928, 36 ff.; Ladenbauer-Orel, *JÖAI(B)* 37 (1948) 179 ff.; Stiglitz, *JÖAI(B)* 46 (1961–3) 145 f. On the unit, cf. p. 259.
- 25 Stiglitz *op. cit.* 146 f.
- 26 Weisshäupl-Riedl, *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 221 ff.; Riedl, *JÖAI(B)* 35 (1943) 65 ff.; Thaller, *JÖAI(B)* 37 (1948) 185 ff., 38 (1950) 146 ff., 40 (1953) 191 ff., 43 (1956–8) 169 ff., 46 (1961–3) 159 ff.; *PAR* 9 (1959) 21 f.; *Führer durch das römische Mautern* (p. 363); *Österr. Arch. Inst. Grabungen* 1966 (Vienna 1967) 32 ff.
- 27 Polaschek and Ladenbauer-Orel, *JÖAI(B)* 37 (1948) 199 ff.; Stiglitz (Thaller), *JÖAI(B)* 46 (1961–3) 149 f., 168; cf. Kellner, *BVB* 30 (1965) 168 f. See also p. 104, above.
- 28 Hampl-Stiglitz, *PAR* 8 (1958) 7 ff. and 9 (1959) 9 ff.; Stiglitz, *Kulturberichte aus Niederösterreich* (1961) 17 ff., *JÖAI(B)* 46 (1961–3) 150 ff.
- 29 On the name Zwentendorf see also p. 200.
- 30 Polaschek, *Heimatkalendar des Tullner Bezirkes* (Tulln 1952) 108 ff.; Stiglitz, *JÖAI(B)* 46 (1961–3) 152 f.
- 31 Kaschnitz, *JAK* 4 (1910) 111 ff.; Kubitschek, *JAK* 4 (1910) 115 ff. and 5 (1911) 28 ff.; Pittioni, *JÖAI(B)* 36 (1946) 85 ff.; Stiglitz, *JÖAI(B)* 46 (1961–3) 153 ff. The identification of Cannabiaca with Zeiselmayer is false, cf. p. 200.
- 32 Cf. for example Pascher, *RLÖ* 19 (1949) 32, 33, 159; Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 53. For a late *burgus* at Mautern see *Vita S. Sev.* 4, 7: *habitaculum, quod Burgum appellabatur ab incolis*.
- 33 Stroh, *JOM* 92 (1947) 211 ff.; Pascher, *RLÖ* 19 (1949) 86 f.
- 34 Thaller, *JÖAI(B)* 37 (1948) 185 ff.
- 35 Karnitsch, *HJSL* 1956, 189 ff.
- 36 On this cf. p. 121, above.
- 37 E.g. *CIL* 5569 = 11809 (Gosan near Melk, carried from the left bank of the Danube); *JÖAI* 37 (1948) 119 f. (Mautern); *JÖAI(B)* 44 (1959) 163 ff. (Traismauer).
- 38 Veterans: *CIL* 5670 (Pöchlarn); *CIL* 5655 = 11796 (Traismauer); other citizens: e.g. *JAK* 5 (1911) 254, *RLÖ* 19 (1949) 111, and *PAR* 8 (1958) 9, with Ulpia from Arelape. A *peregrinus* from Melk *ob(itus) Romae an. XX* (*CIL* 5667 = 11808) may have been recruited for one of the military units at Rome and have died before beginning his service.
- 39 Cf., for the zone beyond the Pannonian *limes*, Swoboda, *Carn.-Jb.* 1959, 17 ff.; for another view: Křížek, *Limes Romanus Konferenz Nitra* (Bratislava 1959) 49 ff. On Roman finds north of the Danube see esp. Nowotny, *SBAW* 187 no. 2 (1918) 40 ff. and *BRGK* 15 (1923–4), 172 ff.; Nischer, *UH* 5 (1932) 227 ff.; Mitscha-Märheim, *Festschrift K. Lechner* 1 ff.; Křížek, *Militär-grenzen* 131 ff.; etc.
- 40 H. Richlý, *MAG* 29 (1899) 85 ff. and *MZK* 1900, 53 ff.; Eggers, *Der röm. Import im Freien Germanien* (general map); Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 16, 110.
- 41 E. Beninger, *Germanenzeit in Niederösterreich* (Vienna 1934).
- 42 For the finds, cf. Eggers *op. cit.* 139 f. Some of them may have been looted by Germans.

- 43 On the fort and settlement at Niederleis: Pascher, *RLÖ* 19 (1949) 102. Traces of Roman settlement are known at Landesdorf, and tile-stamps of X Gemina from Spillern and Bisamberg, cf. Pascher, *RLÖ* 19 (1949) 66; Mitscha-Märheim *op. cit.* 2 f. Valentinianic forts: p. 204 f.
- 44 Dio lxxi 15; lxxii 2, 4.
- 45 H. v. Petrikovits will publish a new inscription mentioning the *prata* on the right bank of the Rhine.
- 46 *CIL* 14369, 1 (probably not carried from the southern bank of the Danube): [(*centurio?*) *leg.*] X g. p. f. Cf. also the fragmentary inscribed tombstone from Göllersdorf: Pascher, *RLÖ* 19 (1949) 38.
- 47 For a different view cf. Noll, *AA* 14 (1954) 43 ff., criticised by Swoboda, *Carn.-Jb.* 1956, 5 ff.
- 48 On the Naristae cf. especially Kellner, *BVBl* 30 (1965) 171 ff., with bibliography on the subject.
- 49 I follow A. R. Birley, who has produced the best explanation of the chronology of the wars in the years around A.D. 170: cf. his *Marcus Aurelius* 323 ff., and, especially, *Provincialia* 214 ff. Cf. also esp. Zwickler, *Markussäule* I (see p. 359); Mócsy, *RE* Suppl. ix 555 ff.; Dobíáš, *Dějiny* 194 ff.; Fitz, *Historia* 15 (1966) 336 ff. and *AV* 19 (1968) 43 ff. For Noricum cf. especially Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1003 f. and 1011; Saria, *GMDs* 20 (1939) 134 ff.
- 50 Lentia: Karnitsch, *HJSL* 1956, 189 ff.; Wimsbach: cf. p. 321, n. 126; Lauriacum: cf. p. 329, n. 18.
- 51 E. Schmidel, *MZK* 1905, 297 ff.; Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 74.
- 52 Hell, *PAR* 18 (1958) 4 f.
- 53 For a different view cf. A. and F. Narobe, *JÖAI(B)* 26 (1930) 195 f.; F. Narobe, *JÖAI(B)* 28 (1933) 141; Swoboda, *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 49; Vetters, *Österr. Arch. Inst. Grabungen* 1966 40 for Juvavum; see *contra* Kellner, *BVBl* 30 (1965) 167 f. Polaschek, *JOM* 91 (1944) 347 f., assumes destruction at Hallstatt, as does Schmid at Katsch, cf. p. 314, n. 133.
- 54 Mautern, Zwentendorf: cf. the works cited on p. 330, nn. 26 and 28; Traismauer: Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1011; Mautern villa: cf. p. 322, n. 128.
- 55 Saria, *PAR* 1 (1951) 23 f.
- 56 Caspart, *MAG* 68 (1938) 183; Kerchler, *Brandbestattungen* 45 ff.; cf. Pittioni, *JÖAI(B)* 36 (1946) 79 ff.; Denk, *UH* 29 (1958) 150 ff.; Vetters, *JÖAI(B)* 41 (1954) 85 ff. On Norican *tumuli* in general cf. Amand, *Latomus* 24 (1965) 614 ff.; cf. now Pahič, *AV* 20 (1969) 35 ff.
- 57 Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 19/20 (1919) 139 and *BRGK* 15 (1923–4) 225 (the date of A.D. 166 or 169 which he assumes is uncertain); Modrijan, *SchvSt* 9 (1959–61) 21 f.
- 58 Grubinger, *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 239 ff., *BHK* 13 (1935) 101 ff., *SchvSt* 2 (1953) 86 ff. (esp. 99), and 8 (1958) 20 ff.; Felgenhauer–Alzinger–Kloiber, *Kapfenstein* 30 f.
- 59 Dolenz, *Fundstätten* 26.
- 60 Dolenz *op. cit.* 26 (Althofen); Springschitz, *Car.* 146 (1956) 406 ff. (Ostriach); Egger, *JAK* 7 (1913) 259 ff. (Gummern, with terminal coin of A.D. 168). According to Polaschek, *JOM* 91 (1944) 347 f., the barbarians broke into Carinthia by the Pyrh Pass.
- 61 *ILS* 8977. Cf. *PIR*² I A no. 754; on the date cf. esp. A. R. Birley *op. cit.* (in n. 49, above). *SHA*, *M. Ant.* 14,6 refers to this: (Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus) *transcensis Alpibus longius processerunt composueruntque omnia, quae ad munimen Italiae atque Illyrici pertinebant*.
- 62 On the *praetentura* see n. 49, above; also, especially, Degrassi, *Confine* 113 ff. and Petru, *AV* 15/16 (1964–5) 72, who give further references.

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- 63 *ILLug* 382; cf. on this Šašel, *ŽA* 5 (1964) 200 ff. The precise date of this building-inscription has not been preserved.
- 64 Dolenz, *Car.* 142 (1952) 175 ff. and Vettters, *RE* ix A 307. A *beneficiarius*-dedication from the Hoischhügel in the Kanaltal from A.D. 168 (*JAK* 6 (1912) 209 ff.) gives no indication that the *praetentura* was being fortified, and the town-wall of Aguntum is scarcely connected with this either; for a different view cf. Fitz, *AV* 19 (1968) 44; etc.
- 65 On II Italica see esp. Ritterling, *RE* xii 1468 ff. and now Winkler, *JOM* 116 (1971) 85 ff.
- 66 Cf. A. R. Birley, *Provincialia* 219 f.
- 67 On this cf. p. 259.
- 68 Lörger, *JÖAI(B)* 19/20 (1919) 107 ff. and ČZN 29 (1934) 150; Saria, *GMDS* 20 (1939) 134 ff. and *Historia* 1 (1950) 445 f.; Degraasi, *Confine* 119; Kolšek, *CZ* 3 (1958) 165 ff.; Petru, *AV* 15/16 (1964–5) 72.
- 69 Cf. F. v. Kenner, *RLÖ* 8 (1907) 211 ff.; Ritterling, *RE* xii 1469. III Italica was at Regensburg at latest in A.D. 179, cf. Ritterling *op. cit.* 1533.
- 70 Groller, *RLÖ* 7 (1906) 41 ff. and 8 (1907) 157 ff.; Schicker, *FbÖ* 1 (1930–4) 4.
- 71 Cf. *CIL* 5412, 5448, 11553 and 11642, with soldiers of this legion from about the end of the second century without *nomina*—they were new citizens who did not mention their newly assumed *gentilicia* on unofficial inscriptions. Cf. Alföldy, *ES* 8 (1969) 13. On the composition of the legion cf. Forni, *Reclutamento* 90, 192.
- 72 *Car.* 119 (1929) 10 = *ES* 8 (1969) 19 f. no. 28 (Karnburg): a soldier of the legion from about the end of the second century had a sister who was a native *liberta*.
- 73 A. R. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius* 324.
- 74 On his career during the Marcomannic Wars cf. most recently A. R. Birley, *Provincialia* 223 f. and Fitz, *BVBl* 32 (1967) 40 ff., with further references.
- 75 *SHA*, *Pert.* 2, 6: ... *Marcusque imperator ... praetorium eum fecit et primae legioni regendae inposuit, statimque Raetias et Noricum ab hostibus vindicavit.*
- 76 *AE* 1956, 124.
- 77 *CIL* VI 32638 a, 3 and 5 (from Celeia), 2 (from Solva), 4 (from Teurnia), 7 (from Juvavum). Cf. also *CIL* VI 32638a, 13–14, with two praetorians from Celeia, recruited in A.D. 173, and 21, with another Celeian guardsman recruited in A.D. 174. Three out of these eight soldiers are Aurelii, who may have first gained the citizenship on enlistment.
- 78 Bolta, *AV* 8 (1957) 325 f. On Solva cf. p. 181. The representation of a captive German at Solva perhaps belongs to this period: Diez, *Germania* 29 (1951) 210 ff.
- 79 *CIL* 5567 = *IBR* 7: *qui per luem vita functi sunt Mamertino et Rufo cos.* On the plague cf. J. F. Gilliam, *Amer. Journ. of Philol.* 82 (1961) 225 ff.
- 80 Cf. Chlingensperg-Berg, *Gräberfeld von Reichenhall* and *Brandgräber von Reichenhall* (see p. 373); Gerhardt-Maier, *BVBl* 29 (1964) 117 ff.
- 81 See p. 247. Polaschek incorrectly dates the Norican procuratorship of Sex. Baius Pudens to the period c. A.D. 175 (*RE* xvii 992).
- 82 *CIL* IX 2213 = *ILS* 1164: *legat. leg. II Italicae et alae Antoniniana*—c. A.D. 170 according to Winkler, *Noricum* 69, but cf. *PIR*² IV H no. 131.

CHAPTER 10

- 1 For the senatorial governors of Noricum see esp. Kubitschek, *JZK* 1906, 145 ff.; Polaschek, *RE* Suppl. vii 583 f.; Capovilla, *Studi* 158; Winkler, *Noricum* 75 ff.; see Appendix VI, p. 248.

Full title: *CIL* VIII 12442 = *ILS* 1110 and *CIL* VIII 2615 = *ILS* 1194; *praeses*: see the inscription in 7, below.

2 Cf. p. 80.

3 Dio lxxvi 9, 2 f.; see pp. 102, 249.

4 See *CIL* 5631 with a *lib. cos.* and *JAK* 2 (1908) 30 (on the date: p. 258) with a *singi(laris)* (sic). Cf. also *CIL* IX 2593 (Terventum): *mil. legion. in Norico Ael(iis) Obilab(is) b(eneficiarius) trib.*

5 Schmid, *Norisches Eisen* 32 f., is wrong; likewise Polaschek, *RE* xvii 952 f.; Schober, *Römerzeit*² 24; Zibermayr, *Noricum*² 10; Holter-Trathnigg, *Wels* 16; etc.; cf. Winkler, *Noricum* 75. For the correct view: Noll, *Christentum* 8 and *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 19; Vettters, *RE* ix A 275 f.

6 *CIL* 4836 = 11507 with a *str(ator) cos.*; *CIL* 4812 (p. 1813) with a *s(ing) c(os.)*, A.D. 238; see also the inscriptions concerned with the economic administration, p. 334.

7 *CIL* 11743 = Modrijan-Weber 25 f.: (H)erculi et Victoriae Aug. sacr. pro sal. et adv(entu) M. Munati Sullae Cerialis c. v. op(timi) pr(a)es(idis) et integ(errimi) Vibena Vibeni (f.) et Finitus Corbi (f.) maritus l. v. s.

8 Pp. 190, 273.

9 Pp. 175, 248 f.

10 Building-inscriptions from the Lauriacum legionary fortress: *RLÖ* 11 (1910) 130 ff. (with the name of Juventius Surus) and *CIL* 15208, 1 = *MZK* 1903, 269 f. (with the name of Cosinius Felix). Building-inscriptions from Juvavum with the names of governors: see p. 339, n. 149.

11 Cf. Polaschek, *RE* Suppl. vii 584; see Appendix VII, p. 251.

12 Cf. p. 201.

13 On the possible ranks see Domaszewski-Dobson, *Rangordnung*² XI ff. and 28 ff. Cf. Winkler, *Noricum* 120 ff.

14 *JÖAI(B)* 37 (1948) 171 ff. = *FbÖ* 4 (1952) 58 (carried to Spielberg from Lauriacum): *corn(icularius?) leg. II Ital. p. f.*

15 *CIL* 4803 (Virunum): *Ulpus Valerius specul. leg. primae Nor.*

16 See Appendix VIII. On the meaning of the term *consularis* when referring to subordinates of the praetorian governors see Domaszewski *op. cit.* 32 f.

17 *CIL* 5671 = 11814: *mil. leg. (II Ital.) bf. praef.* (from Lauriacum, with only six years of service); see further n. 4, above.

18 Vettters, *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 103 ff. with an inscription in honour of Aurelian at Lauriacum, perhaps dedicated by a [(centurio) l(egionis) III It(alicae) Aug(usta)] Vin(delicorum) regi(onarius); but other restorations might also be possible here.

19 *CIL* 4830 (p. 1813) with a *mil. leg. II Ital. frum.* at Virunum; *CIL* 4861 with a (centurio) l[eg.] II Italic. fr(um.) at the mining-centre of Feldkirchen; *CIL* 4787 with one C. Masculinius Masculus (centurio) leg. I ad. fr(um.) at the mining-centre of Tiffen (his name indicates with a great degree of probability that he was a Norican); *CIL* 5579 = *IBR* 24 with a *frumentarius leg. VII gem.* at Kornberg (perhaps carried from Bedaium). Norican *frumentarii* seconded to Rome: Winkler, *Noricum* 132 f. with references.

20 *CIL* 4836 = 11507 and *CIL* 5449 = *MZK* 1905, 289; both were soldiers of II Italica.

21 *CIL* 4812 (p. 1813) = *ILS* 2524; *CIL* 14368, 24; *JAK* 2 (1908) 30 (on the date: p. 258); all were from Norican alae and cohorts.

22 *CIL* 5345, *CIL* 5631 and *CIL* V 375—all exceptionally young (19, 20 and 23)—very young soldiers could attain these low-grade posts.

23 See Appendix XIII. Cf. esp. Betz, *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 293; Deringer, *Car.* 139 (1949)

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- (Beilage); Vetters, *RE* ix A 275 f.; Winkler, *Noricum* 119 ff. and on this Alföldy, *BJ* 170 (1970) 562. The Celeia post was in a large official building: Schmid, *BRGK* 15 (1923–4) 205.
- 24 Although only one *beneficiarius* served in each post at any one time, the total number of Norican *beneficarii* will have comprised more than thirty; cf. Domaszewski *op. cit.* 34 and on this H. Lieb, in Jarrett and Dobson, *Britain and Rome* (Kendal 1965) 142, n. 20.
- 25 *CIL* 5165 (on the date: p. 243) and *CIL* 4820 = *Car.* 125 (1935) 274 = *FbÖ* 2 (1935–8) 72.
- 26 Cf. esp. Lieb, *Britain and Rome* 141 ff.
- 27 Lieb *op. cit.* 141 assumes a twelve-monthly change-over for Noricum.
- 28 Cf. *CIL* 14361 (15 May A.D. 209); *CIL* 5580 = *IBR* 25 (15 May A.D. 219); *CIL* 5575 = *IBR* 20 (15 May A.D. 226); cf. also *CIL* 5690 = *IBR* 440 (14 May A.D. 230). But see *CIL* 5187 with p. 2285 (13 Dec. A.D. 211) and 4820 (23 July A.D. 238).
- 29 *JZK* 1905, 129 and *CIL* 5154.
- 30 See p. 79, above.
- 31 Pflaum, *Procurateurs* 239 and *Carrières* II 801. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 992, who regards the rank as centenary, is mistaken.
- 32 *CIL* 5317 = *AII* 114; dated too late by Winkler, *Noricum* 139 f. He was perhaps an African (cf. the people with similar names in *CIL* VIII 418 and 3998). Before his procuratorship in Noricum he was *inter alia* tribune of the Cohors I milliaria Hemesenorum in Lower Pannonia, see Alföldy, *AR* 4/5 (1963–4 (1965)) 87 ff.
- 33 *AE* 1941, 63. See Pflaum, *Carrières* II 799 ff. no. 312; Winkler *op. cit.* 138 f.
- 34 See the inscription *Car.* 136/8 (1948) 268 ff. = *FbÖ* 4 (1952) 53, which has been mistakenly associated, in my view, with a *beneficiarius procuratoris* (thus also Winkler, *Noricum* 63 f.). The text should be restored rather as follows: [...]/[—pro] salute [...] *Aug. tem[plum vetus]tate con[lapsum ...] Magnus [...] procurat[or...]*. What comes in the gap after the *cognomen* is hardly *bf.*, but rather a second *cognomen* or e.g. [*vir egr.*] or something of the kind.
- 35 Cf. on this esp. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamte*³ 163 f.
- 36 *CIL* 4806 = *ILS* 4863 (Hohenstein): *dec. al. I Aug. Thracum*; *Car.* 129 (1939) 209 = *FbÖ* 3 (1948) 157 = *Car.* 144 (1954) 151 f. (Feldkirchen): [*dec.?*] *al(a)e Aug. II [Thracum]*; on the unit: p. 258. *Frumentarii* at Feldkirchen and Tiffen: p. 333, n. 19. Cf. also *CIL* 4836a with two *mil(ites) leg. II It.* from Feldkirchen, who may however have been soldiers stationed at Lauriacum whose home was at Feldkirchen.
- 37 *CIL* 4797 = *ILS* 1506, see also *CIL* 4798 with an *Aug. (ser.) disp.* and his slave, an *arcar. regn. Nor.*; *CIL* 4828 with an *Aug. n. disp. p. r. N.* and his *vikari(i)*; *Car.* 119 (1929) 12 (cf. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 989) with a *disp. p. [r. N.]*; also *CIL* 4800 = *ILS* 4198 (A.D. 239) with an *Aug. lib. tab. p. r. N.* and an *ark. Aug. n.* The expansions *p(rivatae) r(ei) N(orici)* or *p(rocinatoris) r(egni) N(orici)* hardly come into consideration, see in detail Alföldy, *BJ* 170 (1970) 171 with further references. The Noreia-dedication *Car.* 123 (1933) 4 = *JÖAI(B)* 28 (1933) 154 f. (Hohenstein) probably included the words [... *patrimo*] *ni r. [N.]*, see Alföldy *op. cit.* 176.
- 38 An *Augg. lib. tabul.*, *CIL* 4782 = *MZK* 1904, 163, perhaps served here.
- 39 Cf. the list in Pflaum, *Carrières* III 1059. He includes Raetia in the zone administered by these officials, but the province certainly belonged to the Gallic zone in the late period, see p. 300, n. 40, above.
- 40 Pflaum *op. cit.* III 1058 with a list of the known procurators.
- 41 Cf. p. 117, above; see esp. Appendix IX.

- 42 *CIL* 5688 = *MZK* 1903, 269; *RLÖ* 14 (1913) 158.
- 43 *CIL* VII 212 = *RIB* 576, on which see E. Birley, *Car.* 143 (1953) 245 ff.
- 44 *CIL* 11700 = *AIJ* 10 (Dobrna): *mil. l(eg.) II Ita. bello desideratus hoste Gutica* (sic). See Ritterling, *RE* xii 1471; on further expeditions, p. 169 ff.
- 45 *P.* 155 f.
- 46 *P.* 153.
- 47 *CIL* 15208 = *RLÖ* 11 (1910) 127 ff. = *ILS* 9082. Cf. Ritterling, *RE* xii 1470.
- 48 See the building-inscription with the governor's name, Appendix VI, p. 248 f.
- 49 General accounts are given by Gaheis, *Lauriacum* (p. 362) (out of date); Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 46 ff. Excavations: see esp. Groller, *RLÖ* 7 (1906) 5 ff., 8 (1907) 119 ff., 9 (1908) 87 ff., 10 (1909) 79 ff., 11 (1910) 1 ff., 13 (1919) 1 ff. and 117 ff., 14 (1924) 1 ff. and 121 ff., 15 (1925) 1 ff., 99 ff. and 175 ff.; Nowotny, *BRGK* 15 (1923–4) 133 ff.; Swoboda, *JÖAI(B)* 30 (1937) 253 ff.; Vettters, *FL* 1 (1953) 49 ff.
- 50 *Not. Dign., Occ.* xxxiv 43. On the harbour see Reitingner, *Fundstätten* 121.
- 51 Cf. pp. 146 ff.
- 52 Groller, *RLÖ* 10 (1909) 115 ff. and Nistler *ibid.* 117 ff.; Pascher, *RLÖ* 19 (1949) 82 ff.
- 53 On the individual units see Appendix X.
- 54 See p. 147, above.
- 55 *P.* 259.
- 56 On X Gemina, note esp. a serving (*centurio*) *leg. X g.* at Celeia under Severus (*CIL* 5176a with p. 1830 = *AIJ* 42 = *ILS* 3712), and a serving soldier of the legion at Pischk near Bruck an der Mur, A.D. 234 (*CIL* 5460). For the auxiliary units see pp. 258, 260.
- 57 Cf. p. 333, n. 18 on III Italica and p. 258 on a Mauretanian (?) ala.
- 58 Ritterling, *RE* xii 1472.
- 59 See the milestones *CIL* 5726 = 11839 (p. 2328, 200) = *Car.* 143 (1953) 740 no. 26 (Oberalm near Hallein), *CIL* 5745 = *MZK* 28 (1902) 101 ff. = *Car. loc. cit.* no. 24 (Henndorf near Salzburg) and *IBR* 479A = *Car. loc. cit.* no. 25 (Herrenwörth on the Chiemsee); they were replaced in A.D. 213, when new road repairs were undertaken in connection with Caracalla's Alamannic war. See esp. Instinsky, *Klio* 31 (1933) 37 ff. For further milestones from the years around A.D. 200, replaced in A.D. 213–14, see *Car. loc. cit.* nos. 27–9 with references; on the numerous milestones from A.D. 201 see p. 248.
- 60 *CIL* II 4114 = *ILS* 1140 with *duci . . . adversus rebelles hb(ostes) pp(ublicos) . . . Noricae*. On the date: Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 43 ff. with references.
- 61 Kristendorf: Egger, *JAK* 7 (1913) 262 ff. and G. Probszt, *Car.* 147 (1957) 156 ff. (terminal coin from A.D. 197); Villach: Görlich, *PAR* 6 (1956) 1 f. and *Car.* 147 (1957) 140 ff. (terminal coin: A.D. 194–7); near Juvavum: Hell, *MGS* 95 (1955) 51 ff.
- 62 Alföldy, *ES* 8 (1969) 27 f. no. 38.
- 63 Cf. esp. Dio lxxiv 2, 4.
- 64 Cf. the position in Spain: Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 42 ff., 90 ff.
- 65 See on this p. 158.
- 66 See n. 37 on p. 59, above and, further, *Car.* 143 (1953) 740 ff. nos. 31–41 for milestones under Caracalla, Macrinus, Elagabalus and Severus Alexander; add, under Elagabalus, *ILLug* 414 and *AV* 11/12 (1960–1) 147 f.
- 67 *CIL* 5755 = 11846 = *Car.* 143 (1953) 740 no. 30; cf. esp. Jandaurek, *Mitt. d. Oberösterreich.*

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Landesarchivs 6 (1959) 294 ff. and Winkler, *OÖHBl* 25 (1971) 3 ff. with further references. Cf. p. 13.

68 F. v. Kenner, *NZ* 4 (1872) 302 ff. and Kellner, *Fundmünzen* I 1, 202 ff. no. 1229.

69 Vetters, *FL* 9 (1965) 13 ff.; Kellner, *BVBl* 24 (1959) 146 ff.

70 Seewalchen: Noll, *PAR* 1 (1951) 18 ff. and *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 59 ff.; cf. Bruck, *FbÖ* 5 (1959) 180 f. Mauer an der Url: see p. 195.

71 *CIL* 14110 = *Car.* 143 (1953) 742 no. 42 (Ovilava) with *pontes refecerunt et vias munierunt et miliaria restituerunt* (Macrinus and his son); similarly *PAR* 18 (1968) 15 f. (Tulln). On mile-stones in southern Noricum from this year (*CIL* 5741, 5742, 11316) there is no mention of building work.

72 *CIL* 4857 and 5218 (11691) = *AIJ* 45 = *ILS* 2309, on which see Ritterling, *RE* xii 1471.

73 *CIL* 4812.

74 [*Miliaria con*]lapsa [*restituta*] or something of the kind on a milestone near Aguntum, from the reign of Philip: *PAR* 15 (1965) 5. Milestones under Gordian III, Philip, Decius, Gallus, Carus and the first tetrarchy: *Car.* 143 (1953) 742 ff. nos. 45–55; add *ES* 8 (1969) 33 f. nos. 45–6 (Philip); *ZHVS* 3 (1957) 27 (Philip); *AV* 11/12 (1960–1) 148 ff. (Claudius II); *AE* 1962, 308 (Carus); *CIL* 11317 (tetrarchy). However, many milestones had nothing more than an honorific purpose and do not prove that road-works took place.

75 Eutrop. ix 7. Cf. esp. A. Alföldi, *Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus* (Darmstadt 1967) 346.

76 *Paneg.* viii 10, 2: *amissa Raetia, Noricum Pannoniaeque vastatae*.

77 A hoard in the Pinzgau may be assumed to date to this time: Kellner, *MGSL* 101 (1961) 173 ff.

78 Tentschach: Jantsch, *Car.* 127 (1937) 13; Adriach: Modrijan, *PAR* 2 (1952) 37 f. and F. Wolf, *SchvSt* 6 (1956) 55 ff.

79 Kellner, *BVBl* 25 (1960) 132 ff.

80 Vetters, *Österr. Arch. Inst. Grabungen 1966* (Vienna 1967) 40.

81 Klugham: Kellner, *Fundmünzen* 157 ff. no. 1178; Bad Goisern: Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 26, according to whom a now lost coin-hoard found here belongs to this period; Tulln: Noll, *PAR* 16 (1966) 11 and see now Göbl, *NZ* 83 (1969) 7 ff.; Oberdorf: Modrijan, *PAR* 13 (1963) 12 f. and *SchvSt* 10 (1962) 9 ff. Cf. the Pannonian hoards of the same period, B. K. Sey, *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 70/71 (1972) 3 ff.

82 *CIL* 4811 (p. 1813), dedicated by an equestrian officer.

83 Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 19; Vetters, *FL* 9 (1965) 13 ff.; Alföldy, *JÖAI(B)* 47 (1964–5) 216 with n. 1.

84 Schicker, *FbÖ* 4 (1952) 96 (terminal coin from A.D. 270 or 271).

85 Aguntum: Alzinger, *Kleinfunde* 46 f. and Bruck, *FbÖ* 5 (1959) 227 f. Baldersdorf: Jaksch, *Car.* 90 (1900) 85 f. and Moro, *Car.* 131 (1941) 329. Klagenfurt-Zigulln: Moro *op. cit.* 327 ff. and *FbÖ* 4 (1952) 99 f. Cf. Kellner, *MGSL* 101 (1961) 181 f.

86 See on this the works cited in n. 62 on p. 311. The Aurelianic hoard comes from one of the towers.

87 Cf. Praschniker-Kenner, *Bäderbezirke* 46 ff. and Vetters, *RE* ix A 261, 308.

88 Hoard at Juenna (terminal coins from A.D. 284): H. Winkler, *Car.* 140 (1950) 265 ff. and Moro, *ibid.* 272 ff.

89 Eckhart, *PAR* 8 (1958) 3 ff. and 9 (1959) 7 ff. Cf. also the hoard from Esternberg in

- north-western Noricum with terminal coins from the years 293–303: Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 34.
- 90 Alföldy, *JÖAI(B)* 47 (1964–5) 216 f. with further bibliography.
- 91 E.g. *CIL* 4835: *Aur. Secundian. duplario leg. II Ital. militi an. XXXX imbello* (sic) *desiderato*. A *hexarchus alae Celerum, vi militum interem(p)tus*, probably died earlier, during the Marcomannic Wars (*CIL* 4832 = 11506 = *ILS* 2528).
- 92 *CIL* 4850 (Virunum): [...] *in canapa leg. interfecto a barbaris* and (A)el. *Leonati ob(ito) a(nn.) LXX interfecto a barbaris*. Leonas perhaps died at Virunum. Cf. also *CIL* 5234 = *AIJ* 49 (Celeia): *Matt(io) Adiecto, interfectus [a] Mattzaris*—who these ‘Mattzari’ were is enigmatic; cf. n. 201 on p. 341.
- 93 Werneck, *Naturkundl. Jahrb. der Stadt Linz*, 1955, 9 ff.
- 94 Cf. on this p. 119 ff.
- 95 Modrijan, *Löffelbach*² 13.
- 96 Wimsbach: see the works cited in n. 126 on p. 321. Mautern: Weissshäupl-Riedl, *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 234 ff.
- 97 Grubinger, *BHK* 33 (1959) 9 ff. Publication of the wall-paintings is still awaited.
- 98 Schmid, *JOM* 81 (1926) 61 ff.
- 99 Klose, *MGS L* 65 (1925) 73 ff.
- 100 *MGS L* 65 (1925) 73 ff. (Kemeting); *CIL* 5615 = *IBR* 436 (Rotthof); on the Pocking estate: Kellner, *BVB I* 25 (1960) 132 ff., who has shown that the Rotthof inscriptions come from here. L. Vedius Optatus perhaps came from Celeia, where the Vedii of Noricum are also attested: *CIL* 5275, 5276 and 13526 = *AIJ* 59.
- 101 *P.A.R.* 11 (1961) 37 f. = Betz, *Festschrift Barb* 51 ff. (Elsbethen); *CIL* 5617 = *IBR* 438, on which see Betz *op. cit.* 7 (Rotthof). Villa at Elsbethen: cf. Langmann, *Fundstätten* 141. Copponii are also known at Virunum, *CIL* 4871. 323, n. 157.
- 102 See pp. 127, 315, and n. 12, above.
- 103 *CIL* 5611 = *IBR* 55 = *JÖAI(B)* 37 (1948) 169 f. = *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 72 (Schalchen; on probable remains of a villa there, Noll, *RLÖ ibid.*) with a *vilicus* and a *vilica*. *CIL* 5616 = *IBR* 437 (Rotthof, carried from Pocking) with an *actor* and a *vilica* (a married couple). *CIL* 5540 with p. 1048 (Juvavum): *vilicus*. Perhaps an [act]or, too, is mentioned in *CIL* 11770 = *IBR* 2 (Happing).
- 104 *CIL* 5622; settlement: Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 23.
- 105 *CIL* 11789 = *JAK* 2 (1908) 36 f., reading probably *act[or]*. Settlement at Kematen: Noll *op. cit.* 44.
- 106 *JOM* 110 (1965) 210 ff. A Roman settlement lies not far away, at St Florian-Markt, Noll *op. cit.* 67 f.
- 107 For the identification of these places cf. esp. Deringer, *Car.* 139 (1949) 219; Polaschek, *JLNÖ* 21 (1928) 16 and *AAW* 14 (1961) 83; Noll *op. cit.* 54 f., 103 f. The only known Vettonianus in Noricum was aedile at Cetium in the third century, see Appendix XIII, p. 272.
- 108 A *vil(icus)* at Modrič in the Bachergebirge in the third century was probably overseer of a quarry there, p. 316, n. 22. Cf. also the *saltuarius* in northern Carinthia towards the mid-second century, pp. 107, 116.
- 109 Schmid, *Norisches Eisen* 33 ff.; Modrijan, *SchuSt* 7 (1957) 14 ff.
- 110 Modrijan *op. cit.* 8 ff.; Modrijan-Weber 110 f.
- 111 *Not. Dign., Occ.* ix 21: *Lauriacensis scutaria*. The remains of a metal foundry have been found in the *retentura* of the Lauriacum fortress, cf. Schober, *Römerzeit*² 46.

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- 112 Narobe, *MGSL* 100 (1960) 22.
- 113 Alföldy, *BJ* 170 (1970) 168. See pp. 248, 278 on the milestones. Cf. Pekáry, *Untersuchungen zu den römischen Reichsstrassen* 84.
- 114 Privately owned brickworks at Lauriacum: F. Ruzicka, *RLÖ* 13 (1912) 101 ff., lists the numerous stamps of the various *fig(ulinae)*. Lime-kiln at Lauriacum: Groller, *RLÖ* 9 (1908) 114 ff.
- 115 Schörgendorfer 167.
- 116 Strelli, *Car.* 123 (1933) 14 ff.; Schörgendorfer 211.
- 117 Schörgendorfer 212 f.
- 118 For Juvavum cf. Hell, *MGSL* 76 (1936) 69 ff.
- 119 See on this p. 57 f., above.
- 120 Kellner, *BVBl* 26 (1961) 165 ff.; *Das bayerische Inn-Oberland* 33 (1963) 5 ff.; *BVBl* 27 (1962) 115 ff.; *Das bayerische Inn-Oberland* 35 (1968) 5 ff. Cf. D. Gabler, *BVBl* 33 (1968) 100 ff. for the Hungarian plain; for Britain, see *Britannia* 1 (1970) 111.
- 121 Kellner, *Germania* 42 (1964) 80 ff.
- 122 Hell, *Car.* 143 (1953) 698 ff.
- 123 Cf. on this Kellner, *Das bayerische Inn-Oberland* 35 (1968) 5.
- 124 Cf. e.g. Diez, *SchnSt* 7 (1957) 33 ff. on the funerary monument of a veteran at Stallhofen from the beginning of the third century (*CIL* 5409).
- 125 Cf. on this p. 3. Only milestones occur in greater numbers from the third century than earlier.
- 126 Cf. Noll, *Kunst der Römerzeit* 32.
- 127 Cf. esp. Cermanović, *AIug* 6 (1965) 89 ff. on the south-east Norican sarcophagi, among which there are also some better-quality examples. On the simple stone coffins from Juvavum, Hell, *SMCA Jahresschr.* 11 (1965) 23 ff.
- 128 *CIL* V 708 = *Inscr. It.* X 4 no. 325; cf. pp. 188, 275.
- 129 *CIL* VI 12304: *D.M. Argentonio Martiali Ovilavis vixit annis XXV, posuit patronus liberto optimo*. On the family name cf. *CIL* 5621, Bad Ischl, with a Romana Argentonina.
- 130 Karnitsch, *Ovilava* 41 ff. and *Lauriacum* 23 ff.; Alzinger, *Kleinfunde* 11 ff.; Praschniker-Kenner, *Bäderbezirk* 100 ff. Cf. p. 112 f.
- 131 Karnitsch, *Lauriacum* 35 f. These wares are not found at Ovilava, see Karnitsch, *Ovilava* 55.
- 132 *CIL* 5230: *Aur. Adintori civi Afro negot. ob. an. XXXV*, etc.
- 133 *ILug* 389 (Celeia): *Aur. Gaiano cives Surus dec. Ital.*, etc.; *CIL* 11701 = *AIJ* 54 = *ILS* 7207 (Celeia): *Aur. Maximo civis Surus ex regione Zeugma vico Hennia an. XXV Aur. Bassus Barathe (f.) vivus fecit frat. et Aur. Sabino civis Surus ex regione Zeugma vico [...]*. One *Aur. Coriphus Barthiae [f]il.* at Križevac (*AIJ* 78 and 79, the latter from A.D. 240) was also Syrian. Asia Minor: *AV* 13/14 (1962–3) 487 ff. (*CIL* 5231 + *AIJ* 60) (Celeia): *Eubodiae Fructi uxor. an. XL dom. Epheso*. Thrace: *CIL* 5322 (silver ring from Solva): *Aur. Dizō*, on which see Noll, *SchnSt* 9 (1959–61) 35 ff.
- 134 Circulation of money on the Norican *limes*: Pink, *JLNÖ* 25 (1932) 49 ff.
- 135 Elmer, *NZ* 27 (1934) 31 f.
- 136 See the reports of finds by F. v. Kenner, *RLÖ* 8 (1907) 173 ff., 9 (1908) 179 ff., 10 (1909) 151 ff., 11 (1910) 63 ff., 13 (1919) 33 ff. and 265 ff., 14 (1924) 55 ff. and 165 ff., 15 (1925) 61 ff., 137 ff. and 201 ff.

137 The basis for this account is provided by Kellner, *Fundmünzen* I 1 (the Bavarian *Landkreise* Alttötting, Bad Reichenhall, Laufen, Mühldorf, Rosenheim, Traunstein and Wasserburg) and Eckhart, *Linzer Fundkatalog* II. The material from coin hoards is excluded from consideration, as the circumstances in which their contents were collected were not necessarily dependent on the normal local monetary circulation.

138 Note esp. the great gaps in third-century circulation of money at the Karlstein and Bedaïum (Seebruck) settlements (Kellner *op. cit.* nos. 1027, 1301) and in the Leonhardspfunzen graves (*ibid.* no. 1226).

139 Moosham Mithraeum: p. 195. *Ursarii* of the Albii at Teurnia: *CIL* 4738 = *ILS* 3745, on which see Jaksch, *Car.* 94 (1904) 1 ff.; cf. p. 107.

140 Egger, *Römische Antike* I 102 no. 1.

141 *CIL* 4789 + 5006 (p. 1813) = *MZK* 1904, 163 = *JÖAI(B)* 17 (1914) 45 ff.: *s[acrarium] cum triclin(io) omni impend. suo in[ssu] dei f.*]. The dedicator was possibly not a native, but perhaps an easterner, see Egger, *JÖAI(B)* *loc. cit.* 48. Cf. also the financing of a *cenat(orium)* for the worshippers of Dolichenus at Ovilava by a private individual: *Car.* 131 (1941) 318 ff. = *JÖAI(B)* 33 (1941) 75 ff.

142 *CIL* 5323, 5324 (Solva): dedication of imperial statues under Severus and Caracalla, *ob honorem decurionatus*. But a statue, probably fairly simple, to the *Genius Aug.* only cost 100 sesterces at Virunum in the second century, see *CIL* 4779 = *ILS* 7305.

143 *Car.* 139 (1949) 177 f.: building of an [*aedicula*?] at the expense of the members of a *collegium*. Cf. also *CIL* 4816 = *MZK* 1904, 163, which probably also concerns expenditure by a *collegium*.

144 *CIL* 5659 = 11800 (p. 2286) under Caracalla or Elagabalus: [*collegium*] *fabr. aed[em impend]io suo res[tituit] loco publice co[n]cesso decreto de[curionum]*.

145 See Appendix XIII, p. 273.

146 *CIL* 5562 = 11770 = *IBR* 2.

147 *Car.* 125 (1935) 270 f. = *JÖAI(B)* 29 (1935) 270 f.

148 *CIL* 4826 and on this Alföldy, *JÖAI(B)* 47 (1964–5) 217 f.

149 Juvavum: *CIL* 5537 = *JZK* 1906, 149 f. and *CIL* 5727 (not a milestone as cited in *Car.* 143 (1953) 740 no. 22); on this see Thüry, *MGSJL* 107 (1967) 67 ff. If *CIL* 5536, ending *Inuav(enses) d. d.* also belonged to this building—a *quadrifrons*; the inhabitants of the town were also involved in part of the cost. Cf. also *CIL* 11762. For Celeia see p. 155.

150 See pp. 162, 251.

151 Tiffen: p. 334, n. 34; Ruše: *CIL* 5317 = *AIJ* 114 with *M. Porcius Verus proc. Aug. me posuit*.

152 *CIL* 4800 = *ILS* 4198: an *Aug. lib. tab. p. r. N.* and an *ark. Aug. n.* (see p. 334) *tem(plum) vetustate conl(ab)s(um) sumptu suo cum pictura refe[c.]*. Cf. *CIL* 4821 with a *templum* that was perhaps likewise erected by an imperial slave.

153 *IBR* 20 A with (*a*)*ed[e]m [e]t aram d.d.*—dedicated by a slave of the customs-post *Esc(ensis)*, p. 255 f.

154 *CIL* 11676 (Atrans) dedication by a *bf. cos. leg. II Ital.*, who *templum vetustate conlabsum et in ruina conversum sumptu s[uo] restituit*].

155 See on this the works cited in n. 72 on p. 313; on the amphitheatre, Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 19/20 (1919) 147 ff. and Diez, *ibid.* 36 (1946) 11.

156 *CIL* 5204; on the town-wall, p. 332, n. 78.

Notes to pages 181–188

- 157 Kolšek, *AV* 11/12 (1960–1) 150; Petru, *AV* 15/16 (1964–5) 150. Cf. *CIL* 5197 with the dedication *Neptuno Aug. sac. Celeiani publice*.
- 158 Cf. Bolta, *AV* 8 (1957) 317 ff.
- 159 A. and F. Narobe, *JÖAI(B)* 26 (1930) 195 ff.; F. Narobe, *JÖAI(B)* 28 (1933) 141.
- 160 P. 170.
- 161 Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 78 ff. and *Car.* 139 (1949) 178 ff.; Praschniker-Kenner, *Bäderbezirk* 41 ff., 50 ff.; Vetters, *RE* ix A 260, 261. Vetters, *op. cit.* 261, regards this discovery as ‘refuting the often stated view that the provincials had become impoverished’. None the less, it probably also derives from the period after the great crisis had been surmounted, and thus does not appear to be typical of all Norican towns.
- 162 See on this n. 148 on p. 339.
- 163 P. 173 f.
- 164 Karnitsch, *HJSL* 1956, 189 ff. and *LAF* 1 (1962) 63 ff.
- 165 On Cetium see p. 181, above.
- 166 See n. 77 on p. 312.
- 167 Karnitsch, *Ovilava* 41 ff.
- 168 On the status of Lauriacum see pp. 82 and 237.
- 169 Excavation reports in *FL*: see esp. Jenny-Vetters, *FL* 1 (1953) 2 ff. and 2 (1954) 2 ff.; Vetters, *FL* 6/7 (1960) 13 f. and 15 f., 9 (1965) 13 ff.; a general account is given by Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 48 with further references; see further Eckhart, *Mitt. d. Ver. d. Freunde Carn.* 7 (1954) 12 ff. See also the notes that follow below.
- 170 Eckhart, *FL* 6/7 (1960) 55 ff.
- 171 See esp. Eckhart, *JOM* 107 (1962) 116 ff., 108 (1963) 145 ff., 109 (1964) 172 ff., 110 (1965) 228 ff., 112 (1967) 33 f.; *PAR* 14 (1964) 14 ff. and 19 ff., also *Christliche Kunstblätter* 1967, 62 ff. On the basilica see pp. 210, 281.
- 172 See esp. Schicker, *RLÖ* 17 (1933) 85 ff.; Kloiber, *FL* 4/5 (1957) (the ‘Ziegelfeld’ cemetery) and 8 (1962) (the ‘Espelmayrfeld’ cemetery).
- 173 Karnitsch, *Lauriacum* 23 ff.; Deringer, *FL* 9 (1965) (lamps).
- 174 P. 206.
- 175 Alföldy, *Dalmatien* 206 ff.; Wilkes, *Dalmatia* 407 ff.
- 176 Cf. the stemma of this family on p. 126.
- 177 *ILJug* (Šempeter) 375 and *CIL* 11699 = *ILS* 3301 (Celeia), naming one *Vindo(nius) Successus*, evidently a descendant.
- 178 Cf. on this pp. 175 ff., 190.
- 179 Appendix XIII, p. 273.
- 180 Cf. p. 268 and esp. *CIL* 5111, an *eques* from the Celeia area, *omnibus muneribus functus*.
- 181 See on this pp. 127, 173 f., 180, 195.
- 182 E.g. *L. Pomponius Constans*, *duumvir* of Juvavum in A.D. 229 (*CIL* 5587 = 11773 = *IBR* 32) appears to come from the family of one *L. Pomp(oni)us Aquilin(us) Potens*, owner of the Kellau villa towards the end of the second century (*MGS* 65 (1925) 95 ff.).
- 183 See the evidence collected in Appendix XIII.
- 184 Whereas Norican-born legionaries before the reign of M. Aurelius served in various legions (p. 322), 67 Noricans serving in II Italica are known from the period after this (origin mostly determinable by nomenclature), but by contrast only two each in the Pannonian and German legions and one each in the British and African. Legionary centurions: *CIL* 11714

- (Slivnice south of Solva, probable centurion); *CIL* 5582 (p. 1839) = *IBR* 27 and *CIL* 5577 = *IBR* 22 (north-western Noricum). Of the known Norican-born auxiliaries, nine served in Noricum, and one each in Pannonia and Britain, after M. Aurelius.
- 185 Alföldy, *BJ* 170 (1970) 165 f., 173 f.. Cf. Appendix XI.
- 186 For the individual *equites* see Appendix XIV, pp. 274 ff.
- 187 Cf. pp. 177, 275.
- 188 Cf. p. 125.
- 189 See Appendix XV on p. 277.
- 190 See on this Appendix XIII, pp. 264 ff. The only exceptions were the *collegia inventutis* at Virunum and Lauriacum, the members of which were the young men of the urban upper class.
- 191 Cf. for Dalmatia, Alföldy, *Dalmatien* 116 f., 206 f.
- 192 *CIL* 5191 and 5196 (20 members each); *CIL* 11699 = *ILS* 3301 (at least 72, and certainly more). Cf. *CIL* 4784 = *ILS* 4835 and *CIL* 4816 = *MZK* 1904, 163, etc., from Virunum with a fragmentary list of names comprising respectively at least twenty and at least fifteen members.
- 193 See p. 86, above.
- 194 They bore a single name, either native or Latin, e.g. *Giamissa*, *Saciro*, *Verus*, *Victorinus*; see on this esp. the works cited in n. 120 on p. 338.
- 195 Cf. p. 128 ff.
- 196 P. 174.
- 197 Excluded are inscriptions of slaves belonging to the state or local authorities, and soldiers.
- 198 Cf. the statistics on p. 136, with evidence for *cognomina*.
- 199 P. 131.
- 200 Recruited at 16: *CIL* VI 3295; at 17: *CIL* 6763 = *ILS* 2202, *CIL* VI 3253 and 32797; at 18: *CIL* VI 3211 and 3283; at 19: *CIL* VI 3206 = *ILS* 2195 and *CIL* 7317.
- 201 At most the Celeian inscription mentioning a man *interfectus* [a] *Mattzaris* (p. 337, n. 92) might perhaps be connected with internal disorders. Troubles later on: p. 214.
- 202 Noll, *Kunst der Römerzeit* 32.
- 203 *Apol.* 24 and *ad Nat.* II 8; cf. Appendix IV, p. 239.
- 204 The latest dated dedications to native deities are: *Sacro Alounarum Aug.*, A.D. 241 (*CIL* 11779 = *IBR* 16 = *ILS* 4856, Chieming) and *Noreiae* [Aug.] under Philip (*CIL* 5613 = 11781 = *IBR* 434, Weihmörting).
- 205 Thus *CIL* 5155 (Celeia), *CIL* 11728 (Solva), *CIL* 4775 (Virunum), *CIL* 5070 (St Georgen ob Murau); otherwise, there remain only some seventeen cases of the *dii deaeque omnes* invoked together with Jupiter and other deities.
- 206 Cf. on this p. 339, notes 142–4, for individuals and *collegia*; for communities e.g. *CIL* 5205, *PAR* 16 (1966) 21 f. = *SchwSt* 13 (1966–7) 21 ff.
- 207 Cf. p. 135; on Isis Noreia see esp. Appendix IV, p. 240. The portrayal of a Horus figure on a tombstone from Liebenfels near Hohenstein (*CIL* 4994) is evidence for the presence of the Isis mystery-cult in Noricum probably already in the second century; see on this Vettters, *Car.* 151 (1961) 464 ff. A relief of Jupiter Ammon, too, from Hollenburg, may also date to the second century: Leber, *Car.* 147 (1957) 165 ff.
- 208 See on this *CIL* 5194 and 5195 = *ES* 8 (1969) 2 no. 3 (Celeia), cf. also *CIL* 5021 and on this p. 327, n. 237 (Wieting). Representations: Abramić, *Car.* 144 (1954) 135 ff. (Virunum);

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- Fleischer, *Bronzen* 104 f. no. 130 (*ibid.*); Egger, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 203 f. (Duel); etc. Cf. also Eckhart, *JMVW* 11 (1964–5) 21 ff. on a figure of Attis from Ovilava.
- 209 Isis in dedicatory inscriptions (omitting Noreia): *Car.* 145 (1955) 199 f. = L. Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (Berlin 1969) 284 no. 649 (Virunum). The monuments of the Isis Noreia cult in northern Noricum (p. 240) belong to the period after the Marcomannic Wars. Bronze statuettes of Egyptian deities have been found at Lauriacum, Hallstatt, Seewalchen, Steyr and Lentia: Fleischer *op. cit.* nos. 16, 136 ff., 142 f. Faience amulets with Egyptian deities from Zeiselmauer: Pittioni, *JÖAI(B)* 36 (1946) 88. Cf. also Noll, *JLNÖ* 36 (1964) 61 ff. on a funerary sphinx from Cetium.
- 210 Cf. also the figure of the Danubian rider-god from Virunum: Kenner, *JÖAI* 43 (1956–8) 67 f.
- 211 General accounts are given by A. H. Kan, *Juppiter Dolichenus* (Leyden 1943) 77 ff.; P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus* (Paris–Rennes 1961) 114 ff. (nos. 127 and 144 f. should be omitted); Merlat, *Jupiter Dolichenus* (Paris 1960) 139 ff.
- 212 Egger, *JÖAI(B)* 17 (1914) 45 ff.; Vetters, *RE* ix A 290, 293 ff. Cf. p. 39, above. Apart from at Virunum and in the surrounding area, there is evidence for the cult in southern Noricum at Slovenjgradec: *CIL* 5103.
- 213 Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 26 with fig. 7. The cult possibly reached here through the medium of customs-service slaves, cf. pp. 100 f., 256.
- 214 Dolenz, *Car.* 144 (1954) 148 ff.; see *ibid.* 139 ff. for Virunum and the Lamprechtskogel.
- 215 Juvavum: Hell, *SMCA Jahresschr.* 7 (1961) 19 ff.; Ovilava: Betz, *Car.* 131 (1941) 318 ff. (cf. also *JÖAI(B)* 33 (1941) 75 ff.); Lauriacum: E. Weber, *JOM* 110 (1965) 214 ff.
- 216 Cf. Noll, *JÖAI(B)* 31 (1939) 75 ff.; on the post: p. 252.
- 217 *JÖAI* 11 (1908) 229 ff.
- 218 On the find see esp. Noll, *Führer durch die Sonderausstellung 'Der grosse Dolichenusfund von Mauer a.d. Url'*³, (p. 376), also *Neue Jahrb. f. Antike u. Deutsche Bildung* 1939, 209 ff., *JÖAI(B)* 38 (1950) 128 f. and 39 (1952) 68. Cf. p. 169, above.
- 219 For a general account cf. esp. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 1024 f. The collection in M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* (The Hague 1956–60) II 153 ff. nos. 1401 ff., is something of a failure as far as Noricum is concerned (a considerable number of errors in both topography and epigraphy).
- 220 *CIL* 5121 (p. 2198) = *ES* 8 (1969) 1 f. no. 1. Cf. also *CIL* 15184, 4 = *AIJ* 299 (Poetovio, set up by a customs-official from Atrans).
- 221 Celeia: *CIL* 5195. Sv. Krištof near G. Rečica: *CIL* 11687. Št Janž in the upper Savinja valley: *CIL* 5110. Poljčane: *ILJug* 409. Modrič: Škrabar, *Strena Buliciana* 151 ff.; *AIJ* 90 ff. On Mithraea in south-eastern Noricum in general see Schmid, *SchvSt* 1 (1945) 18 f. The Mithraeum at Zgornja Pohanca (*ibid.* 10 ff.) was probably in Pannonia.
- 222 Ruše: Abramič, *JAK* 2 (1908) 18 f.; Škrabar, *ČZN* 17 (1922) 15 ff.; *AIJ* 114 ff. Hoče: *AIJ* 103. St Veit im Vogau: Diez, *JÖAI(B)* 40 (1955) 219 ff.
- 223 A dedication to Luna, probably second-century in date, perhaps comes from here: *CIL* 4793. In A.D. 239 the Mithraeum was restored, see p. 181; on its subsequent fate, p. 206. See *CIL* 4795 ff. and 11547; Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 27 ff.; Vetters, *RE* ix A 293 ff.
- 224 Cf. the monuments at Schlatten near Villach: *Car.* 125 (1935) 269. Töschling: *CIL* 4771 = 11496. St Thomas am Zeiselberg (probably carried there): *Car.* 145 (1955) 131.

- 225 St Urban near Glanegg: *CIL* 4804; on the *spelaeum*, Leber, *PAR* 2 (1952) 27. Waggen-
dorf: Leber *op. cit.* and *Car.* 145 (1955) 184 ff. Bad Ischl: *CIL* 5620, on which see p. 255 f.
226 Paternion: *CIL* 4752 = 11491. Teurnia: *CIL* 4736, dedicated by L. *Albius Atticus et C.*
Albius Avitus to Cautes. Aguntum: *JÖAI(B)* 42 (1955) 91 ff.
227 Hell, *MGSL* 105 (1965) 91 ff.; on the inscriptions naming L. *Albius Atticus*, see most
recently Alföldy, *ES* 8 (1969) 27 f. no. 38. Cf. p. 100, above.
228 Höglwörth: *CIL* 5592 = 11774 = *IBR* 37. Oberrohr: *CIL* 11789 = *JAK* 2 (1908) 36 f.
Schachadorf: Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 66.
229 Lentia: Karnitsch, *HJSL* 1956, 189 ff. Lauriacum: *MZK* 1906, 307 f., see also J. Amtler,
PAR 2 (1952) 30 f. and Deringer, *JÖAI(B)* 40 (1953) 179 ff. St Andrä: *CIL* 5650 and on this
Polaschek, *JÖAI(B)* 39 (1952) 69 ff., cf. p. 257.

CHAPTER II

- 1 *Laterc. Veron.* 6, 7 f.; *Polem. Silv.* 5, 10 f.; *Not. Dign., Occ.* i 40, i 88 f., ii 33 f., v 138, xi 11,
xxxiv 13, etc.
- 2 *Passio Floriani* 2. Cf. Noll, *Christentum* 22 ff.; further, Polaschek, *RE* xvii 994; W. Seston,
Dioclétien et la tétrarchie I (Paris 1946) 323 with n. 1; W. Ensslin, *RE* vii A 2458.
- 3 Pp. 201, 344, notes 24 and 26.
- 4 P. 161.
- 5 Cf. *CIL* VIII 26582 = *ILS* 9018 = Pflaum, *Carrières* II 236 ff. no. 353; *CIL* V 5897 = *ILS*
4193 and *CIL* 4802 = Pflaum *op. cit.* 899 f. no. 346a.
- 6 *Not. Dign., Occ.* xxxv 15. Cf. p. 58 f., above.
- 7 Already described as Norican in *Itin. Hieros.* 561 (probably soon after A.D. 337) and by Amm.
Marc. xiv 11, 19 (referring to A.D. 354); see also Priscus, *FHG* IV p. 84 = *Exc. de leg. Rom.*
p. 132. Cf. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 986.
- 8 *Expos. totius mundi* 57; see also Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* iii 33, 10; for details Egger, *Römische*
Antike I 116 ff.; Polaschek, *RE* xvii 986.
- 9 Thus Polaschek, *RE* xvii 986, 1001, 1005.
- 10 *Not. Dign., Occ.* xxxiv 31 ff.; cf. p. 202.
- 11 *Vita S. Sev.* 1, 1.
- 12 As is also the case in xxxiv 43, where the Lauriacum fleet is listed after those at Arelape
(Pöchlarn) and Commagena (Tulln).
- 13 P. 150.
- 14 Mauer an der Url: pp. 167, 169. The fort at Seebruck (p. 203) is not listed in the *Notitia*.
- 15 Cf. esp. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 994 f.; Betz, *Vergangenheit* 32 f.; Winkler, *Noricum* 103 ff.
- 16 *Not. Dign., Occ.* xi 11.
- 17 *Passio Floriani* 2 ff.; see also p. 208.
- 18 Cf. Polaschek, *RE* xvii 995.
- 19 *Not. Dign., Occ.* i 89.
- 20 *CIL* 5565 = 11771 = *IBR* 5 = *ILS* 664 (Prutting, carried from Bedaium); on the date, see
Winkler *op. cit.* 105 f. The *cognomen* is typically Celtic (and Norican).
- 21 *Not. Dign., Occ.* i 40, v 138, xxxiv 13. A known *dux* of this sector of the *limes* is Ursicinus,
with the title *vir perfectissimus*, cf. esp. Egger, *Römische Antike* II 180 ff., on the tile-stamps giving
his name (incorrectly expanded by Winkler, *Noricum* 107 ff.; see Alföldy, *BJ* 170 (1970) 561).
Aurelius Justinianus (*CIL* 4039, Poetovio) was either *dux Saviae* (cf. Mócsy, *RE* Suppl. ix 629)

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or, if Poetovio was already attached to Noricum Mediterraneum during his period of office, perhaps *dux* of Noricum Ripense and Pannonia Prima likewise.

22 *Not. Dign., Occ.* xxxiv 47 ff.

23 *CIL* 4803.

24 *CIL* 4796 = *ILS* 4197: *D.I.M. templum vetusta(te) conlabsum, quot fuit per annos amplius L desertum, Aur. Hermodorus v. p. p(raeses) p(rovinciae) N(oricum) m(edi)t(erranei) a novo restitui fecit. Quot (a)edificatum est divo Maximiano VIII et Maximino it(er)um A(u)gg. con(s.), Quar(tinio) Ursiniano cur(ante)*. Winkler's suggestion (*Noricum* 112 ff.) that the temple was built in A.D. 311, then abandoned for half a century, to be reconstructed in the reign of Julian, must be rejected; see the arguments in *BJ* 170 (1970) 561. The shrine must in fact have been abandoned at the time of Gallienus and thereafter.

25 *CIL* 5326 = Modrijan-Weber 65 f.: dedication by the *praeses* Fabius Claudius to Constantine at Solva (A.D. 324–37); *CIL* 5209: dedication by the *praeses* Martinianus to Constans at Celeia (A.D. 337–50).

26 *CIL* 5207 (p. 2328, 46) = *ILS* 723 (Pl. 55) and *CIL* 5208: dedications by the *Norici mediter(ranei)* to the Caesars Constantine and Constantius at Celeia (A.D. 323–37); cf. also *CIL* 5206. The *ordo* of Solva set up an inscription to Divus Jovius Maximianus in A.D. 311 (*CIL* 5325 = *ILS* 661). Cf. also *CIL* 5210 = 11689 and 5327.

27 *Not. Dign., Occ.* xxxiv 13 ff.; on the system of listing names in the *Notitia*, see p. 199 f.

28 On this, Ritterling, *RE* xii 1434 f.

29 See pp. 167 f.

30 *CIL* 5565 = 11771 = *IBR* 5 = *ILS* 664 (Prutting, evidently carried from Seebruck, although Torbrügge, *Rosenheim* 49, takes a different view). Cf. pp. 201, 204.

31 See esp. Kellner-Ulbert, *BVBl* 23 (1958) 59 f.; Spitzlberger, *BVBl* 32 (1967) 175 ff. Cf. further p. 343, n. 14.

32 *Equites stablesiani iuniores*, see *Not. Dign., Occ.* xxxv 15; cf. p. 199.

33 *CIL* 5670 a = *ILS* 774. The commander of this unit was a *p(rae)p(ositus)*, as was the case with the *equites Dalmatae* at Seebruck.

34 Tile-stamps from Linz reading *AL* likewise refer to *a(uxiliares) L(auriacenses)* in the view of Eckhart, *Linzer Fundkatalog* I 95 f., 96 f.; but cf. the *ALAE* on other tiles (on which see n. 36).

35 Kubitschek, *MZK* 1905, 50 f. Stamped tiles of the legion, including some which mention the *figulinae Juvensianae*, have been found at Ybbs, Mauer an der Url (*JAK* 1 (1907) 124 f.; *CIL* 5756 = 11847, 11848, etc.) and in Pannonia.

36 In general, Eckhart, *JOM* 107 (1962) 107 ff.; cf. also esp. Schönberger, *SJ* 15 (1956) 52; Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 32 and 51; Eckhart, *Linzer Fundkatalog* I 94 ff.

37 *Ob victoria facta(sic)*: see p. 343, n. 20.

38 At the most, those from Tödling near Lauriacum: Noll, *RLÖ* 21 (1958) 68 (with terminal coin of A.D. 323); and from Zeiselmauer: Göbl, *Mitt. d. Österr. Num. Ges.* 6 (1950) 133 ff. (buried c. A.D. 340).

39 See esp. Vettors, *FL* 9 (1965) 13 ff.

40 See on this the works cited in n. 126 on p. 321.

41 P. 208.

42 Zos. ii 45, 3.

43 Amm. Marc. xv 1, 2; F. v. Kenner, *RLÖ* 9 (1908) 135 ff.

- 44 Amm. Marc. xxi 12, 2.
- 45 F. v. Kenner, *RLÖ* 9 (1908) 161 ff.
- 46 See on this the works cited in, p. 330, notes 26 and 28, p. 329, n. 15.
- 47 See p. 344, n. 33.
- 48 In general, Egger, *Römische Antike* II 180 ff.; cf. also esp. Kubitschek, *JAK* 5 (1911) 251 ff.; Ruzicka, *RLÖ* 13 (1912) 85 ff.; Pittioni, *JÖAI(B)* 36 (1946) 94 ff.; etc.
- 49 Pascher, *RLÖ* 18 (1949) 33, 66, 159; Mitscha-Märheim, *Festschrift K. Lechner* 3 f. Cf. p. 152, above.
- 50 Lauriacum: see the works cited in n. 136, p. 338; Lentia: see the table on p. 179.
- 51 Amm. Marc. xxxi 10, 20; cf. xxxi 11, 6; on this, Elmer, *NZ* 27 (1934) 31 f.
- 52 Wimsbach: see p. 121. Heilbrunn (with coins from Tacitus to Valentinian II): Klose, *JAK* 1 (1907) 110 ff.
- 53 Schmid, *JOM* 81 (1926) 61 ff.
- 54 Schmid, *Norisches Eisen* 33 ff.
- 55 P. 175.
- 56 Rutil. Namat. I 351 f.
- 57 Werner, *JÖAI* 26 (1930) 53 ff.
- 58 See esp. F. Kahler, *Car.* 134/135 (1947) 56 ff. (Juenna); Thaller, *PAR* 1 (1951) 18 and Saria, *Historia* 1 (1950) 473 (Kreisbach).
- 59 P. 204.
- 60 Cf. Thratnigg, *JMVW* 2 (1955) 113 ff. on military tiles from Ovilava.
- 61 For details, see p. 111, above.
- 62 P. 183.
- 63 P. 344, n. 24.
- 64 See the works cited in n. 62, p. 311 and n. 72, p. 312.
- 65 Cf. esp. Vetters, *Cyrillo-Methodiana* 262 ff. and *Österr. Arch. Inst. Grabungen 1966* (Vienna 1967) 40.
- 66 See esp. Vetters, *FL* 6/7 (1960) 15 f. and 9 (1965) 13 ff.; on the stratigraphy in the Laurentiuskirche see p. 340, n. 141, above.
- 67 Karnitsch, *HJSL* 1956, 189 ff.
- 68 Pp. 201 and 204.
- 69 See the table on p. 179, above.
- 70 On the late Roman graves cf. esp. Hell, *JÖAI(B)* 35 (1943) 39 ff. and 53 ff., and 44 (1959) 139 ff. (Juvavum area); p. 340, n. 172, above (Lauriacum); Riedl, *JÖAI(B)* 35 (1943) 65 ff. and Thaller, *JÖAI(B)* 38 (1950) 146 ff. (Mautern); Pittioni, *JÖAI(B)* 36 (1946) 85 ff. (Zeiselmauer); Dolenz, *Car.* 140 (1950) 256 ff. (Feistritz on the Drau); etc.
- 71 *CIL* 4742; cf. Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 49 f. (according to the second edition, p. 42, the find-spot was Fressnitz near Teurnia).
- 72 *CIL* 13529.
- 73 Cf. Eckhart, *JOM* 112 (1967) 25 ff.
- 74 Lauriacum: references in n. 136, p. 338; Lentia: p. 179, above; *limes* in general: Pink, *JLNÖ* 25 (1932) 49 ff. South-eastern Bavaria: p. 179. The circulation of money was already at an end by the reign of Gratian at Juvavum as well: Hell, *WPZ* 13 (1926) 86.
- 75 *CIL* 4921 (p. 1813), Egger, *Führer Klagenfurt* 32. Further Christian funerary monuments: see Appendix XVII, pp. 279 ff.

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- 76 Noll, *Christentum* 17 ff.
 77 On the spread of Christianity in Noricum see esp. Egger, *Kirchenbauten* (see p. 379); Noll, *Eugippius* 9 ff. and *Christentum* 17 ff., 113 ff.; Saria, in *Völker und Kulturen Südosteuropas* 17 ff. On Aquileian influence in later Christian art, esp. Egger, in *Die bildende Kunst in Österreich* I 124 ff.; Brusin, *Car.* 143 (1953) 272 ff.; Noll, *Mitt. d. Ges. f. Vergl. Kunstforschung* 10 (1958) 35 f.
 78 *Passio Floriani* 2 ff.; a good edition and commentary is now provided by Noll, *Christentum* 22 ff.
 79 On the rank of Florianus see also *Martyrol. Hieronymianum* under 4 May (Noll *op. cit.* 33): *ex principe officii praesidis*. Cf. on this p. 201.
 80 Pp. 201, 204.
 81 *Apol. contra Arianos* 1 and 36 (Migne, PG xxv 249 and 312), *Hist. Arianorum ad monachos* 28 (*ibid.* 725); see Noll *op. cit.* 42 ff.
 82 Cf. esp. Reindel, *Mitt. d. Inst. f. Österr. Geschichtsforschung* 72 (1964) 277 ff.; see also Appendix XVII.
 83 Egger, *Kirchenbauten* 137 f.; cf. Vetters, *RE* ix A 298. The bishopric of Sabiona-Säben in the *vallis Norica* of southern Tirol, where the refugee bishop of Augsburg settled in A.D. 574, probably lay outside Noricum, cf. p. 59; on the church: esp. Egger, *Römische Antike* II 69 ff., 218 ff.
 84 See Appendix XVII, pp. 280 f. Cf. also the capitals from Virunum and Ovilava, pp. 279 ff.
 85 See on this the works cited in n. 88, below.
 86 Cf. p. 317 n. 42.
 87 P. 79. The restoration of an inscription from the ‘House of Representatives’ on the Magdalensberg to make it refer to Christians (Egger, *Car.* 140 (1950) 490 f., followed by Vetters *RE* ix A 297) can hardly be correct.
 88 In general: Praschniker-Kenner, *Bäderbezirke* 47 f.; Egger, *III Congr. Internaz. di Arch. Crist.* 287 ff. and *Car.* 140 (1950) 75 f.; esp. Noll, *Christentum* 49 ff. Lendorf: Egger, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 149 ff. Hohenstein: v. Petrikovits, *JÖAI(B)* 28 (1933) 145 ff. Virunum: Egger, *JÖAI(B)* 17 (1914) 45 ff. Wabelsdorf: Vetters, *Car.* 136/138 (1948) 280 ff. St Margarethen in the Lavant valley: Egger, *Römische Antike* I 98 ff. Frauenberg: Modrijan, *BHK* 27 (1953) 56 ff. Cf. also the fate of a shrine at Mautern: Thaller, *JÖAI(B)* 37 (1948) 185 ff.
 89 See on this the works cited on p. 279. Cf. also Egger, *JÖAI* 43 (1958) 50.
 90 *Vita S. Sev.* 11, 2 ff.

CHAPTER 12

- 1 In general, esp. Egger, *Römische Antike* I 257 ff.
 2 *Limes*: Pink, *JLNÖ* 25 (1932) 49 ff.; cf. p. 208, above. Ovilava: Wiesinger, *JÖAI(B)* 21/22 (1922–4) 413 f. and Elmer, *NZ* 27 (1934) 31 f. Hallstatt: Wiesinger-Morton, *JÖAI(B)* 33 (1941) 116 ff.
 3 Elmer *op. cit.*; cf. p. 338, n. 136, above.
 4 *Vita S. Sev.* 20, 1.
 5 Zos. v 46, 2; most recently, Swoboda, *Carnuntum*⁴ 265 ff.
 6 Cf. Alföldy, *Historia-Augusta-Colloquium Bonn 1964–5* (Bonn 1966) 13.
 7 Zos. v 50, 3; cf. also v 48, 3.
 8 Hydatius, *Chron. ad ann.* 430 and 431; cf. also Sidon. Apoll., *Carm.* vii 233.
 9 *Vita S. Sev.* 1, 1.

- 10 *Vita S. Sev.* 31, 1 and 31, 4 on *tributaria oppida*; cf. also 22, 2; see esp. Noll, *Eugippius* 124.
- 11 Vetter, *FL* 9 (1965) 13 ff.; see also p. 281, in Appendix XVII.
- 12 Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 19/20 (1919) 140; cf. Egger, *Römische Antike* I 260.
- 13 See on this, Alzinger, *Österr. Arch. Inst. Grabungen 1966* (Vienna 1967) 65. A coin-hoard from the baths with terminal coins from the years 388–93 was perhaps concealed at that time: Karwiese, *Österr. Arch. Inst. Grabungen, loc. cit.* 51 ff. and *PAR* 17 (1967) 24 f.
- 14 Ulrichsberg: pp. 211, 279. Maria Saalerberg: Egger-Praschniker, *Car.* 126 (1936) 87 ff.
- 15 Grazer Kogel: p. 279. Karnburg: Dolenz, *Fundstätten* 40.
- 16 *Vita S. Sev.* 21, 2.
- 17 See on this p. 91 f.
- 18 Egger, *JÖAI(B)* 13 (1910) 168 and *Teurnia*⁵ 34 ff.; on the mosaics see the works cited on p. 280. Cf. also A. Lippold, *RE Suppl.* x 1149 f.; Winkler, *Noricum* 114 f.
- 19 In general, Jantsch, *MAG* 68 (1938) 337 ff.; Kohla, *Car.* 132 (1942) 67 ff.; esp. Miltner, *Car.* 140 (1950) 278 ff.; Tessmann, *Schlern* 28 (1954) 210 ff.; Vetter, *VuF* 10 (1965) 29 ff.; *ÄÖAW* 106 (1969) 75 ff.; cf. Vetter, *RE ix A* 308; Egger, *Römische Antike* I 265 f.
- 20 Werneck, *WPZ* 26 (1939) 167 ff. on seeds from the *Fliehbürg* on the Tscheltshinkogel (beans, wheat, rye, millet, barley, oats).
- 21 *Vita S. Sev.* 30, 1.
- 22 See Appendix XVII, p. 280.
- 23 Bachergebirge: Saria, *AIJ* p. 3; Vranje: *ibid.* 15 and esp. Riedl-Cuntz, *JAK* 3 (1909) 1 ff.
- 24 Tiffen, Karnburg, Lamprechtskogel: Dolenz, *Fundstätten* 66, 40, 42; Grazer Kogel: p. 279.
- 25 *Vita S. Sev.* 25, 2 f.
- 26 *Vita Mart.* iv 649 f. Cf. Wopfner, *Schlern-Schriften* 9 (1925) 363 ff.
- 27 See the works cited in Appendix XVII, pp. 280 f., for the individual *Fliehbürge*; on *Teurnia*, p. 91 f.
- 28 *Vita Mart.* iv 650: *hic montana sedens in colle superbit Aguontus* (sic).
- 29 See n. 19, above. Cf. also the late watch-tower at Mauthen on the Plöcken Pass road, Dolenz, *JÖAI(B)* 32 (1940) 35 ff.
- 30 *Not. Dign., Occ.* xxiv 1 ff. and also i 31, v 127; on this, esp. Egger, *JÖAI(B)* 25 (1929) 208 ff.; cf. Degraffi, *Confine* 143 f.
- 31 On the *clausura* see esp. Šašel, *Acta et Diss. Arch.* (Zagreb) 3 (1963) 155 ff. The miniature of the *comes Italiae* in the *Notitia* (xxiv) shows two blocking walls on either side of an Alpine pass (probably the Birnbaumer Wald) and a fort on the Italian side.
- 32 Sidon. Apoll., *Carm.* ii 377. Cf. Betz, *Vergangenheit* 42 f.
- 33 *Vita S. Sev.* 5, 1; cf. esp. P. Csendes, *Car.* 155 (1965) 289 ff.
- 34 *Vita S. Sev.* 17, 4.
- 35 *Ibid.* 25, 3.
- 36 Noll, *Eugippius* (text, translation and commentary (see p. 380)) is fundamental. There is an earlier edition by Mommsen (1898, repr. 1948); English translation: *Eugippius, The Life of Saint Severin*. Transl. by L. Bieler with the collaboration of L. Krestan (Washington 1965). A critical survey of modern literature on the subject is given by Noll, *Mitt. d. Inst. f. Österr. Geschichtsforschung* 59 (1951) 440 ff.; more recently, see also Baldermann, *WSt* 74 (1961) 142 ff. and 77 (1964) 162 ff.; Lotter, *Deutsches Archiv f. Erforschung des Mittelalters* 24 (1968) 309 ff.; I. Bóna, *Antik Tanulmányok* 16 (1969) 265 ff.
- 37 On the question of his origin, see esp. Eugippius, *Epist. ad Paschasium* 7 ff. He was perhaps

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a high official who had been banished or may have previously been involved in diplomatic dealings with Germanic peoples—but these are entirely modern hypotheses and cannot be proved.

38 Cf. esp. *Vita S. Sev.* 5, 1 ff.; 6, 1 ff.; 7; 8, 1 ff.; 9, 1 ff.; 19, 1 ff.; 31, 1 ff.; 32, 1 f.; 40, 1 ff.

39 Pagans: p. 212. *Ecclesiae hostes haeretici*: 4, 12 (cf. 8, 1); according to Noll, *Eugippius* 124, they were Arian Germans.

40 *Vita S. Sev.* 31, 6.

41 *Ibid.* 20, 1; 4, 2 f.; 44, 2.

42 *Ibid.* 20, 1 f.

43 *Ibid.* 1, 4 and 2, 1 f.; 1, 5; 11, 1.

44 *Ibid.* 4, 7.

45 *Ibid.* 30, 1 ff.

46 *Ibid.* 12, 1 ff.

47 *Ibid.* 26, 1 f.; 27, 2; water-transport: 3, 3 and 22, 4, cf. p. 58.

48 *Ibid.* 22, 2.

49 *Ibid.* 3, 2; 6, 2; etc. There were *pauperes per universa oppida vel castella*, *ibid.* 17, 1.

50 *Ibid.* 12, 7; 29, 1; 44, 1.

51 *Ibid.* 17, 2 ff.; 18, 1 f.

52 *Ibid.* 3, 2.

53 *Ibid.* 3, 1 ff.

54 *Ibid.* 4, 1 ff.; 8, 2; 10, 1 f.; 19, 1 ff.

55 Thaller, *Car.* 143 (1953) 765 ff.

56 *Vita S. Sev.* 24, 1 ff.

57 *Ibid.* 27, 1 ff.; cf. 22, 1 ff. and 25, 1 ff.

58 *Ibid.* 28, 1 and 30, 1 ff. For the date, cf. 32, 2.

59 *Ibid.* 31, 1 ff.

60 *Vita S. Sev.* 44, 1 ff.; cf. esp. Noll, *Eugippius* 143.

61 *Vita S. Sev.* 44, 5.

62 *Ibid.* 44, 5 ff.

63 Cf. esp. Thaller (Stiglitz), *JÖAI(B)* 46 (1961–3) 143 ff. and Vettters, *Festschrift f. U. Klaar und H. Mitscha-Märheim* 48 ff. For the question of continuity see also esp. Miltner, *Schlern* 24 (1950) 389 ff. and *Fontes Ambrosiani* 26 (1951) II 117 ff.; H. v. Petrikovits, in *Aus der Schatzkammer des antiken Trier*² 74 ff. (esp. 82 ff.) and *VuF* 4 (1958) 63 ff.; Egger, *VuF* 10 (1965) 15 ff.; Vettters, *ibid.* 29 ff. and *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 481 ff.

64 P. 216; cf. p. 280. Cf. Schaffran, *JÖAI(B)* 42 (1955) 111 ff.

65 Procop., *Bell. Goth.* 3, 33; see esp. Egger, *Römische Antike* I 262.

66 Egger *op. cit.* 116 ff. and 262 f.

67 Egger *op. cit.* 256; on the Lombard hoard of *solidi* from Maglern-Thörl see also Stefan, *NZ* 30 (1937) 53 ff.

68 Egger *op. cit.* 264; most recently Kollautz, *Car.* 155 (1965) 619 ff.

69 Solva: Schmid, *JÖAI(B)* 19/20 (1919) 136; Teurnia (Tiburnia–Liburnia–Lurnfeld): Egger, *Teurnia*⁵ 13. On Virunum cf. Klebel, *Car.* 131 (1941) 150 ff. On the question of continuity see n. 63, above.

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference

Periodicals

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archaeologia Austriaca</i>
<i>AAltA</i>	<i>Archivo per l'Alto Adige</i>
<i>AANL</i>	<i>Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei</i>
<i>AAntH</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>AAnz</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AArchH</i>	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>AAW</i>	<i>Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>ABSch</i>	<i>Die Allgemeine Bildende Schule</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>AIug</i>	<i>Archaeologia Iugoslavica</i>
<i>AÖAW</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
<i>AR</i>	<i>Alba Regia</i>
<i>Arch. Ért.</i>	<i>Archaeologiai Értésítő</i>
<i>AV</i>	<i>Arheološki Vestnik</i>
<i>BHK</i>	<i>Blätter für Heimatkunde</i>
<i>BJ</i>	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i>
<i>BNF</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Namenforschung</i>
<i>BRGK</i>	<i>Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission</i>
<i>BVBl</i>	<i>Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter</i>
<i>BVF</i>	<i>Der Bayerische Vorgeschichtsfreund</i>
<i>Car.</i>	<i>Carinthia I</i>
<i>Carn.-Jb.</i>	<i>Carnuntum-Jahrbuch</i>
<i>CZ</i>	<i>Celjski Zbornik</i>
<i>ČZN</i>	<i>Časopis za Zgodovino in Narodopisje</i>
<i>Diss. Pann.</i>	<i>Dissertationes Pannonicae</i>
<i>ES</i>	<i>Epigraphische Studien</i>
<i>FbÖ</i>	<i>Fundberichte aus Österreich</i>
<i>FL</i>	<i>Forschungen in Lauriacum</i>

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference

FuF	<i>Forschungen und Fortschritte</i>
GMDS	<i>Glasnik Muzejska Društva za Slovenijo</i>
HJSL	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz</i>
JAK	<i>Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde</i>
JDAV	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Alpenvereins</i>
JLNÖ	<i>Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich</i>
JMVW	<i>Jahrbuch des Musealvereines Wels</i>
JOM	<i>Jahresbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereines</i>
JÖAI(B)	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes (Beiblatt)</i>
JV	<i>Jahrbuch des Stadtmuseums der Stadt Villach</i>
JZK	<i>Jahrbuch der K. K. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale</i>
LAF	<i>Linzer Archäologische Forschungen</i>
LB	<i>Linguistique Balkanique</i>
LF	<i>Listy Filologické</i>
MAG	<i>Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien</i>
MGGW	<i>Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien</i>
MGSL	<i>Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde</i>
MOLA	<i>Mitteilungen des Oberöstr. Landesarchivs</i>
MPK	<i>Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission in Wien</i>
MVKIPh	<i>Mitteilungen des Vereines Klassischer Philologen in Wien</i>
MZK	<i>Mitteilungen der K.K. Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale</i>
NSc	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità</i>
NZ	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift</i>
OÖHBl	<i>Oberösterreichische Heimatblätter</i>
PAR	<i>Pro Austria Romana</i>
RGF	<i>Römisch-Germanische Forschungen</i>
RLÖ	<i>Der Römische Limes in Österreich</i>
SBAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse</i>
SchvSt	<i>Schild von Steier</i>
SCIV	<i>Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche</i>
SF	<i>Südost-Forschungen</i>
SJ	<i>Saalburg-Jahrbuch</i>
SMCA	<i>Jabresschr. Salzburger Museum Carolino-Augustinum, Jabresschrift</i>
TH.N.F.	<i>Tiroler Heimat, Neue Folge</i>
UH	<i>Unsere Heimat, Monatsblatt des Vereines für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich und Wien</i>
VuF	<i>Vorträge und Forschungen</i>
WMBH	<i>Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina</i>
WPZ	<i>Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift</i>
WSt	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
ZHVSt	<i>Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark</i>
ŽA	<i>Živa Antika</i>

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference

Works of reference

- AIJ* V. Hoffiller and B. Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien I* (Zagreb 1938)
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* I–XVI (Berlin 1863 —)
CIL without any number refers to volume III.
IBR F. Vollmer, *Inscriptiones Baivariae Romanae sive inscriptiones provinciae Raetiae adiectis aliquot Noricis Italicisque* (Munich 1915)
ILIug A. and J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt = Situla 5* (Ljubljana 1963)
ILLRP *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae I–II*, ed. A. Degrassi (Florence 1957–63)
ILS H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I–III, 3rd impression (Berlin 1962)
ILTun A. Merlin, *Inscriptions Latines de Tunisie* (Paris 1944)
Inscr. It. *Inscriptiones Italiae* (Rome 1936 —)
 Modrijan—
 Weber W. Modrijan and E. Weber, *Die Römersteinsammlung im Eggenberger Schlosspark I* (Graz 1965)
PIR² E. Groag, A. Stein and L. Petersen, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* 2nd edition I–V (Berlin 1933–70)
RE *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1893 —)
SHA *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*
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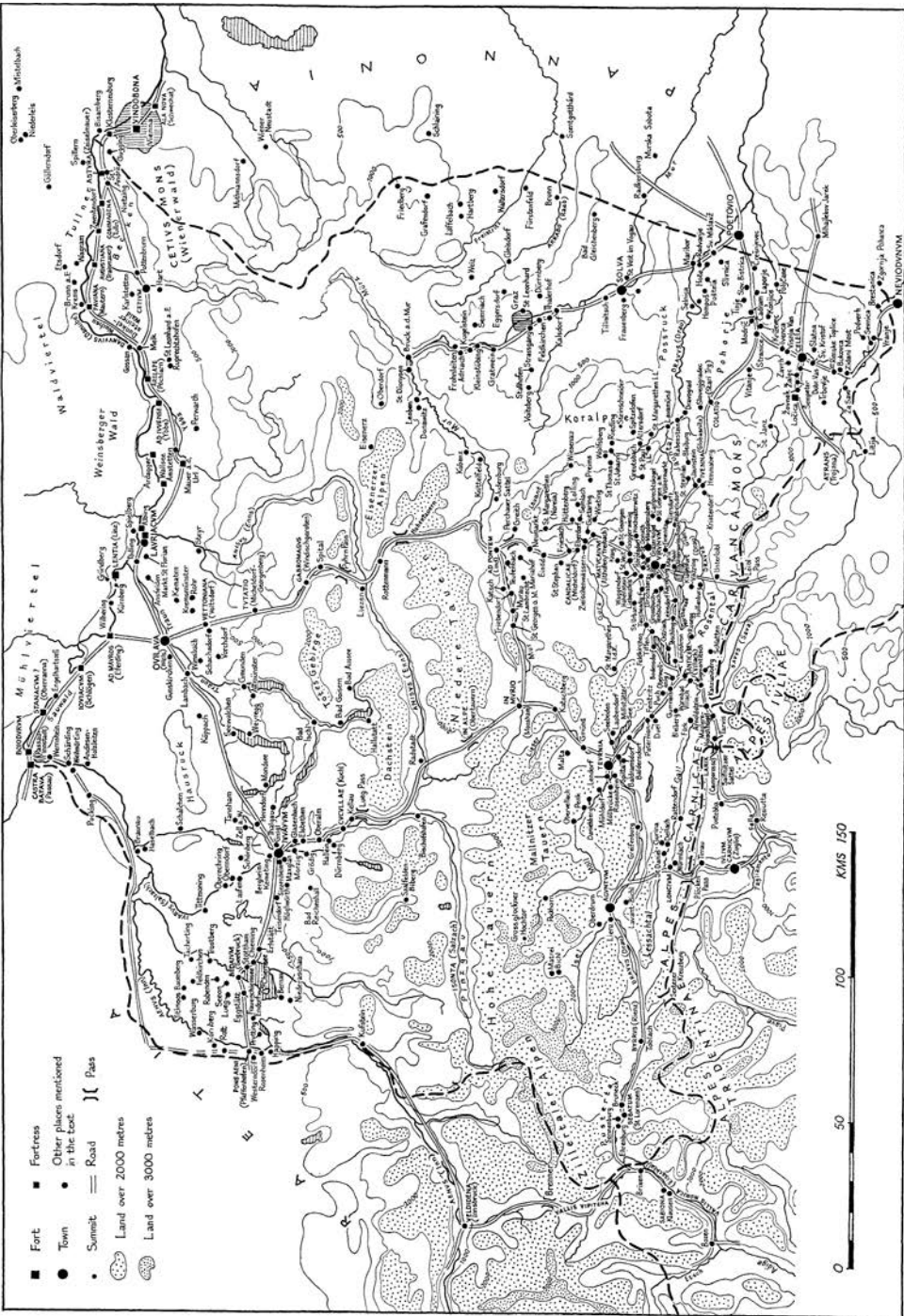
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General Map of Noricum



PLATE I View of the Magdalensberg from the south



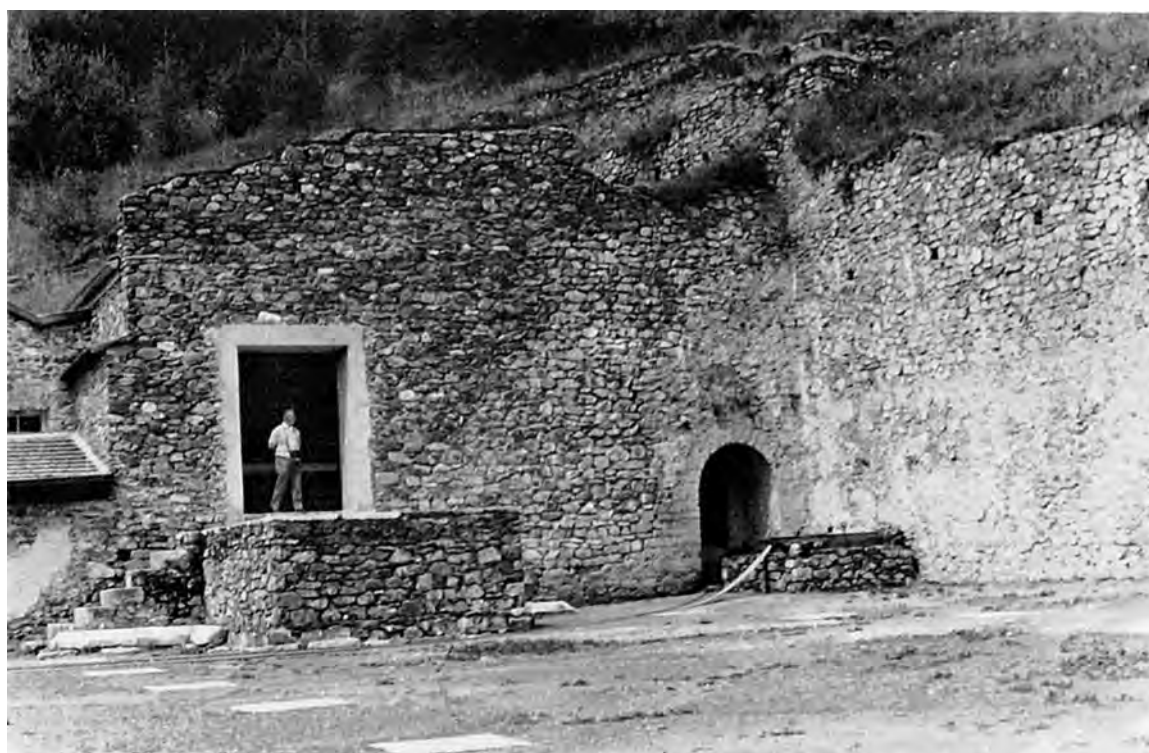


PLATE 2 (*opposite top*) The summit of the Magdalensberg with the Celtic *oppidum*

PLATE 3 (*opposite bottom*) View of the excavations on the Magdalensberg

PLATE 4 (*above*) The tribunal on the Magdalensberg

PLATE 5 (*right*) Calculating tokens from the Magdalensberg





PLATE 6 Mosaic with symbol of a horse in a boat, from the Magdalensberg





PLATE 7 (*opposite left*) Bust of a Roman from the Magdalensberg

PLATE 8 (*opposite right*) Bust of a native woman from the Magdalensberg

PLATE 9 (*above*) Fresco of Dionysus from the Magdalensberg



PLATE 10 (*left*) Fresco of a dancer from the Magdalensberg



PLATE 11 (*right*) Fresco of Iphigenia from the Magdalensberg



PLATE 12 Tombstone of C. Vettius from
the Magdalensberg



PLATE 13 Helmet of the soldier
Harigastus

PLATE 14 (*bottom left*) The inscription
of the procurator A. Trebonius from
the Ulrichsberg

PLATE 15 (*bottom right*) Inscription
with the names of Norican *civitates*
from the Magdalensberg





PLATE 16 Inscription of C. Iulius Vepo from Celeia



PLATE 17 Dedication to Noreia from Hohenstein

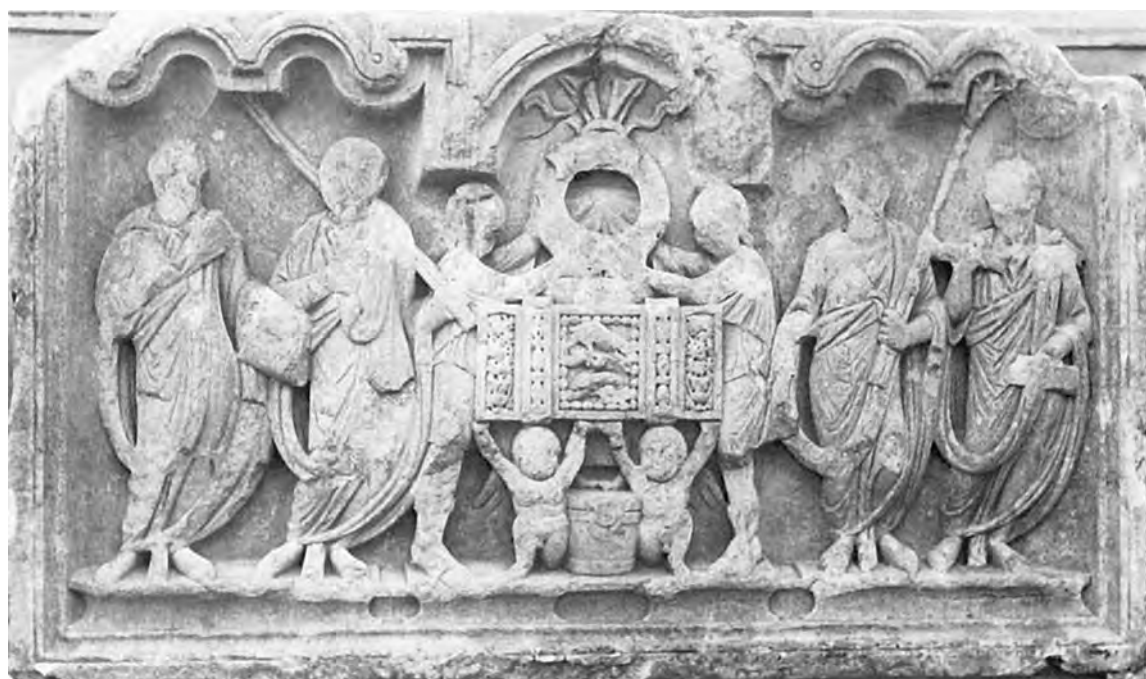




PLATE 18 (*opposite top*) View of the Zollfeld (site of Virunum)

PLATE 19 (*opposite bottom*) Relief with the *sella curulis* from Waltersdorf

PLATE 20 (*above*) Relief from Gamlitz

PLATE 21 (*right*) Monument with a representation of a scribe from Solva





PLATE 22 Portrait of Hadrian from Virunum

PLATE 23 (*bottom left*) Tombstone of *liberti* and *servi* from Virunum (?)

PLATE 24 (*bottom right*) Dedication to Caracalla from Solva (Frauenberg)





PLATE 25 The rescript of Septimius Severus from Solva

PLATE 26 Dedication of a *conductor ferrariarum* to the Termunes from Friesach



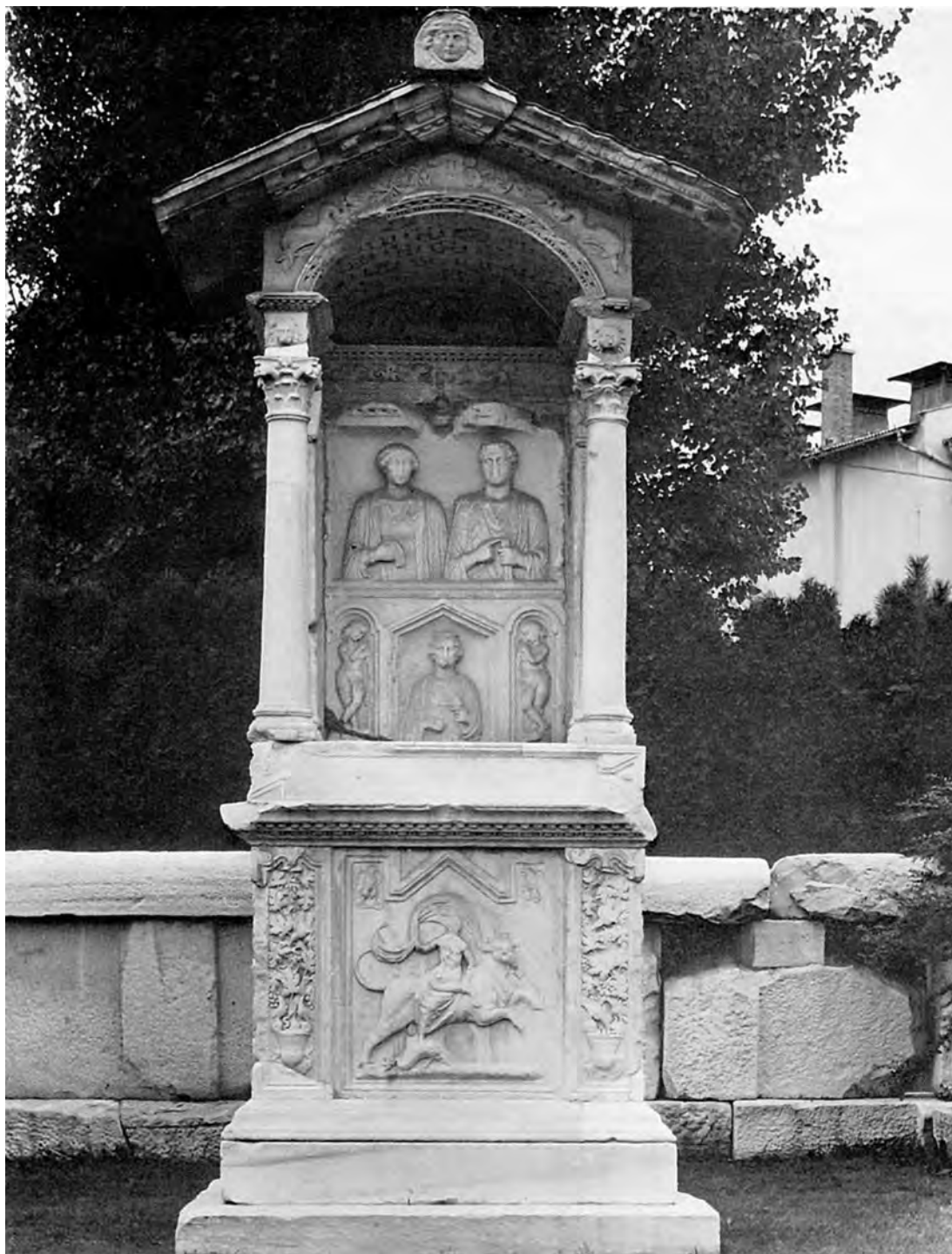


PLATE 27 Funeral monument from Šempeter



PLATE 28 Funeral monument from Šempeter

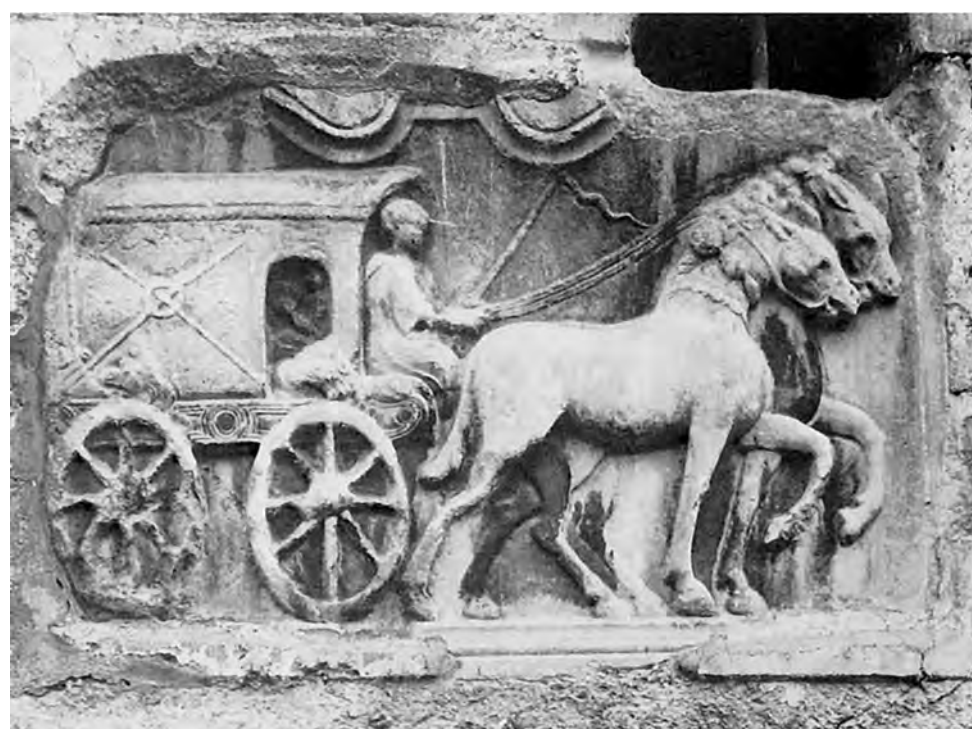
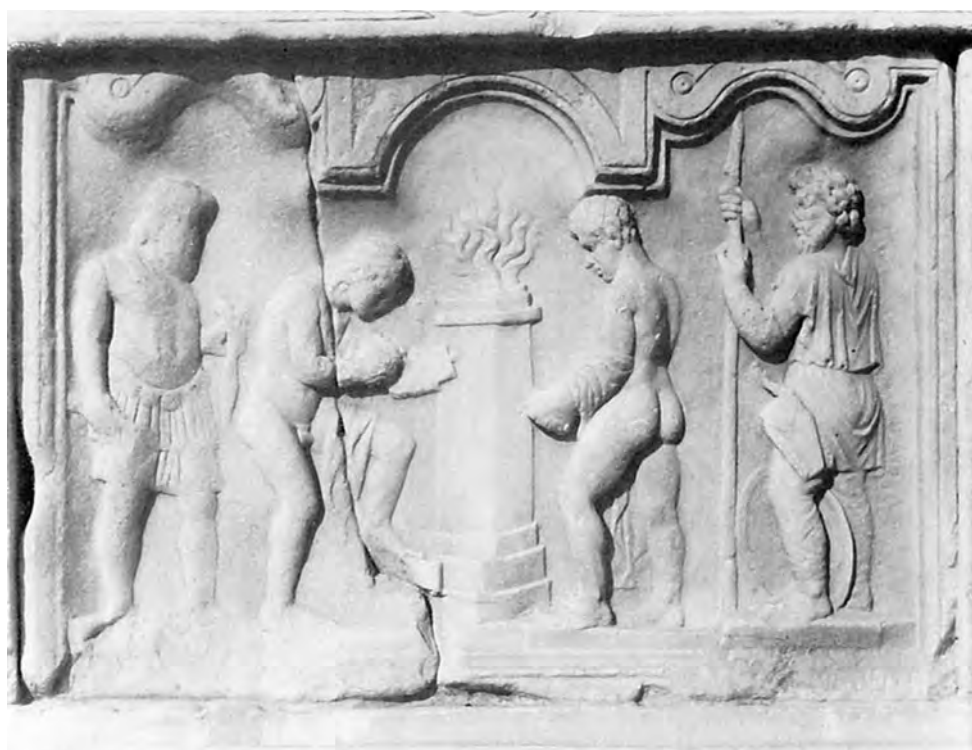




PLATE 29 (*opposite top*) Mythological relief from a funeral monument from Šempeter

PLATE 30 (*opposite bottom*) Relief with a *pilentum* from Virunum (Maria Saal)

PLATE 31 (*above*) Mythological relief from Virunum (Maria Saal)

PLATE 32 (*below*) Relief with hunters from Gamlitz



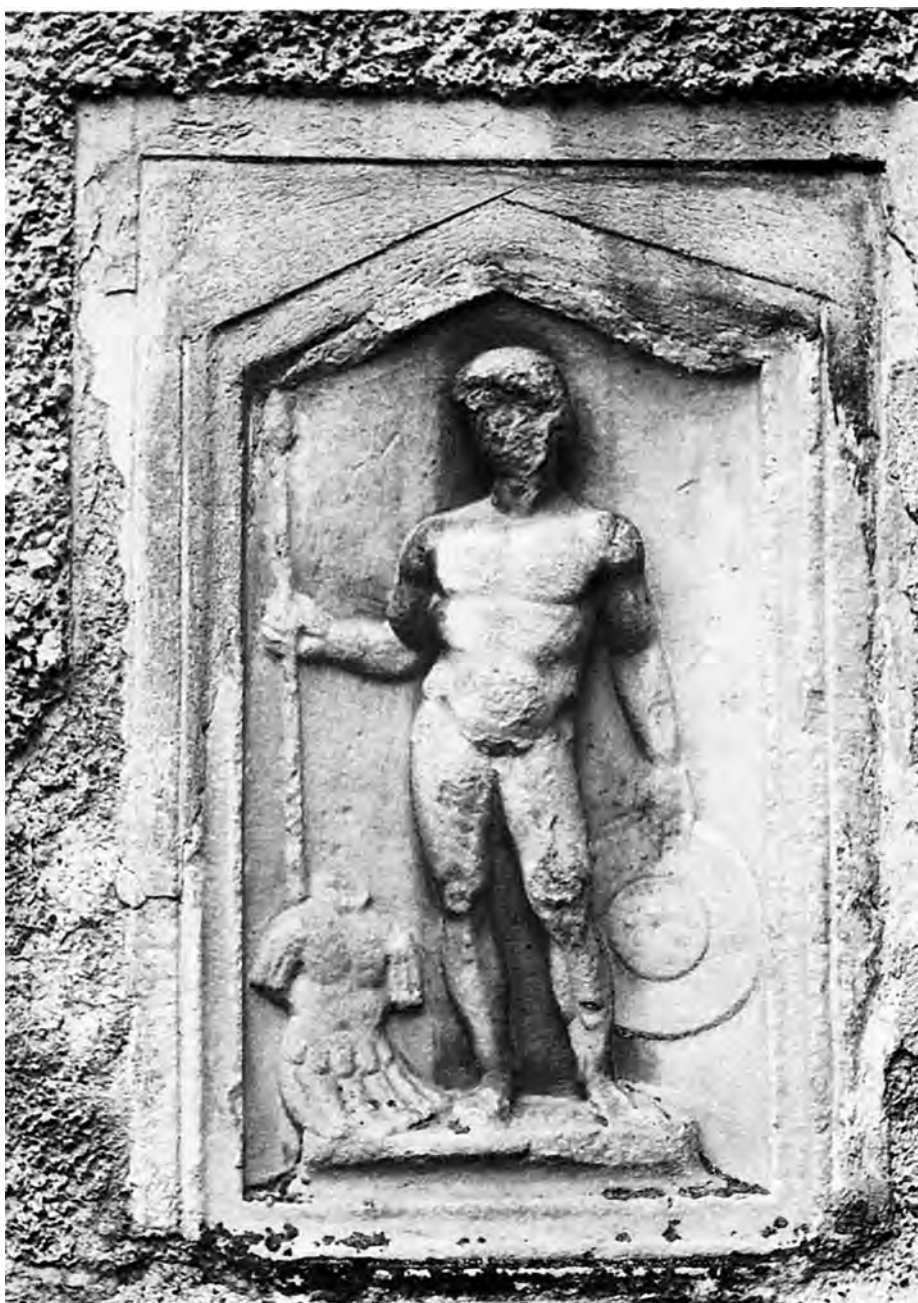


PLATE 33 (*opposite top*) Relief from Virunum (Maria Saal)

PLATE 34 (*opposite left*) Relief from Teurnia

PLATE 35 (*opposite right*) Relief from Virunum (Maria Saal)

PLATE 36 Relief with a representation of Mars from Gamlitz





opposite page

PLATE 37 (*top left*) Torso of a satyr from Virunum (Baths area)

PLATE 38 (*top right*) Statue of Isis Noreia from Virunum (Baths area)

PLATE 39 (*bottom left*) Statue of Venus from Virunum (Baths area)

PLATE 40 (*bottom right*) Statue of Hermes from Virunum (Baths area)

PLATE 41 (*above left*) Statue of Apollo from Virunum (Baths area)

PLATE 42 (*above right*) Statue of Mars from Virunum (Baths area)



PLATE 43 Statues and reliefs from Virunum (St Donat)

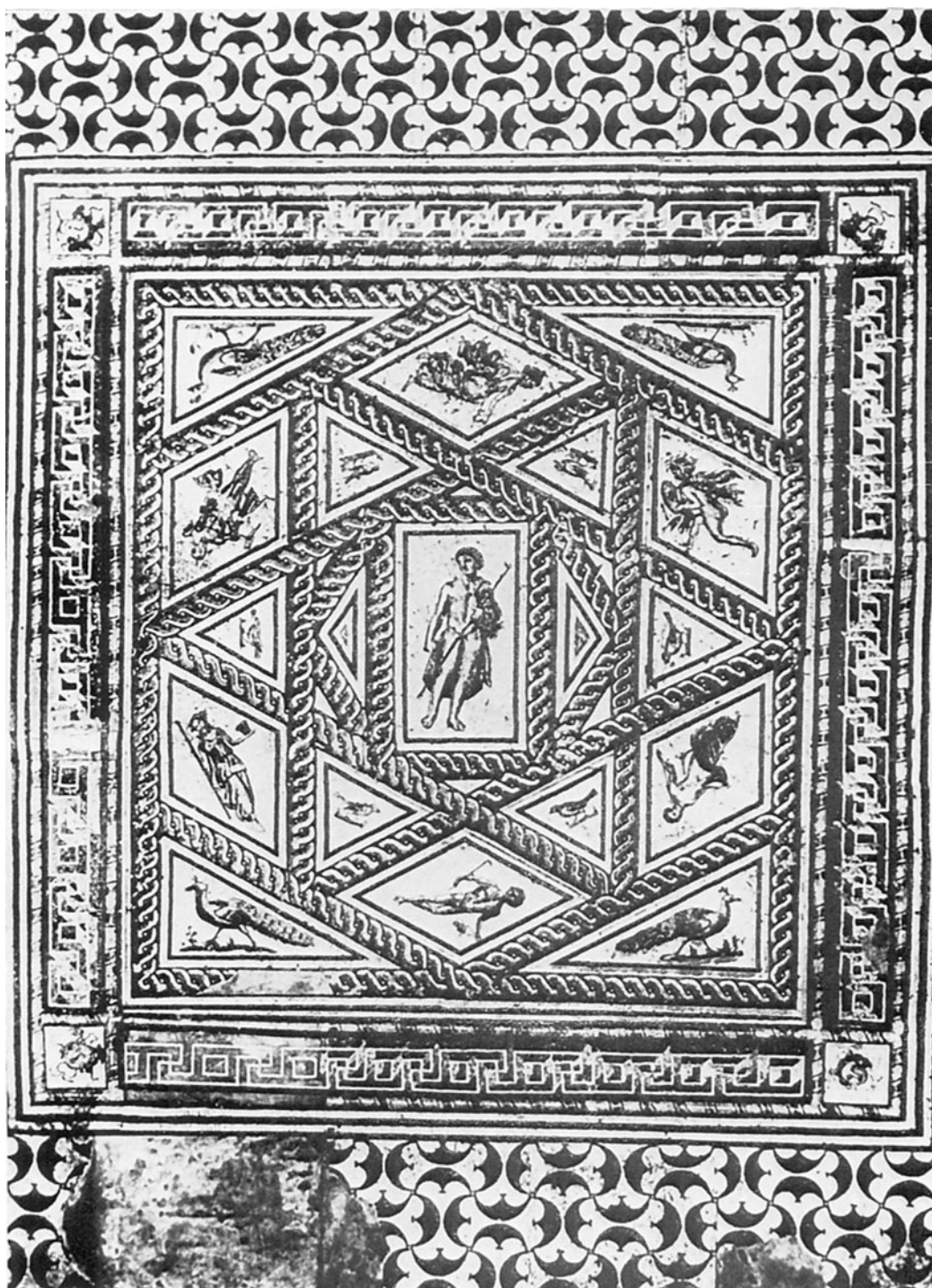


PLATE 44 Mosaic pavement from Virunum



opposite page

PLATE 45 (*top*) Tombstone of a native family from Gaberje

PLATE 46 (*bottom*) Funeral monument with portraits from Brückl



PLATE 47 Funeral monument with portraits from St Peter am Wallersberg

PLATE 48 Tombstone with portraits from Arnoldstein





D E M

ANRIVSTINOMILET
LECTITALONENI
DACCHICA ANNI
ANRVERIANSVLEI
MESSEARTINAPA
RENTESSEGERANT



PLATE 49 (*opposite*) Tombstone of a soldier from Celeia

PLATE 50 (*above left*) Tombstone with portraits from Virunum (St Donat)

PLATE 51 (*above right*) Funeral monument from Donawitz



PLATE 52 Altar of a
beneficiarius from Celeia



PLATE 53 Mithraic reliefs on a pilaster from Virunum

PLATE 54 Relief of Jupiter Dolichenus and his *paredra* from the Lamprechtskogel



PLATE 55 Dedication of the Norici mediterranei to Constantius Caesar



PLATE 56 View of the Ulrichsberg

PLATE 57 Episcopal church of Lavant-Bichl: a view of the excavations



PLATE 58 Mosaic pavement in the early Christian church of Teurnia